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VOLUME IV, 1929

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SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY EXCAVATIONS AT CLUNY THE SEASON OF 1928

By KENNETH JOHN CONANT
Research Associate in Archaeology of the Mediaeval Academy

FEW indeed are the mediaevalists whose work has not touched, at some point, the Monastery of Cluny; long the centre of western monasticism, the Burgundian monastery made an ineffaceable mark on the history of its epoch of greatness, and upon the art of the period as well. Yet it is among the least known of places with great names — the general public never visits it, the tourist confuses it with the Cluny Museum (once the town house of the monks in Paris), and many a teacher and student, having heard that the abbey was destroyed in the Revolution, passes it by.

The abbey has in fact suffered much. Who, eight hundred years ago, would have thought that the splendid sanctuary of the greatest of monastic churches would be taken down to extend a stable for government breeding-horses — that the middle part of the church, a bouquet of majestic towers, would have been blown up to clear the way and provide the material for this stable and the grooms' quarters — that the site of the western end of the church would be occupied by two inns, a garage, a house, a stable, and a street used as a passage for cows? The church, confiscated after the dissolution of the community at the Revolution, and sold to contractors, was largely taken down for its building material between 1798 and 1823; now, except for a magnificent fragment and some

lesser ruins, it is only a memory. So, too, the old abbey buildings, most of which were thrown down, and the débris used as fill or as material for the new conventual structure of the eighteenth century. Their site became, in large part, a garden. Into this garden, once very beautiful, an abominably ugly machine shop has been intruded for the benefit of the School of Arts and Trades now installed in the monastery. This practical age has spoiled the stately layout of the Benedictines of the time of Louis XV.

Regrettable, too, is the necessity for expansion which threatens further injury to another part of the site, the handsome grounds of the government Stallion Dépôt, laid out as a park something less than a century ago. Now it is proposed to extend still further the unhappy stable for which the church had to be destroyed, and thus to damage many of the old pier bases of the nave still standing under the peaceful sward. Given the present layout, the addition proposed is logical and inevitable, but the Ministry of the Fine Arts, aroused, has done its best to arrange for the building of a larger stable elsewhere, and for the demolition of those which already dishonor this ground (Plate I). The funds necessary to cover the additional cost, some twenty thousand dollars, are not available, so that the plan, if it is to be put into effect at all, must appeal to the generosity of some benefactor who thinks that the fabric of Cluny has suffered enough, who would like to see the venerable place in a more suitable condition, and who would like to see the old foundations left accessible to archaeological research. It seems hard that a site so august, so rich in great memories, should be given over to horses, grooms, and their gear.

In spite of the devastation of the past and the imminent threat of the future, a visit to Cluny is one of profound interest to anyone with a feeling for the history and the art of the Middle Ages, and a glimpse of its all but vanished grandeur has greatly moved many a visitor, giving in a flash a vision of the ampler lost horizon, and a penetrating sense of what perished by the stupidity of a century ago. Such was the case with the author, who visited Cluny in 1924 and received, while walking among the eloquent remains of the martyred abbey, an unforgettable impression of Cluny's greatness.

Archives Photographiques, Paris, phot.

PLATE I

VIEW IN THE STALLION DÉPÔT

showing the modern Stables, with the preserved bay of the Aisle between; beyond is the preserved transept. The Chapel of St Gabriel is in the square Tower, at the stage below the paired arches.

With study came a conviction of the beauty and significance of the abbey buildings, particularly the church, a realization of how ill the graphic material interprets this wonderful structure, and a desire to recover and reconstitute in drawings as accurately as possible the form of this masterpiece of early mediaeval architecture and the old group which surrounded it.

Even superficial studies showed how poor and contradictory the source material is, in spite of its comparative abundance. For there is no representation of the old buildings by any artist who was at the same time careful and sympathetic, nor are there any two items of literary or graphic evidence which agree completely with one another, or with the facts. Those who described or drew the group before its destruction had not the archaeological knowledge or the sympathy necessary to give a satisfactory account of the buildings, and no archaeologist who has worked since has gone deeply enough into the evidence to do the buildings justice.

It has become increasingly evident, however, that a comprehensive restoration is possible, given sufficient study; and the author has undertaken this enterprise. The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation by a grant made possible a three months' study on the spot in the summer of 1927, during which almost all of the existing remains above ground were measured with care. The dimensioned sketches fill an architect's notebook of eighty-six pages. This study made it abundantly clear that excavations of the buried portions would be uncommonly fruitful, and with this work in prospect the grant of the Foundation was renewed in 1928.

Well aware that few subjects could interest so wide a circle of members of the newly formed Mediaeval Academy of America as this, and that few better vehicles exist for its current publication than the SPECULUM, given its considerable circulation in both Europe and America, the writer proposed the matter of excavation and publication informally to several officers, and then officially to the Council of the Academy. The Council made the project the Academy's own, and lent it the prestige and support of the Academy.

The gift of a generous anonymous donor, permitting an annual grant of four thousand dollars for three years by the Academy,

and the good fortune of the Academy in enlisting the interest and support of His Excellency Myron T. Herrick, American Ambassador to France, and that of M. Marcel Aubert, President of the French Commission of Historic Monuments and Director of the French Society of Archaeology, made it comparatively simple to bring the project to the point of realization. Thanks are due to them and to many others; first of all to M. Herriot, Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts; to M. Queille, Minister of Agriculture; and to M. Paul Léon, Director of the Fine Arts; as well as to MM. Verdier, Virey, Gélis, and Malo; Soeur, Bazard, and de Volchier; Oursel, Daclin, and Garguet; Simonot and Prongué. The unfailing aid and good will of all of these gentlemen was necessary to the success of the work. The expedition may count upon their continued friendliness.

Negotiations for permission began in the winter and were concluded, as far as the central administrations were concerned, on June 13; the local authorization followed without inconvenient delay. Work was begun ceremonially on June 29, in earnest on July 5 (with a crew obtained through H. Cartier et fils, contractors, of Chalon-sur-Saône), and was concluded on September 1. The men engaged, including the director, M. Folcher, the director's assistant, M. Loury, the photographer, the carpenters and diggers, varied from four to fourteen. The speed of the work was conditioned by the ability of the director to supervise, as he was the only member of the expedition with archaeological training. Expenditures for the campaign of 1928 amounted to almost exactly two thousand dollars, divided between the activities of digging, photographing, and measuring.

I. DIGGING

Four pits were undertaken, at strategic points in the abbey church.

Pit I — In the Rue de l'Abbatiale, at the Portal of the Narthex (Plate IIIA, B; Figures 1, 2)

Here at the north jamb, a pit three to six feet (0 m. 90 to 1 m. 80) in width was sunk to the level of the pavement. It was extended

about 24 feet (7 m. 30) to the west along the inner face of the tower and along the west wall of the narthex. Work was begun on June 29 and finished on August 9. The accompanying drawing will make the details of this work clear. The results of this excavation are the following:

The fill of the Rue de l'Abbatiale proves to be débris from the demolition of the church, mostly broken-up rubble concrete. It consists largely of stones varying, in general, from the size of a head to that of a hand, and there is much crumbled mortar. There are only occasional carved stones and these are of little interest. They occur in the middle and upper parts, and can mostly be identified as parts of the portal itself — archivolt mouldings, leafage, and perhaps some fragments of the radiating shafts of the glazed tympanum. Broken bones were also found.

Nothing but a concrete bed remains of the old pavement, which was found to be about 10 feet 6 inches (3 m. 20) below the surface between the towers and about 13 feet 9 inches (4 m. 20) in the narthex; between was found the imprint of the blocks which served as steps. The steps were necessary because the narthex extension cut into the hill at the west of the abbey church. It is clear that the level of the pavement at the back of the narthex was 6 feet 1½ inches (1 m. 87) above that of the existing transept; the difference is now 1 foot 7 inches (0 m. 50) less, owing to the modern floor of the transept.

The lower part of the jamb is preserved intact with its carvings (Plate IIIB). It seems likely that after the pavement had been taken up the trumeau of the portal was removed and débris was brought in to make the street. The street was later raised and widened by tearing away the inner jambs and the arch of the portal. None of the old jamb shafts remains in place, but the bases give their diameter. A metal cramp gives the length of one section of shaft; cutting in the masonry, that of others — and it may be possible to identify the shafts if they have been preserved.

Features of interest on the back wall of the narthex were a bench 10½ inches (0 m. 26) wide and 1 foot 3 inches (0 m. 38) high at the base of the wall; the pedestal, base, and part of the shaft of the end

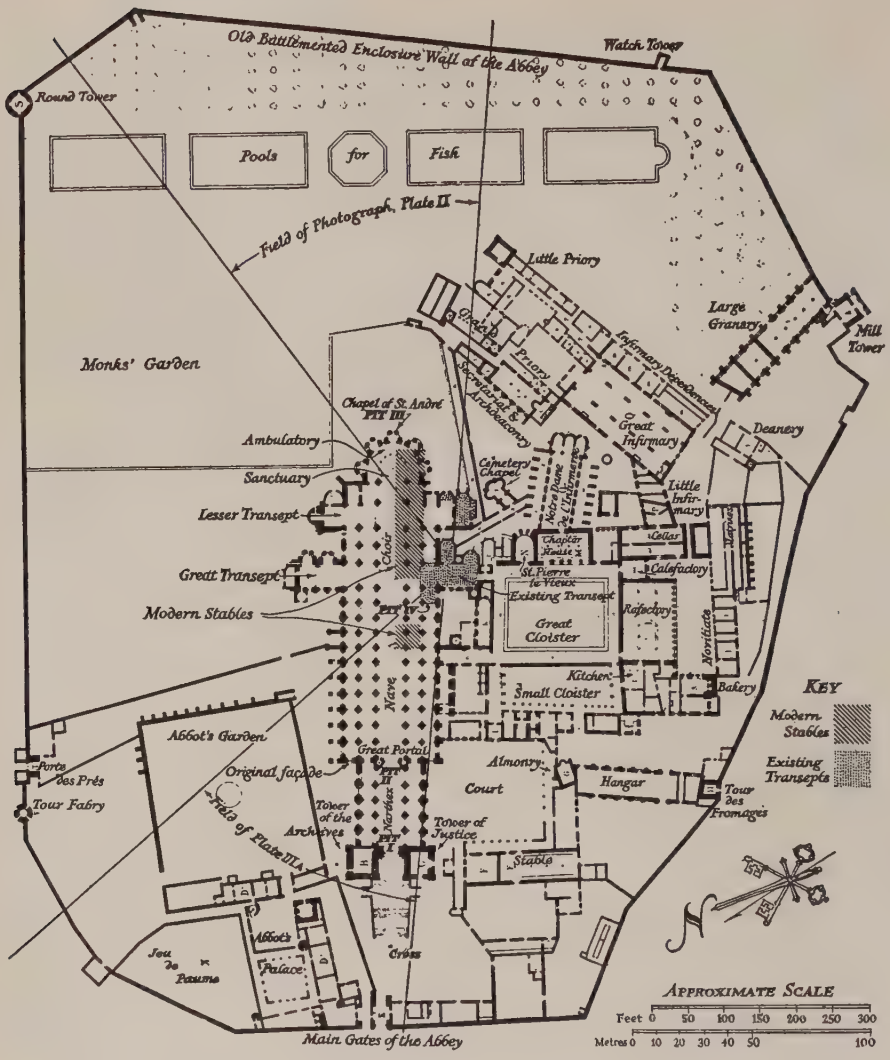


FIGURE 1

PLAN OF THE MEDIAEVAL ABBEY BUILDINGS

Reproduced from seventeenth-century plan published by Virey in the *Millénaire de Cluny*. Additional indications to explain the excavations of 1928

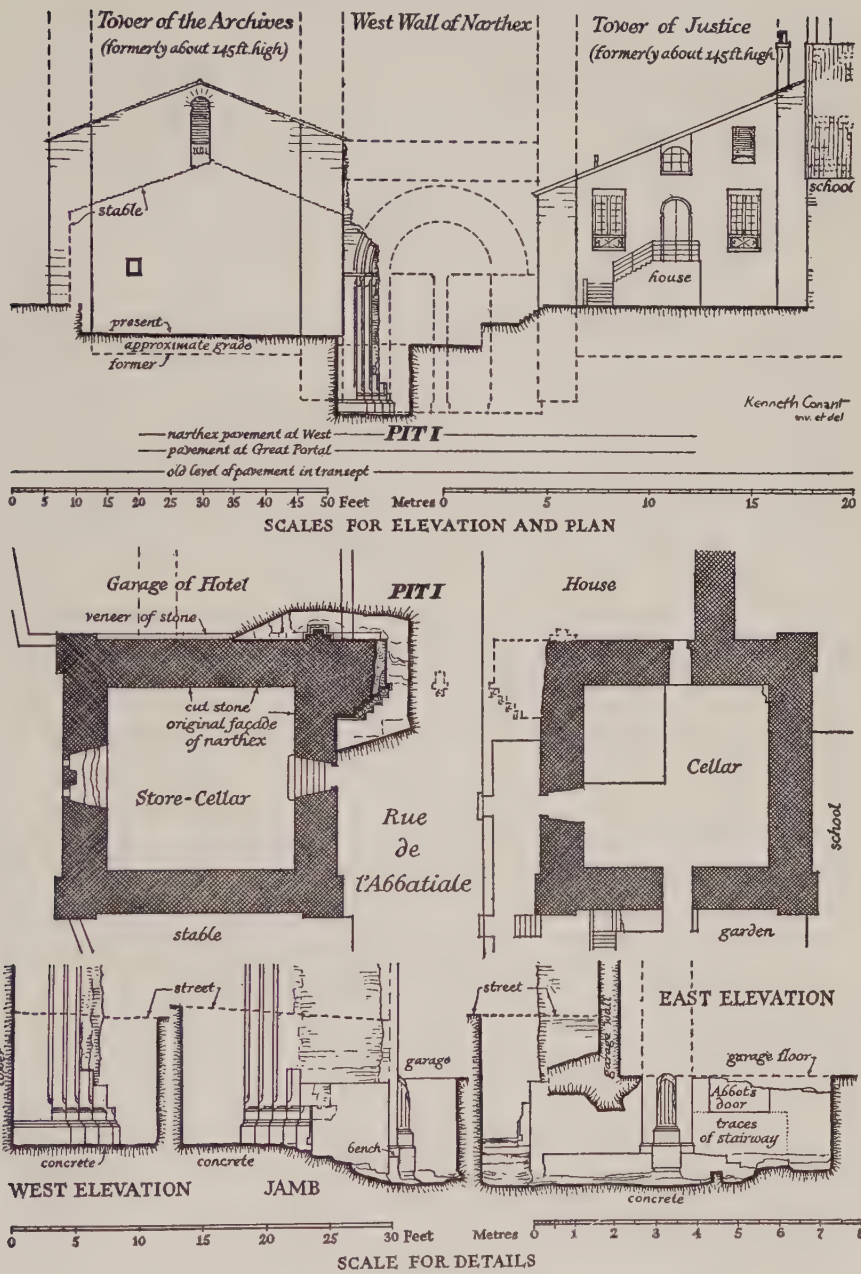


FIGURE 2

EXCAVATIONS AT THE NARTHEX PORTAL

pilaster of the nave arcade, and a portion of the door by which the abbot entered the church on ceremonial occasions, with meagre traces of the platform and stair leading from it. There was before the excavation no accurate information on this part of the building; the new data go far toward making trustworthy restoration drawings of the west end of the church possible. The pilaster is the most important of the finds, since it proves the archaistic character of the narthex — the profiles show only the slightest Gothic influence; the effect is of twelfth-century Romanesque, in harmony with the abbey church proper and hardly related to the contemporary fully developed Gothic (the narthex was dedicated in 1220). The narthex of Cluny may now be set beside the thirteenth-century nave of the Cathedral of Langres as an example of the vigorous persistence of the Burgundian Romanesque in the face of the newer style.

While this first pit has not the importance of the second and the third, it is of much interest both to archaeologists and to the public. All visitors have desired to see it left open, and this course has been decided upon by the Commission of Historic Monuments and the municipality. The Treasurer of the Academy authorized an offer of 5000 francs toward the cost of the necessary retaining wall.

Pit II — In the Rue de l'Abbatiale, at the Great Portal of the Church Proper (Plate IIIa, figures 1, 3, 4)

This pit, though not at all spectacular, was the most important of our excavations. The portal itself was blown up on May 8, 1810, and razed to the pavement level. The excavation, measuring 55 feet (16 m. 76) in length by about 10 feet (3 m. 04) in width and 7 feet 6 inches (2 m. 28) to 12 feet 4 inches (3 m. 75) in depth, covered only about one fifth of the area where remains of the portal are likely to be found, and less than half of the area where they are easily reachable. The pit occupied only the northern half of the street; it is planned to dig the other half next year.

The mass of concrete at the base of the north jamb was found, with the imprint of the jamb-stones upon it. Owing to the buildings

at the north, the whole of the jamb could not be uncovered. A number of pavement slabs appeared, and their level was found to be 3 feet 4 inches (1 m. 04) above the old level of the transept (1 foot 7 inches [0 m. 50] less at present).

A part of the foundation was also investigated and found to be very generous. A depression just to the west of the inner jamb was found to contain clean earth (perhaps seepage) and a skull. The depression may be what remains of one of the holes where the powder charges were set, and the skull may have been tossed there carelessly by some violator of the graves in the church. Or it may be that it has some connection with the unexplained tomb or altar of 'St Criard,' which stood near this spot. The skull was left in place.

An old drain was found, quite filled but moist, showing that water still follows this line. The drain was irregular in construction and re-used slabs were employed to cover it. A system of such drains is known from literary evidence to have existed at Cluny, where it was needed to carry off the ground water of the hill at the north and west of the narthex. The drain uncovered here probably dates from the period of the construction of the narthex.

The fill in this pit was, as in the case of Pit I, débris from the demolition, and by far the largest part of it was broken-up concrete. It showed well-marked stratification; seven or eight principal levels were discernible. In some places strata were marked by a thin layer of burned or decayed wood; in others, by veins of crushed white stone. Earth was also found, particularly in the space where the pavement had been torn out.

The earth at either side of the portal and below the pavement level contained nothing of interest; but above that level the fill contained quantities of chips from squared surfaces, a great many small sculptured fragments, a few large blocks of cut stone, and a considerable number of broken bones. Apparently the street was in use after the pavement of the narthex and nave was torn up (1798?) and before the explosion (1810). The fragments are not arranged in any discernible order, but they seem to come, with few if any exceptions, from the façade of the church and the two bays of the narthex which were brought down with it. There remained about 835 cubic

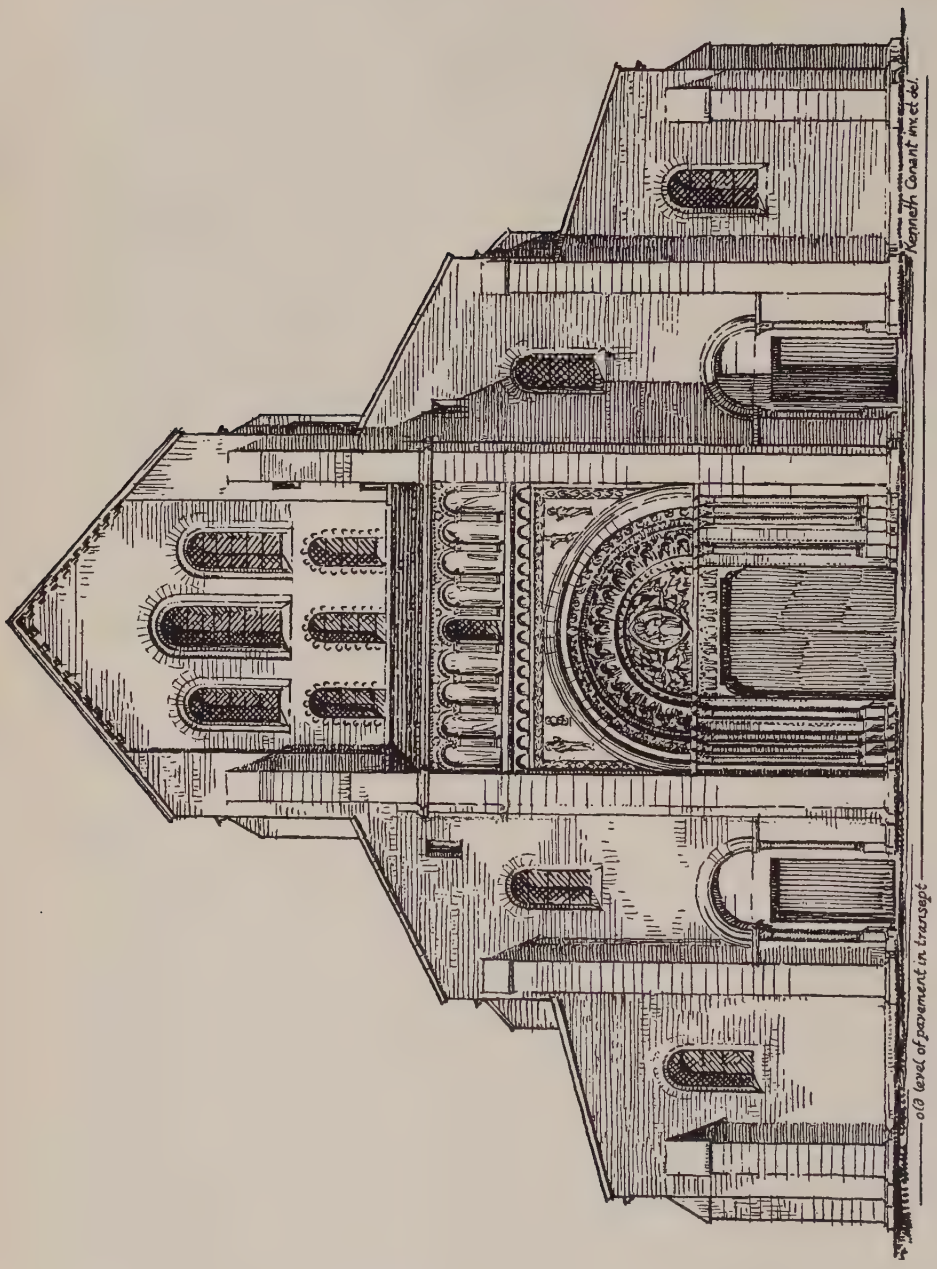
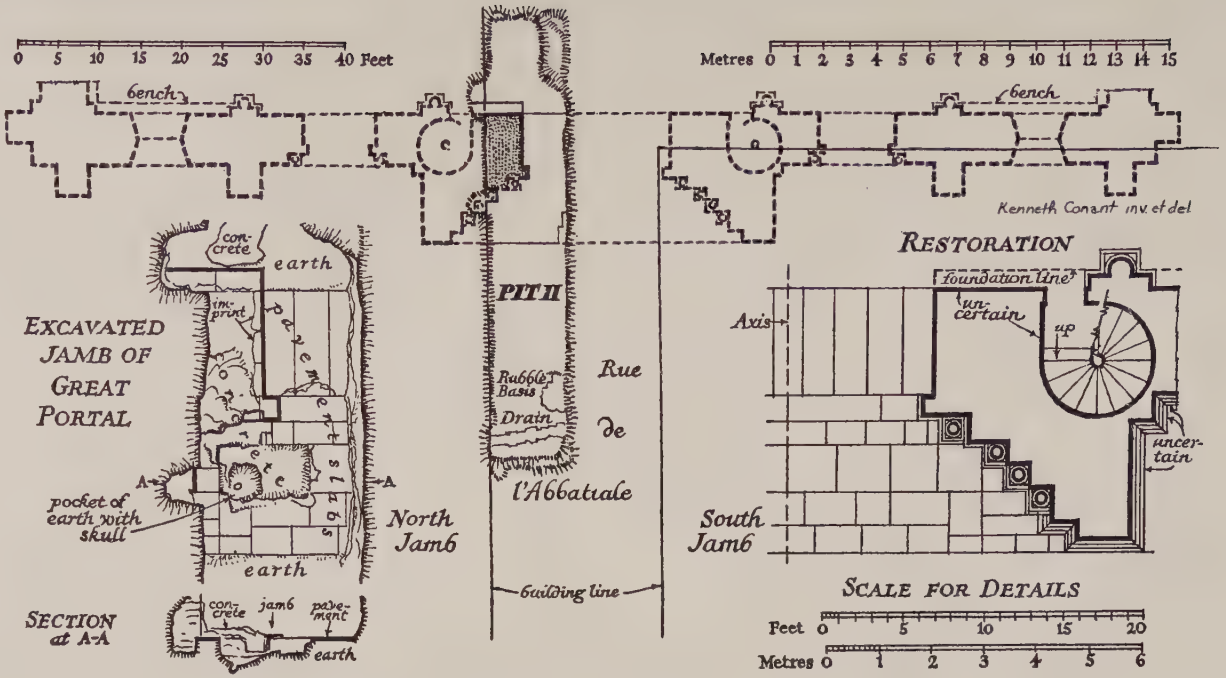


FIGURE 3

PRELIMINARY RESTORATION OF THE ORIGINAL FAÇADE



FORMER ABBEY CHURCH OF CLUNY

FIGURE 4

EXCAVATIONS OF PIT II, AND PRELIMINARY RESTORATION IN PLAN

yards (640 cubic metres) of fallen material after it had been picked over, and the worthless débris was then used to raise the level of the street. Among the fragments lying *pêle-mêle* were found the following, all now lodged in the Museum of the Town of Cluny:

1. A broken head in soft white stone, polychromed, about life size, numbered 245 (Plate IVA). It is just possibly the head of the great Christ of the tympanum. The fragment (broken across the mouth) measures about $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches (0 m. 156) in height. Apparently connected with these pieces is a fragment of an ear with a lock of hair above it, not reproduced here. These pieces were found in a vein of crushed white stone, mixed with earth, but no other parts of the head appeared.

A considerable quantity of this statuary stone, apparently the limestone from the Carrière des Moines, to the north of Cluny (used also for certain of the celebrated ambulatory capitals), was found in a crushed condition in the fill, but it is too early to assert positively that it represents the tympanum, or that this head represents the central Christ. It is the largest in scale and the most dignified of the heads, although it is so broken that a photograph can do only scant justice to it. The type is a noble one, apparently meridional. Oddly enough, one of the professors at the National School of Arts and Trades of Cluny and his daughter present strikingly similar characteristics. Their family is of southern origin, and this fact may be taken for what it is worth in studying the genesis of this sculpture.

Among features to be noted is the polychromy, which was fairly bright when the piece was recovered, but faded rapidly, as always, on exposure. The paint was laid on a coat of very fine gesso. The colors were simple and very harmonious — a soft dark bluish-gray for the hair, moustache, and beard; pale flesh tones (discolored by the yellow earth), a warm pink on the lips and cheeks. It may be that the whites of the eyes were painted. The impression of this polychrome work was very different from that of staring modern imitations; though on a different material, it resembled that of the Alexander sarcophagus in the museum at Constantinople, not only in the tinting but in the fact that the color does not interfere with the glyptic quality of the stone.

The pupils of the eyes were drilled and filled with a dark material, some of which still remains in place. The broken edges of the drilled hole make the pupil more prominent than it was, and at the same time obscure the fact that the inner lines of the lids were not marked at all; the outer lines were deeply cut, as in the head next described (Plate IVB).

The modelling is in broad and simple planes, admirably understood, and well designed to tell at a distance. The moustache is flat in its treatment, the beard rather summary, but the lock of hair (not shown) is worked in the familiar way with fine parallel lines.

2. Another head of interest, number 222 (Plate IVB), is made of the same stone, is similar in handling, and was also gessoed and painted. More fragmentary than the other, it is slightly smaller in scale, measuring about $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches (0 m. 135) in height. It has one of the eyes nearly complete, except for the filling of the pupil. An upturned moustache gives the figure a curiously unmediaeval look. Possibly it comes from one of the supporting figures of the central mandorla, and the odd intensity of its features may be intended to reflect the effulgence of the celestial apparition.

3. The beautiful head numbered 246, measuring about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches (0 m. 14) in height, is an interesting and important find. It is in soft stone. Of the polychromy only the brown tint of the hair remains. The head much resembles the female heads on the great ambulatory capitals, and should be of great assistance in settling questions of chronology for that reason. Unfortunately, it is much defaced (Plate IVC).

There were also found five smaller male heads in hard stone whitewashed, without polychromy, which are believed to come from the decoration of the capitals and the archivolts surrounding the tympanum of the main portal. They greatly resemble certain heads on the ambulatory capitals.

4. Chief of these heads is the one numbered 208 (Plate IVD), which is altogether the finest of the summer's finds. This head measures about $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches (0 m. 183) in height, and would certainly be taken, on the basis of Bouché's well-known description, to be one of the twenty-five heads in medallions on the outermost sculptured archivolt of the portal; compare the article on the portal in SPECULUM III (1928), 401 ff. The engraving of Garnerey there discussed shows a figure in the archivolt of the angels. Bouché says that the fifteen niches of this archivolt all contained angels. Perhaps he was wrong, for near head number 208, fragments of a knee, of a hand, and of a foot resting on a moulding came to light. Possibly Bouché's central 'head' was really a complete figure of the divinity which was indicated in the wrong archivolt in the Garnerey drawing. It is as yet impossible to prove whether or not this particular head belongs with the other fragments.

The head is one of great beauty. Notable are the beautiful working of the hair, the exquisite modelling of the cheeks, the strange outer lines of the eyes (resembling those noted previously), the small pursed mouth, the drilled curls of the moustache and beard, and the beaded decoration of the garment. This piece, though it lacks the nose and is in places discolored by iron stains, is a valuable find.

5. The fifth head, of very similar workmanship, is slightly larger in scale. It measures about $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches (0 m. 144) in height, and bears the number 249. It may with some certainty be assigned to the archivolt of the medallions. (Plate VA.)

6. Three other small hard stone heads were found: one, number 242 (Plate VB), all but perfect; the others, much defaced. They come doubtless from portal details not yet identified.

7. Parts of a number of dignified standing figures with their hands at their chests were found (Plate VC). The smaller ones probably come from the lintel of the portal, which had twenty-three figures; the larger ones possibly from the spandrels, where there were four figures.

8. Fragments of angels from the archivolt of the angels were found; parts, also, of the niche-heads (Plate VC). These features much resembled the canopies over transitional Gothic sculptures. They were so arranged that the projecting middle part suggested a richly modelled archivolt over one of the salient angles of the jambs beneath — a very felicitous piece of invention. The bold radiation of these niches gave the Cluny portal much of its character (Figure 3).

9. Parts of three different rosette mouldings, chips from two or three of the jamb-shafts and a pilaster, as well as other architectural members of the portal, recognizable by Bouché's description, were found.

10. A part of a fluted pilaster and fragments of moulding which may be assigned to the narthex were recovered. It was not possible to lay bare the junction of the narthex arcade with the old front of the church, a point which offers difficulties in restoration.

11. A number of large blocks of cut stone, probably from the façade, but not yet definitely to be assigned places, also came to light. They lay in entirely fortuitous positions, but further finds and a detailed study of the façade may lead to a definite recognition of the stones. One unidentified block has seven *E*'s upon it, probably mason's marks.

12. Two small silver coins were also found — one probably of Henry III, the other certainly of Louis XIII. The latter was in a crack between a pavement slab and the front of the projecting jamb of the portal.

While it would be possible to work out a detailed restoration on the basis of the fragments recovered, it seems more prudent to be content with establishing only the principal lines, and giving only the general effect. Nothing beyond that is attempted in the accompanying figures 3 and 4.

A more cautious archaeologist would probably have decided to leave this for the future, when more material will surely be available. It seems clear that a fair proportion of the sculpture of the portal will be recovered. Probably it will not be possible to fit the broken pieces together to any great extent, although it is planned to try to do this. The attempt cannot fail to aid in the contemplated restoration on paper and in plaster. The important thing is that an unhoped-for addition is being made to the source material of Burgundian sculpture, and that the Cluny portal, a capital monument of the style, will resume its place in the history of the fine arts. Its ramifications will be found far and wide.

A number of eminent scholars have already seen these results of the excavations. Working through seven distinct modes of approach, they have come tentatively to the conclusion that the portal is to be dated about 1110 (possibly even before the death of St Hugh in 1109), and have stressed its early style. In this view the writer cordially concurs, though he ought to speak only from the point of view of the documents, the structure, the design, and the remaining sculpture of the building. Others have based their opinion on expert knowledge of the history of French and of Spanish sculpture; still others recognize parallels in the work of contemporary scribes and architects, and will in due time make their comments. If the dating suggested holds, this portal will assume prime importance in the history of mediaeval sculpture as one of the very first compositions on a grand scale.

Pit III — At the Extreme East End of the Church, straddling the boundary wall between the Stallion Dépôt and the Garden of the School (Plate II, Figures 1, 5)

This pit was undertaken in order to determine the length of the building, and the pavement level at the east end; also to learn something about the design of the ambulatory and its chapels. Owing to its situation, almost at the entrance of the large stable of the Dépôt, the area available was very much restricted, and the investigation had to be confined to the chapel of St Andrew, the central absidiole. The length of the entire church was found to be

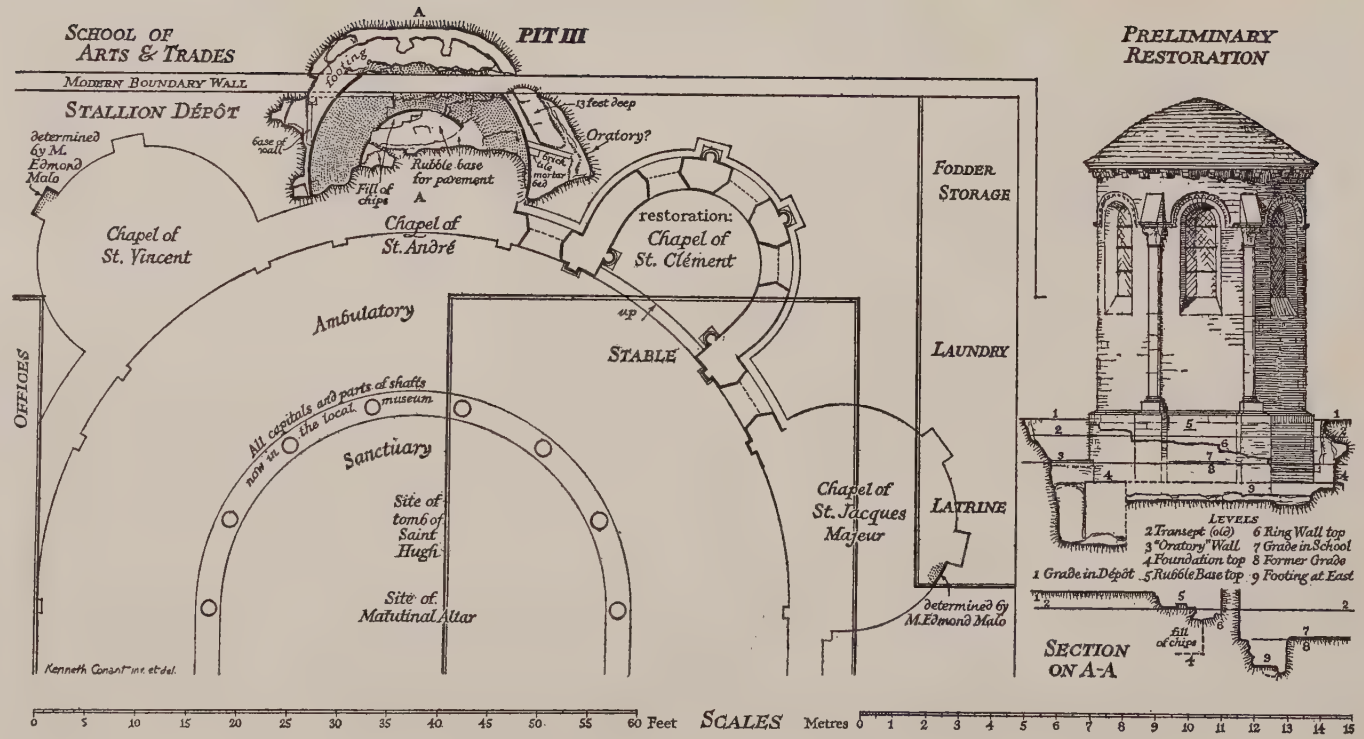


FIGURE 5

EXCAVATIONS OF THE CHAPEL OF ST ANDRÉ, AT THE EASTERN EXTREMITY OF THE CHURCH

615 feet 6¾ inches (187 m. 62), and that of the original church approximately 465 feet (141 m. 73) over all at the ground line. The foundations reach to the water level, a depth of 12 feet 6 inches (3 m. 81) below the present level of the Dépôt, and about 8 feet (2 m. 44) below the level of the School Garden, which represents the ground line of Renaissance times. The level of the ground may have been nearly 2 feet (0 m. 61) lower at the beginning. The eastern part at least of the chapel pavement lay something like a foot below the present surface in the Dépôt at this point. This brings it about a foot above the old level in the transept, and probably indicates steps of approach to the chapel, and an altar footpace. The natural grade at the east end was thus from 2 feet 7 inches (0 m. 80) to 4 feet 6 inches (1 m. 31) below the level of the church floor, a fortunate circumstance for the exterior design, to which the added height gave much in dignity and good proportion.

The remains were found to consist of a broad polygonal foundation supporting a 5-foot ring wall of 105 or more degrees of arc and 22 feet 5 inches (6 m. 83) in diameter. It was built of ashlar-faced rubble, the middle space being filled with cutting-yard chips. One piece of tile was found among these chips, dating without doubt from the eleventh century, for it was at the east end of the building that the 'first stone' was laid on September 27, 1088. The masonry facing proved to be of *petit appareil* — rather small stones cut to regular rectangular shape, but with the peculiarity that their faces are left slightly bulging beyond the geometrical line of the joint; the stones are trimmed down rather than trued like an ordinary cut stone. This work is more careful than that of the ordinary facing blocks of the preserved transept, but is less finished than the cut stone membering there.

Slight traces of the pedestal of one engaged buttress-column were found, and it is clear that there were only two such, although some old engravings show four. The lithograph of 1823 shows six. Contradictions like this must be expected, and indeed it is errors of this sort in the graphic material on the church which make the excavations necessary if the restoration is to be really trustworthy.

Such fragments as were recovered here (mouldings, a portion of

a capital) are very similar to the corresponding members on the preserved portions farther west; the edifice was evidently homogeneous at the east end. The reverse might have been expected, for we hear of a first architect, Gunzo, succeeded by another, Hézelon, who, according to Peter the Venerable, was actually the architect of the building. No real basis for dividing the rôles of these men has yet appeared. The existing transept and the nave were perhaps the work of Hézelon, who survived Gunzo. His work was grand in style but (in the original nave) overbold structurally. The design of the east end of the church was in some details not so fine, but it held fast to the end. It might be imagined that Gunzo's conception was a central church consisting of the sanctuary, the minor transept, and the choir — or indeed a longitudinal church made up of this portion of the building plus another transept, a plan in the tradition of the Carolingian double-ended basilicas; but what slender proofs there are, are contrary.

This inquiry into the genesis of the plan leads too far afield for the present article. It would inevitably bring in the question of the splendid destroyed Cluniac priory at Lewes (Southover, in Sussex), published by Mr W. H. St John Hope and Mr W. H. Godfrey. Dedicated incomplete shortly after 1090, it was built on the same lines as the mother abbey. This church had but three aisles, yet its total length was about 438 feet (133 m. 50), only 27 feet (8 m. 23) short of that at Cluny. As with Cluny, a narthex was later added at the west. Less fortunate than Cluny, given over to horses and grooms, the sanctuary at Lewes is now covered by railway tracks. Possibly also a study of the unfinished abbey of Venosa would be called for on account of certain peculiarities in the ambulatory, which at Cluny presents one of the most baffling problems in the whole geometrical study.

Pit IV — In the Preserved Bay of the South Aisle of the Abbey Nave (Plate I, Figure 6)

This pit was dug in order to obtain first-hand information on the detail of the nave piers. One quarter of a pier base buried in what is now the wood-house and hay-barn of the Dépôt gave the necessary

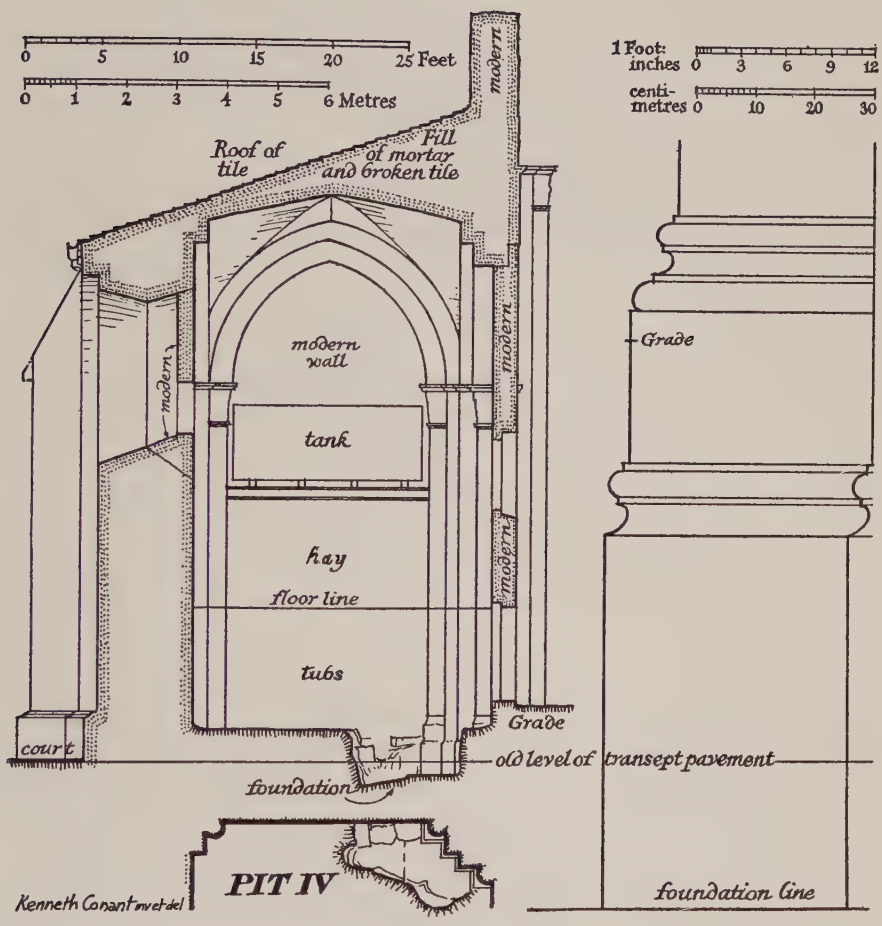


FIGURE 6

PRESERVED BAY OF OUTER SOUTH AISLE OF THE NAVE WITH RESTORED DETAIL OF PIER BASE FOUND IN PIT IV

information. The pavement is missing; the top of the generous foundation lies 3 feet and 2 inches (0 m. 96) below the present dirt floor. A few carved fragments were found.

The fragments from Pits III and IV, coming from property controlled by the government, were by agreement not delivered to the municipal museum for safe-keeping. The cases, five in number, were deposited in a locked cellar compartment in the Dépôt and receipted for by the assistant director. At the conclusion of the works a wooden boarding was constructed around the sixty-five cases from Pits I and II, deposited in the museum basement by agreement with the Mayor, the Conservateur, and officers of the national fine arts administration. The bones were deposited here also. Outside the boarding a number of the less interesting large blocks were arranged. More interesting finds (from Pit II) are on exhibition in the museum proper. All of these fragments have been receipted for.

II. PHOTOGRAPHING AND MEASURING

All four pits were carefully measured in detail, and a general survey of the site was made by the local geometer, M. François Michel.

Since, for the restoration drawings, the vertical measurements and details of the existing transept are quite as important as the plan measurements recovered from the excavations, a scaffold was built to enable the inaccessible parts of the structure to be reached by the rule and the camera. The transept was measured in part by M. Aymar Verdier in 1853 or 1854, and it has been photographed, though always at an awkward angle from the pavement or from the passage-way leading to the Tour de l'Horloge. The scaffold was planned especially for its work. It had platforms at several levels up to 66 feet 9 inches (20 m. 35), and was designed to be drawn by a winch from bay to bay of the interior. The writer thus had an invaluable opportunity to study the structure close at hand. The tape revealed that the soffit of the ring about the eye of the middle vault is 103 feet 6 inches (31 m. 54) above the modern pavement, the point of the north bay 96 feet $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches (29 m. 50) and that of

the south bay 81 feet 7 inches (24 m. 86); to the old level, 1 foot 7 inches (0 m. 50) more in each case. It has been possible to project over the lines determined by the measurements and to work out tentative restorations of the nobly beautiful apse and of the boldly handsome old west front. (Figure 3.)

M. Loury the, photographer, produced a splendid series of plates — by far the most beautiful general views which have ever been taken, besides a complete set of the sixty-two visible capitals and corbels, many of these at the scale of 1 to 8. Specimens of this work are given in Plate VI and Plate VII. The detailed discussion of this sculpture seems to be out of place here, but an article is projected for the July, 1929, issue of SPECULUM, in which all of these capitals will be reproduced and so become available for study. The Academy's work has virtually given these capitals to the historians of art, because their beauty and importance were but vaguely realized before.

No two of the capitals are alike. Four display animal forms; one has splendid leafage which makes one think of the capitals at Autun, but the preponderance is toward the Corinthianesque type. The smaller examples are free and spirited derivatives, while the larger are interpretations, often very close to the antique, but having a character of their own.

Similar capitals exist in the former chapel of St Gabriel in the Clock Tower, the Tour de l'Horloge, attached to a corner of the transept. The writer published a detailed study in the *Bulletin Monumental*, LXXXVII (1928), 55 ff. It suffices here to say that an inscription, painted in red upon a coat of stucco overlying the original stucco finish of the interior, certifies, in characters of the first quarter of the twelfth century, that the chapel was dedicated and relics were deposited in the altar by Peter, Bishop of Pamplona (†1115). The date is given as the II Ides of March; the year has been lost, but 1100 plausibly fills the lacuna, and it seems certain that the construction is to be dated within a few months or years of that time. This necessarily means that the transept was built at that time also. There is indubitable evidence that the capitals in the chapel and transept were carved when they were set.

Thus we may say that seventy-one fine pieces of sculpture surely dated close to the year 1100 have been introduced on the field of a hotly contested archaeological battle. It is the *coup de grâce* to the systems of certain French and German scholars who would have us believe that Cluny was largely the work of the twelfth century well advanced.

This idea was already shaken, for the architecture, by the studies of MM. Virey and Oursel on the Cluniac priory church Paray-le-Monial and the chapel at Berzé-la-Ville, both of which may now be assigned to the very first years of the twelfth century. M. Virey's still unpublished proof for Berzé-la-Ville, based on abbey documents, is particularly interesting.

By this new certainty in dating, the historical importance of the work at Cluny is vastly increased and the basis for criticizing the dates given in the documents vastly simplified. Nearly contemporary documents give 1088 as the date of beginning, 1095 for the preliminary dedication, 1109 for virtual completion, 1125 for the fall of the nave vault, and 1130 or 1131 for the definitive dedication after the repair of the vault. Twenty and twenty-five years are given as the period of building. Other authors have construed this to mean that the completion of the church was delayed until 1112 or 1113. The writer suggests that 1108 or 1109 is indicated in both cases; that the five additional years are those between 1125 and 1130, when the vault was being repaired. This argument squares perfectly with the date of the transept (about 1100), and the date suggested by the style of the sculptures of the Great Portal (about 1110). It squares, too, with what we know of the builder, St Hugh. The church was one of the greatest and dearest enterprises of this man of truly imperial projects, means, and attainments. He was aged 76 in the year 1100. Nothing is more natural than that he should have bent his vast resources to the completion of the church before he should be overtaken by death. Indeed, hasty construction in the nave may account for the collapse of 1125.

The work of photography was continued in the remaining portions of the church which have come down to us *in situ*. Except for those in the aisle bay serving as woodshed to the Dépôt, all of the sur-

viving capitals were photographed. One pair, minus their shafts, still cling to their places outside the blocked Galilee Portal at the fourth bay of the nave. They are entirely similar in character to others found in the Chapel of St Gabriel, in the great transept, in the lesser transept farther east (surely eleventh-century work), and, in fragment, at the foot of the easternmost absidiole. They are but another proof of the homogeneity of the whole church.

More interesting still, the ivy on the east wall of the great transept yielded a capital which, so far as I am aware, was unnoticed and unpublished (Plate VIIb). It formerly supported the west end of the arch between the westernmost bays of the south choir aisles; it is still *in situ* in a portion of the building surely ascribed to the end of the eleventh century. The undercutting of the capital is so disposed as to constitute peremptory proof that it was sculptured at the time of setting. In style it is as advanced as any of the rest, and in design and execution it is patently related to the ambulatory capital devoted to the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tones — so patently related that it is probably a work of the same artist. A similar capital, executed at some time after 1104, exists at Vézélay. But the important thing is that this eleventh-century Cluny capital, taken in conjunction with the other evidence presented above, makes it infinitely probable that the ambulatory capitals were carved at the same period — that they were quite possibly completed at the time of the dedication of 1095, and are to be counted as masterpieces of the eleventh, not of the twelfth, century.

This conclusion has implications which run counter to the conceptions of many as to the early history of Romanesque sculpture. It corroborates the doctrine of those — notably M. l'Abbé Terret, M. Bréhier, M. Oursel, and Mr Porter — who have done battle to prove the priority of the great Burgundian abbey and the significance of the work which was done there.

But it simplifies the matter, after all. The renascent art of monumental sculpture is seen to have received a wonderful impulse at the very start from the great genius who carved Cluny ambulatory capitals, just as the art of architecture did from the designer of the giant church. Both rose fully to a stupendous opportunity in

producing this splendid witness to the grandeur of the order and the greatness of the builder abbot. Cluny was then a focus like the Constantinople of Justinian or the Florence and Rome of the Renaissance. We should no more be asked to explain the achievements of the artisans of Cluny by mechanically regular steps in development (as some writers propose) than we are in the case of Isidoros and Anthemios, Donatello, or Michaelangelo. Once the inspiration of Cluny is recognized, and its activity between 1088 and 1109 admitted, the flowering of Burgundian art and architecture which followed the closing of its *chantier* early in the twelfth century needs no further explanation.

Harvard University.

Loury phot.

Plate II

View to the east from the Transept Tower of the Abbey Church

showing, to the right, the ruins of the lesser south transept of the church; to the left, the stable which covers half of the site of the sanctuary of the church. Above, the gardens of the abbey, showing the eastern enclosure wall, the fish pond, the modern machine shops of the School of Arts and Trades, and the allée leading to the Linden of Abelard. The pointed shadows are cast by the spires of the transeptal towers.

Loury phot.

PLATE IIIA

VIEW TO THE WEST FROM THE TRANSEPT TOWER OF THE ABBEY CHURCH

showing, in the foreground, the excavations at the Great Portal, one of the western towers of the church with a part of the Narthex portal (behind the Hôtel de Bourgogne) ; and, in the middle distance, the Abbot's garden and palaces.

Loury phot.

PLATE IIIB

LOWER COURSES OF THE NORTH JAMB OF THE NARTHEX PORTAL

Loury phot.

PLATE IVA

HEAD NUMBERED 245, FROM
THE GREAT PORTAL, PERHAPS A CHRIST

Loury phot.

PLATE IVB

HEAD NUMBERED 222,
FROM THE GREAT PORTAL

Loury phot.

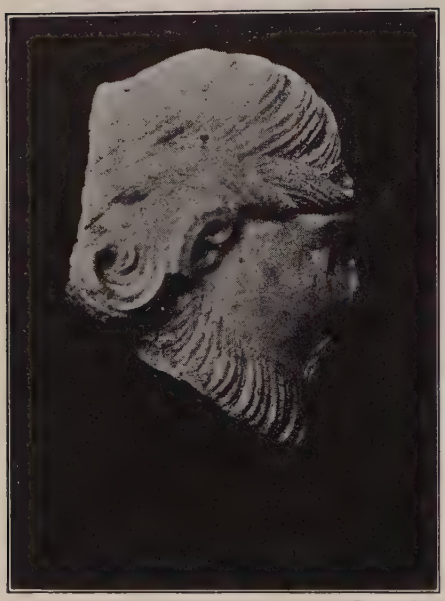
PLATE IVC

HEAD NUMBERED 246,
FROM THE GREAT PORTAL

Loury phot.

PLATE IVD

HEAD NUMBERED 208,
FROM THE GREAT PORTAL



Loury phot.

PLATE VA

HEAD NUMBERED 249,
FROM THE GREAT PORTAL

Loury phot.

PLATE VB

HEAD NUMBERED 242,
FROM THE GREAT PORTAL

Loury phot.

PLATE VC

FRAGMENTS OF DRAPED FIGURES AND (IN THE UPPER RIGHT-HAND CORNER) PART OF NICHE-CANOPY, FROM THE GREAT PORTAL

Loury phot.

PLATE VI

INTERIOR OF THE EXISTING TRANSEPT, TAKEN FROM THE SCAFFOLD, LOOKING SOUTH

The large capitals are numbered (from left to right) C 119, C 120, C 143, C 144

Loury phot.

PLATE VIIA

TRIFORIUM AND CLEARSTORY OF THE NORTHERN BAY OF THE TRANSEPT, WESTERN SIDE

Loury phot.

PLATE VIIB

NEWLY UNCOVERED CAPITAL STILL IN SITU IN THE STALLION DÉPÔT

The large capital in the transept is numbered C152; the smaller capitals are numbered C153, C154 a, b, C155 a, b, C156, in the clearstory; in the triforium, corbels and capitals are numbered consecutively C157 to C161. The newly uncovered capital has not yet been numbered.

COLOGNE *MS. 106:* A BOOK OF HILDEBALD

By LESLIE WEBBER JONES

FOR over fifty years the origin of *Cologne MS. 106* has been the subject of dispute. It has been called successively the codex sent by Alcuin of Tours to Bishop Arno of Salzburg at the latter's request,[1] a copy of the same matter prepared hastily by many scribes for Hildebald, archbishop of Cologne from 794–819,[2] and a book (much fuller than that sent to Arno) prepared at Tours for, and at the request of, this same Hildebald.[3] One critic has even gone so far as to attack the possibility of ever arriving at any certain decision in this matter.[4] Another, however,[5] believes that the manuscript was certainly the product of the Tours scriptorium. And the profound mediaevalist, Wilhelm Meyer, who had made it the object of an extremely careful study before his death, had come to the same conclusion, although he left the problem unfinished.[6] To this view, so far as his published opinions are concerned, W. M. Lindsay has also declared his adherence. 'This *must* be,' he asserts, 'the MS. hurriedly prepared for Arn by Alcuin in 802.'[7]

Despite the considerable difference in detail in the views cited above, all of their propounders, except Wattenbach, seem to agree in holding that *Cologne MS. 106* was written at Tours. However, this attribution has recently been called in question by Mr E. K.

[1] Knust, *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, VII (1839), 855–859. W. Arndt, *Schrifttafeln zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen und zum Selbstunterricht* (Berlin, 1874), adds that the codex was sent in 802; he expounds further reasons for his belief in the second edition of this work (Berlin, 1878), pp. 14, 15.

[2] W. Wattenbach in a letter printed in Arndt, *op. cit.*, 2d ed., *Text*, p. 14; again in his *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie* (4th ed., Leipzig, 1886), p. 35.

[3] K. Menzel, *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 5, note 3. Menzel points out that the contents of *Cologne MS. 106* exceed considerably the contents planned by Alcuin for his letter to Arno.

[4] W. Wattenbach, *Jahresberichten für Gesch. Wiss.*, II (1887), 287, 288.

[5] M. Tangl, in Arndt, *Schrifttafeln zur Erlernung der lateinischen Palaeographie* (3d ed., Berlin, 1898), Tafeln, 44–47.

[6] His profuse (unpublished) notes and magnificent collection of photographs are deposited in the University library at Göttingen (Nachlass, XXXIX, 1).

[7] *Palaeographia Latina*, III (1924), 7; cf. also his *Notae Latinae: An Account of Abbreviations in Latin MSS of the Early Minuscule Period (c. 700–850)* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 453.

Rand, who declares, '. . . I am convinced, if I am convinced of anything, that *MS. 106* was no product of the scriptorium of St Martin's. It is clearly one of the books of Cologne.' [1] The whole question, therefore, merits a new treatment, a thorough investigation of the various claims.[2]

The importance of deciding the provenience of our manuscript must be evident from what has gone before. If it was written at Tours, it is, as Lindsay puts it, 'a milestone for the Alcuin stage of Tours minuscule,'[3] a period to which few manuscripts indeed may be assigned with any certainty. If it was not written at Tours, we should be eager not only to clear up a point that has hitherto caused confusion in the investigation of this school of writing, but to assign the codex, if possible, to its proper place (which may, of course, be Cologne). What we lose at Tours we may gain elsewhere. And if we can determine not only the provenience of the codex but also the manner in which it was produced, we shall have accomplished a task well worth while.

Cologne MS. 106 (*Darmstadt 2106*) [4] is a large parchment manuscript bound in heavy cardboard covered by parchment (the binding belonging perhaps to the eighteenth century).[5] It consists of 74 leaves (plus two modern paper fly-leaves) collected into six regular quaternions, two ternions (one of them plus a single leaf), two binions

[1] 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for -TUR,' SPECULUM II (1927), 58. Rand indicates the similarity of one of the hands of *MS. 106* (fol. 29^{v}) to one of those in another book written under Hildebald (*MS. 83*^{II}, fol. 25) and states that proof of his conviction must be postponed for discussion elsewhere.

[2] I desire to express here my debt to Mr Rand for calling my attention to this problem and for lending me notes and photographs which have materially facilitated the preparation of this article.

[3] *Pal. Lat.*, III (1924), 7. Cf. Arndt, *Schrifttafeln* (3d ed., besorgt von M. Tangl, Berlin, 1898), Tafeln 44–47: 'Die Hs. erhielte dadurch erhöhte Bedeutung, weil sie als frühestes Glied die Reihe der im übrigen erst aus den folgenden Jahrzehnten bezeugten Erzeugnisse der Tourer Schreibschule eröffnete.'

[4] The description of the MS. in the catalogue by Jaffé and Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis Codices Manuscripti* (Berlin, 1874), p. 43, is so insufficient as to be misleading. Sickel gives the MS. a brief mention in the Vienna *Akad. d. Wissensch., Sitzungsb. phil.-hist. Kl.*, CXVII (1889), 16 ff.

[5] All the MSS of the Dombibliothek at Cologne (of which this is one) seem bound in this style. The cover of our MS. contains the following: (on the back) '106 Jaffé'; (on the side) 'Jaffé CVI, Darmst. 2106, Biblioth. Eccl. Metrop. Colon. continet folia 74 Alcuini expositio in psalmos poentitentiales et alia. Codex 106.'

(one plus a single leaf) and two unions.[1] All but four of the gatherings have signatures.[2] The disposition of the leaves is noteworthy. In all the quires the outer leaves show hair-sides. But the usual arrangement in which hair-side confronts hair-side and flesh-side flesh-side throughout a gathering is here rather the exception than the rule.[3] In general, leaves of gatherings have been ruled four at a time.[4] The pages, 227 × 315 mm., formed of parchment of fair quality [5] contain 29 lines of text [6] arranged in a single column 148–155 mm. × 221–233 mm. There are narrow margins at the right (8–11 mm.) and left (8–9 mm.) and wide ones at the top (42–46 mm.) and bottom (40–49 mm.).

The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

ff. 1–1^{v}: *Liber Orationum.*[7]

ff. 2–4^{v} (line 21): *Alcuin's letter to Bishop Arno of Salzburg.*[8]

ff. 4^{v} (line 21-bottom)–5 (continued on bottom, lines 19–22, under regular text): (Prayer) *Pro Iter Agentibus.*

fol. 5 (lines 1–17; 7 lines originally left blank at end of page):

[1] The scheme of the gatherings is as follows:

I:	1+2 3/4 5	VI:	33 34 35 36/37 38 39 40
II:	6 7 8 9/10 11 12 13	VII:	41 42 43/44 45 46
III:	14 15/16 17	VIII:	47 48 49 50/51 52 53 54
IV:	18 19 20 21/22 23 24 25	IX:	55 56 57 58/59 60 61 62
V:	26 27 28/29 30+31 32	X:	63/64
		XI:	65 66 67 68/69 70 71 72
		XII:	73/74.

[2] Quires I, II, X, and XII have no signatures. Quires III to IX (inclusive) are numbered consecutively from *iii* to *viiii* in the bottom margin a bit to the right of the center (in Quire III considerably to the right). In Quire V the signature may not be *v* but *ii*. In Quire II, while there is no signature on fol. 13^{v} (there is a partial erasure here which shows something like the following: *Inno*), there appears on fol. 11^{v}, considerably to the left of the centre, the figure *v*. (Cf. the signature of Quire V.) Quire XI is signed *x* (the wrong number !).

[3] In Quires II and IV the disposition is as follows: HS (i.e., hair-flesh) HS HS SH (i.e., flesh-hair)/HS SH SH SH. This peculiar arrangement may be proved significant by further investigation. Cf. E. K. Rand, 'How many Leaves at a Time?' *Pal. Lat.*, V (1927), 52–78.

[4] The ruling has been done so sharply on fol. 40 that the parchment is torn.

[5] Some of the leaves are rather thick. A few have holes at the bottom.

[6] Occasionally 28 lines: cf. fol. 47^{v}; fol. 48^{v}.

[7] I.e., prayers for particular occasions. The rubricated title reads: *In Nomine Scae Trinitatis Incipit Liber Orationum.* The title apparently attributed to fol. 1 by Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 43 (*De precationibus per occasiones faciendis*) is not there.

[8] Written in 802. Edited by P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, VI, 742–748; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, C, 570–574.

(Poem) *Haec lege scae pater . . . sacerdos.* This prayer to Arno to be mindful of Albinus, *magister*, is a continuation of Alcuin's letter (fol. 4^{v}).

fol. 5^{v}: *De Octo Vitiis Principalibus.*

The linking of these first five pieces, puzzling though it may seem at first, can be explained quite satisfactorily.[1] The volume, as originally planned, began on fol. 6:[2] witness the table of contents on that folio. Wherever it was written, it occurred to somebody to supplement Alcuin's work with other pieces of his, or, at least, with things appropriate. A binion, therefore (i.e., 2 3/4 5) was prefixed to the original volume to afford space for additions, in particular for Alcuin's letter to Arno (the first item listed in the table of contents on fol. 6). The scribe responsible for this letter, upon finding that he had too much room, left eight lines blank at the bottom of fol. 4^{v} and devoted over half of fol. 5 to the poem, winding up with a flourish and leaving the rest of this page and all of fol. 5^{v} blank. A second scribe inserted the prayer for wanderers (probably Irish) in the blank spaces at the bottom of folios 4^{v} and 5. A third scribe (or possibly this same second scribe) felt prompted to fill fol. 5^{v} with a little discourse on the eight principal sins. Still another scribe decided to attach one more leaf (1–1^{v}) to the volume to provide room for the *Liber Orationum.*[3]

fol. 6: *Table of contents:*[4]

IN HUIUS CODICELLI CORPORE CONTINENTUR EPISTL

albini magistri ad arnonem archiepm

ITEM expositio in VIIem psalmos penitentiae

ITEM eiusdem epistola ad pueros adulescentulos de confessione peccatorum,

ITEM expositio in psalmum centesimum XVIII.

ITEM hymnus beati bedę prbi de opere sex dierum primordialium & de sex aetatibus mundi,

[1] It is hard to get the truth of the matter from Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*

[2] The quire signatures, then, must be later than the planning of the original volume. Cf. p. 29, note 2, of this article.

[3] All of these additions in Quire I (1+2 3/4 5) are early and all have touches of Irish shimmering through.

[4] Eleven lines are left blank at the bottom of the page. In other words, the table of contents was not long enough to fill the page reserved for it.

ITEM eiusdem hymnus pulcherrimus elegiaco metro compositus opere pulcherrimo de virginitate aethilrythae regine,

Expositio quoque de patrum dictis brevis in psalmos xv̄ canticū gradū.

ITEM oratio pulcra rythmico sermone conposita

ITEM beati bedę prb̄i dulcissimi versus collecti de singulis psalmis vel laude dī & oratione quod psalteriū eiusdem patris nominatur,

ITEM oratio pulcra,

ITEM alia oratio.

This table of contents is identified by Knust, *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, VII (1839), 855–859, as being practically the same as that of the codex sent by Alcuin to Arno and described by the former in a letter to the latter (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, C, cols. 407–408, Epistola clvi = Froben CXVII). There are several differences, however. Alcuin's letter does not include two items in the table of contents of our manuscript, the first (the dedicatory epistle) and the eighth (*oratio pulcra rythmico sermone composita*). Alcuin's letter does, however, include one item (*Hymnus uetus de XV psalmis graduum*) not mentioned in our table of contents, though actually contained in the body of our manuscript. Knust is hardly justified, then, in saying that our codex is actually the present sent by Alcuin to Arno. All that can be said is that our codex contains some of the material described as belonging to this present and other material which apparently had no place in it. That it is not Alcuin's gift to Arno will become clearer as the discussion in this article progresses.

This table of contents is written in the same ink (brown) and by the same hand as are the pages which follow immediately upon it (ff. 6^{v} ff.). It is undoubtedly a very early specimen of such a table. Apparently Alcuin's letter to Arno was somehow or other omitted from the volume, and its insertion later required the addition of ff. 2–5.

ff. 6^{v}–17 (only the first 13 lines are filled): *Alcuin's exposition of the penitential psalms.*[1]

[1] Edited in Migne (after Froben's standard edition, 1777), *Patr. Lat.* (1863), C, 569–596.

ff. 17 (line 17)–17^{v} (9 lines are blank at the bottom): *Versus de Contemptu Mundi* (an *abecedarium*).[1] This has been added by a later hand (possibly of *saec.* ix). Its presence as one of the 'Cambridge Songs' at Cologne, considerably before the 'Cambridge Songs' were put together, is of great interest.

ff. 18–22 (middle): a continuation of fol. 17 (first 13 lines): *Alcuin's exposition of the penitential psalms.*[2] Note the signs added later in the margins of ff. 17 and 18 to indicate the continuity of the text which had been interrupted by the insertion of the *Versus de Contemptu Mundi.* This hardly looks like the sort of copy Alcuin would send as a present, even a hurried one, to a high officer of the church.

ff. 22 (middle)–22^{v} (over two thirds): *Orationes de Septem Paenitentialibus Psalmis.*[3] Not mentioned in the table of contents on fol. 6.

fol. 22^{v} (at bottom): *De Oracione Dominica.* Not mentioned in the table of contents on fol. 6.

ff. 23–26^{v} (line 5): *Ad Pueros S$\bar{c}$i Martini de Confessione Peccatorum.*[4]

fol. 26^{v} (line 7–line 16): *Albinus ad Regem.*[5]

fol. 26^{v} (two columns, the first running from line 17 to line 29, the second from line 17 to line 23 only with the six lines at the end blank): *Enigmatical admonitions and their explanations.*[6]

Both of these pieces (*Albinus ad Regem* and the *admonitions*) may have been, and the second quite certainly was, added after the *Ad Pueros.*

[1] Edited in F. J. Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aeui* (1853–55), I, 395; in K. Breul, *The Cambridge Songs* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1915), pp. 66, 95; K. Strecker, *Die Cambridger Lieder* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 51–56.

[2] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, C, 591–596. In Froben's text the last four words ('*in secula seculorum Amen.*') are omitted.

[3] Not in Froben or in the earlier edition (1617) by Andreas Quercetanus after the exposition of the penitential psalms.

[4] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 649–656; Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, VI (1873), 574–581.

[5] Edited in Knust, *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Gesch.*, VII (1839), 857 ff., and in Jaffé, *op. cit.*, VI, 741.

[6] Ed. Knust, *loc. cit.*; Jaffé, *op. cit.*, VI, 741.

ff. 27–44 (first 3 lines): *Exposition of Psalm CXVIII.*[1]

The present piece is followed by hymns, of which two only (by Bede) are mentioned in the table.

fol. 44 (line 4 – bottom):[2] *Hymnus ad Primam, Hymnus ad Terciam, Hymnus ad Sextam, Hymnus ad Nonam.*[3] Not mentioned in the table of contents on fol. 6.

ff. 44^{v}–45: Bede's hymn *De Opere Sex Dierum Primordialium et de Sex Aetatibus Mundi.*[4]

ff. 45^{v}–46 (9 lines): Bede's hymn *De Virginitate Aethilrythae Regine.*[5]

fol. 46 (line 10–line 18): *Hymnus ad Vesperam* ('Lucis creator optime').[6]

fol. 46 (line 18–line 23): A second *Hymnus ad Vesperam* ('O lux beata trinitas').[7]

ff. 46 (line 23)–46^{v} (line 8): *Hymnus ad Completorium* ('Christe qui lux es et dies').[8]

fol. 46^{v} (line 8–line 14): A second *Hymnus ad Completorium* ('Te lucis ante terminum').[9]

fol. 46^{v} (line 15–line 23): *Oratio ad Matutina.*

fol. 46^{v} (line 23–bottom): *Ad Completorium.*

All of the items after fol. 46 (line 9) are very evidently later additions, for, according to the table of contents on fol. 6, only the two hymns of Bede were contemplated. Considerable space was alloted for these hymns in the generous manner observable before (ff. 2–5^{v}) and the blanks left (on the last folio of the quire — Quire VII) after the writing of Bede's hymns were filled in later, but not much later, by appropriate material.

[1] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, C, 597–620.

[2] Two lines have been added in the lower margin: 'Dō patri sit gloria eiusque soli filio, cū spū paraclyto & nunc & in perp&uum am̄.'

[3] Ed. H. A. Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* (Halle, 1841), I, p. 56, n. 48; p. 50, n. 40; p. 51, n. 41; p. 52, n. 42.

[4] The scribe has no title for either this item or the one immediately following, but the writer of the table of contents on fol. 6 knew the proper titles. This item is edited in Mone, *op. cit.*, I, 1.

[5] Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 20, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XCV, 204.

[6] Ed. Daniel, *op. cit.*, I, 57, n. 49.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 36, n. 26. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 33, n. 23. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 52, n. 43.

ff. 47–59^{v} (line 10): *Canticum Graduum.*[1]

fol. 59^{v} (line 14–line 28): *Hymn* ('Sanctae sator suffragator').[2] Nineteen lines were originally left vacant after the end of the *Canticum Graduum* on fol. 59^{v} (line 10). The fifteen lines containing this hymn (not mentioned in the table of contents on fol. 6) have been inserted by a later hand.

ff. 60–60^{v} (6 lines): *Verses* ('Ad dominum clamaueram'). Froben attributes these lines to Alcuin,[3] but Alcuin would not have called his own work a 'hymnus uetus de psalmis XV graduum.'[4] This is, moreover, not a part of the original plan, as indicated by the table of contents, on fol. 6.

ff. 60^{v} (line 7)–62 (line 15): '*Hymnum Luricae.*'[5] This hymn was part of the original design. It is to be identified with the *oratio pulcra rythmico sermone conposita* of the table of contents on fol. 6.

ff. 62 (line 16)–63: *Confessio.* This is not mentioned in the table of contents. It may be a later addition.

fol. 63^{v} (top): *Oratio pro inimicis.* Is this to be identified with the *ITEM oratio pulcra* of the table of contents?

ff. 63^{v} (middle)–64 (middle): *Confessio Peccatorum.* This is apparently not a part of the original plan on fol. 6.

ff. 64 (middle)–64^{v} (first quarter): *Opera S. Ambrosii.* This is perhaps to be identified with the *ITEM alia oratio* of fol. 6, but the writer of the index there fails to mention St Ambrose.

fol. 64^{v} (remainder): '*Oratio Utilis ad Animae . . .* ' (the rest of the title is not added). The scribe crowds his letters and uses a number of abbreviations in his struggle to finish this piece before the end of the page. He leaves two lines blank at the end, possibly for an *explicit.* The piece looks like an addition to the original plan. At any rate it is not mentioned on fol. 6.

[1] Ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, C, 619–638.

[2] Ed. Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, I, 365, n. 269.

[3] *Alcuini Opp.*, I, 389–390; edited also in Migne, *op. cit.*, C, 638–639, where, however, the verses are not attributed to Alcuin.

[4] In the letter to Arno (see Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, C, 407–408 [Epistola CLVI]) cited by Knust, *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, VII (1839), 855–859.

[5] Ed. Mone, *op. cit.*, I, 367, n. 270. The following signature appears in an erasure: 'EXPLICIT HYMÑ QUEM LATHACAN/SCOTIGENA FECIT.'

ff. 65–71 (middle): *Dicta Bedae Presbyteri.*[1] This is, of course, the *beati bedę p̄rbi dulcissimi uersus collecti* of the table of contents on fol. 6.

ff. 71 (middle)–71^{v} (line 13): *Prayers.* Not mentioned in the table of contents. (Ff. 71–71^{v} (first 2 lines): '*Gratias tibi ago domine ihesu non solum uoce . . .*'; fol. 71^{v} (line 3–line 13): '*Deus dilecti et Benedicti filii tui ihesu christi pater per quem agnationem . . .*').

ff. 71^{v} (line 14)–72^{v}: *List of the provinces and cities of Gaul.*[2] It should be noted that this item is not mentioned in the letter of Alcuin to Arno cited by Knust, *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, VII (1839), 855–859. Despite the numerous errors in this list one fact at least may be brought to light. While the scribe seems to spell the names of places in the vicinity of Cologne almost as badly as those of places in the vicinity of Tours,[3] he feels it necessary in the former case to supply the alternative German names, which are better known to him and his associates than the Latin.[4] This would seem to point to the fact that, *ceteris paribus*, this scribe came from Cologne rather than from *Tours.*[5]

[1] Ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 569–579: *Collectio psalterii Bedae.*

[2] Ed. Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff., Appendix XV, where it is pointed out that this list should be compared with M. B. Guérard, *Essai sur le système des divisions territoriales de la Gaule* (Paris, 1832), pp. 12–34. Jaffé-Wattenbach reproduce the list correctly in every detail except for the omission (in printing) of an *M* before '&ropolis ciū Remorum.' The list as it appears in the MS. is filled with errors, chiefly orthographical. It must have been written by an ignorant scribe.

[3] In the two German provinces he misspells four names out of six, but makes only one serious blunder: *Vangiorum* for *Vangionum.* In Provincia Lugdunensis III (the seat of Tours), on the other hand, he misspells eight out of nine names and makes at least two bad breaks: *Chorisoporum* for *Coriosopitum*, and *Venotum* for *Venetum.*

[4] Alternative names are occasionally set down in provinces other than those in question, but in Provincia Germania I and Provincia Germania II such names are added *for nearly all* the cities. The text reads:

'*Provincia Germania I:* metropolis civitas Magonciacensium; civitas Argentoracensium, hoc est Stratisburgo; civitas Nemetum, hoc est Spira; civitas Vangiorum, hoc est Uuarmacia. *Provincia Germania II:* metropolis civitas Agripinensium, hoc est Colonia; civitas Tungrorum.'

[5] It seems improbable that we have to deal with a scribe from Tours who is attempting to supply contemporary equivalents for ancient names. If such were the case, why should he show such familiarity with the two German provinces and such ignorance of the other provinces (including his own)?

ff. 73–74^{v}: *Litany.* (Not mentioned in the table of contents.) This item, like the one above it, is not mentioned in the letter of Arno to Alcuin cited by Knust (*loc. cit.*). If this is a litany prepared at Tours, where is St Martin? He does not appear until the middle of the second column on the second page (fol. 73^{v}). Saint Gereon, on the other hand, who presides over the destinies of Cologne, is in the middle of the *first* page (middle of second column, fol. 73). This hardly looks like the work of the scribes of St Martin's.[1]

The description of the contents of our manuscript has already brought several interesting facts to light. First, the contents are not the same as those in the book sent by Alcuin to Arno.[2] Again, the use of alternative German names (in many more cases than alternative French names) in the list of the provinces and cities of Gaul (ff. 71^{v}, line 14–73^{v}) points to Cologne as the origin of our manuscript rather than Tours. Lastly, the prior position accorded St Gereon rather than St Martin in the litany (ff. 73–74^{v}) points in exactly the same direction. Because of its contents alone, then, our manuscript may be assigned, tentatively at least, to Cologne.

It will be our task now to test this assignment with other criteria. The nature of the script is, of course, of the first importance. It appears, after careful inspection of the text, that *Cologne MS. 106* shows the mark of no less than twenty-one different scribes, an unusually large number. Just how much work each accomplished is tabulated below:

Quire	Scribes
I (ff. 1–5):	*A* (1–1^{v}). *B* (2–4, line 9). *C* (4, line 9–4^{v}, line 21; 5, lines 1–17). *D* (4^{v}, line 21–bottom; 5, lines 19–22; 5^{v}, probably; also 2 lines added in lower margin of 44). *B* and *C* add Alcuin's letter to Arno. All four hands are late (but not very late) additions.

[1] For a characteristic Martinian litany, cf. Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Nouv. Acquis. lat. 1589*, ff. 110^{v} ff.

[2] See pp. 31 and 35 of this article.

II (ff. 6–13): *E:* table of contents and the beginning of the *Expositio in psalmos poenitentiales* (the second item in this table, the first being omitted).

III (ff. 14–17): *E* (14–16, line 6; 16^{v}–17, line 13): continuation of the *Expositio*. *F* (16, line 6–bottom) relieves *E*. G (17, line 17–17^{v}, all except 9 lines left blank at bottom), a later hand, adds an item not planned for in the space left vacant at the end of the quire.

IV (ff. 18–25): *H* (18–22, line 12; 23-25^{v}): continuation of the *Expositio* where *E* leaves off (on 17); beginning of the *Ad Pueros* (third item in the table of contents). *I* (22, line 14–22^{v}, line 18) adds an item in part of the space left blank by *H*. *J* adds another item (22^{v}, lines 18–27) in the remainder of the space.

V (ff. 26–32): *K* (26–26^{v}, line 5; 27–32^{v}): continuation of the *Ad Pueros;* beginning of the exposition of *Psalm* cxviii (fourth item in the table of contents). *L* (26^{v}, line 7–bottom) adds two items in the space left blank by *K*.

VI (ff. 33–40): *M:* continuation of the exposition of *Psalm* cxviii.

VII (ff. 41–46): *N* (41–44, line 3; 44^{v}–46, line 9): end of the exposition of *Psalm* cxviii; two hymns by Bede (fifth and sixth items in the table of contents). *O* (44, line 4–bottom, not including 2 lines by *D* in the lower margin; 46, line 10–46^{v}, line 14) adds three hymns in the first place, and four hymns in the second place, left blank by *N*. *P* (46^{v}, line 14–bottom) adds two prayers in the space left blank by *N*.

VIII (ff. 47–54): *N:* beginning of the *Canticum Graduum* (seventh item in the table of contents).

IX (ff. 55–62): *Q* (55–59^{v}, line 10; 60–60^{v}, line 6): continuation of *Canticum Graduum*. *I* (59^{v}, line 14–bottom) adds an item not planned for in the space left blank by *Q* and (60^{v}, line 6–bottom) starts the *Hymnum Luricae* (probably the eighth item in the table of contents). (For previous work by *I* see

Quire IV.) *R* (61–62) continues the *Hymnum Luricae* and starts a new item (not part of the plan) on 62–62^{v}.

X (ff. 63–64): *R* completes the new item (started on 62) on 63; writes two items (probably to be identified with the tenth and eleventh items in the table of contents; note that the ninth item is skipped), the first on 63^{v}, the second on 64–64^{v}; and inserts two items not originally planned for on 63^{v}–64 and on 64^{v}.

XI (ff. 65–72): *S* (65, top, to first word of fourth line from bottom: 65^{v}–71^{v}, line 13): the *Versus Collecti* of Bede (the ninth item in the table of contents, appearing *after* the tenth and eleventh items). *S* adds (71–71^{v}) prayers not originally planned for. *T* (65, second word of fourth line from bottom to bottom) relieves *S*. *U* (71^{v}–72^{v}) adds an item not planned for in the space left blank by *S*.

XII (ff. 73–74): *R* adds a litany (not previously planned for).

The manner in which our manuscript was put together can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy. The items which were originally intended to form the contents of the volume are listed in the table on fol. 6. The text was parcelled out for simultaneous copying,[1] in regular order for the most part,[2] among seven scribes: *E*, *H*, *K*, *M*, *N*, *Q*, and *S*. Two of these scribes, *E* and *N*, were given larger assignments than the others and consequently two quires of

[1] The proof of this parcelling out is found in the fact that a scribe often finishes his assignment before the end of the quire; hence an awkward gap is often left before the beginning of the subsequent quire. So, e.g., while *F* finishes his assignment in the middle of fol. 17 (the gathering ends with 17^{v}), *H* does not begin his assignment (the continuation of *F*'s) until the next quire (i.e., the gathering originally given to him for his part of the copying). The same state of affairs holds true for all the gatherings.

[2] The last two items listed in the table of contents on fol. 6 were apparently set down out of their regular order (i.e., *before* Bede's *Versus Collecti*) because they were shorter than the *Versus* and could therefore be more easily grouped with the end of the *Canticum Graduum* and the whole of the *Hymnum Luricae* ('*oratio pulcra rythmico sermone conposita*' in the table) to make up a single gathering and no more. The longer item (Bede's *Versus*) was then quite naturally relegated to the subsequent quire.

nisi qualiter redemptori & iudici nostro placeamus: scien
ter quod hic semper non erimus sed malicie quecdē uita
semper erimus. Quē miser est qui de hu ius mortali
tatis labore in maiorem in mortalitatis peruenit & la
borem. & quē felix est qui de hoc labore transit &
in requiem. cu ius nullus erit ūmquē finis. Pro inde
non transitoria cer amemus diuitias: sed semper manen
tes. dñs ihs non nobis promisit honorem transeun
tem: sed permanentem. Non gloriā terrenā sed celestē
Non hic longeuitatem uitae ubi peccato necesamur labore
uiuimus. Dolore morimur. sed in beatitudine perpetue aetē
nam nobis promisit uitam. & non periturā respondit di
uitiā: sed semper permanentē. Huius uero seculi diuitie

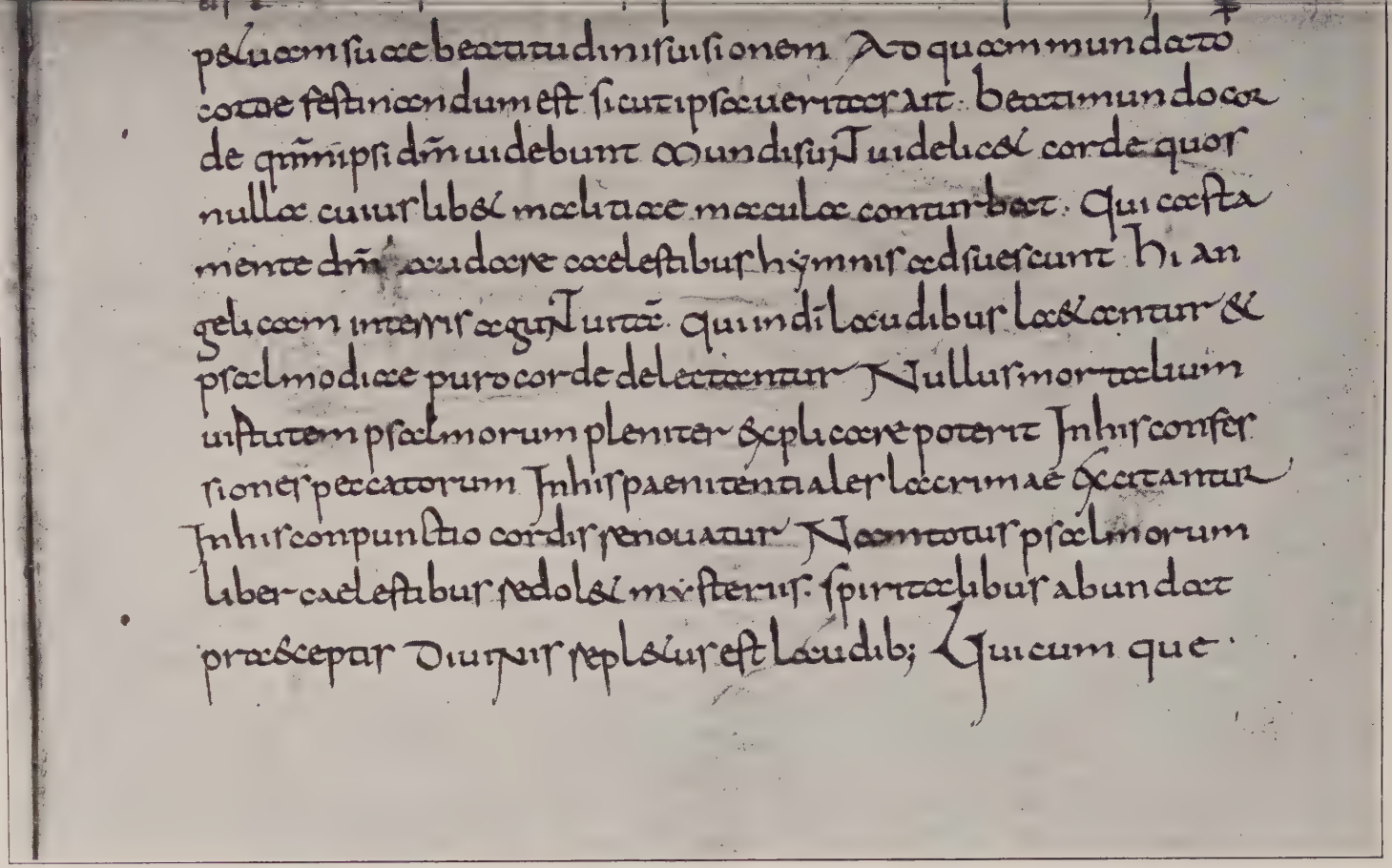


PLATE I

Cologne, Dombibliothek, *MS. 106*, fol. 4.

parchment each, rather than one. All the scribes completed their assignments except *Q*, who for some reason [1] was relieved, first by *I* and then by *R*. Now since *R* saw that there would be hardly enough room at the end of Quire IX for the last two items in the table of contents, he added (no doubt with the consent, or at the instance, of the director of the *scriptorium*) a union (ff. 63–64) to supply the necessary space.[2] The parts left blank at the end of Quire IX (on 62–62^{v}), as well as those left blank in the union (on the first part of 63; on 63^{v}–64; on 64^{v}), he filled in with items not originally planned for. For some unknown reason the first item in the table of contents (Alcuin's letter to Arno) was not assigned to anyone. The error was remedied by inserting the letter in an additional quire prefixed to the rest. Quire XII, finally, was added by *R* (again, no doubt, with the director's consent) to afford space for a litany. The remaining additions, numerous as they are, are to be attributed to various hands, many of them, however, nearly, if not quite, contemporary with the hands of the original manuscript.[3]

A description of the hands follows. I have set down detailed accounts for those which are represented by facsimiles in Arndt,[4] in Rand,[5] or in this article. For the hands for which no facsimiles are easily available I have noted merely the most significant features.[6]

Inasmuch as frequent reference is made in the descriptions which follow to the style of Tours in the early ninth century, it will be well to point out here just what this style is. An excellent example of it occurs in the Vatican Livy (*Vat. Reg. lat. 762*), written at Tours,

[1] It may be, of course, that this gathering was originally assigned to more than one scribe.

[2] That *R* made this addition and that the union was not originally given out are shown by the fact that it is unsigned, while the quires preceding and following are labelled respectively *viiii* and *x*. In other words, there is no place for it in the original scheme.

[3] Hand *I*, which makes some of the additions on fol. 22 and again on fol. 59^{v}, starts one of the items originally planned for (the *Hymnum Luricae* fol. 60^{v}). Hand *I*'s additions, then, cannot be much later than the original text. Similarly, compare the additions made by Hands *R* and *S*, both of which are also responsible for items listed in the table of contents.

[4] *Schrifttafeln zur Erlernung der lateinischen Palaeographie*, 3d ed. (besorgt von M. Tangl; Berlin, 1898), Tafeln 39, 40, 44–47.

[5] 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for -TUR,' SPECULUM II (1927), 52–65, Plate I.

[6] Hands *D*, *J*, *L*, *P*, *T*, which contain nothing especially pertinent to the questions in hand, are not given even brief mention. It would obviously be confusing to the reader for me to present too many minute items in this article. I shall reserve fuller descriptions for a later treatment.

either under Alcuin [1] or just before his time.[2] Like *Cologne MS. 106*, this codex was written by numerous scribes — a fact which makes it an excellent basis of comparison here. A second manuscript, moreover, London, *Brit. Mus., Egerton 2831* (St Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam*), done at Tours before Alcuin's time,[3] affords us a fine example of that part of the pre-Alcuinian period in which Continental Merovingian and Irish script predominate. Fortunately the readers of this article can be referred to good facsimiles for several of the folios of both of these manuscripts: for the Vatican Livy–Rand and Howe, *art. cit.;* for *Egerton MS. 2831* — the *New Palaeographical Society*, plates 107 (fol. 48) and 108 (fol. 110), and the *Liebart Collection* (1486–513 = fol. 19^{v}; 1487–514 = fol. 29; 1488–515 = fol. 71; 1489–516 = fol. 110).

Hand *A*

It is to be noted in particular that our book starts off, not with the usual hierarchy of well-defined scripts peculiar to Tours (square capitals, rustic capitals, uncials and the like),[4] but with two lines of rustic capitals, uncials, and minuscules badly mixed.

Hand *B*

(See Plate I, fol. 4, top; see Arndt, *op. cit.*, Taf. 44 = fol. 2)

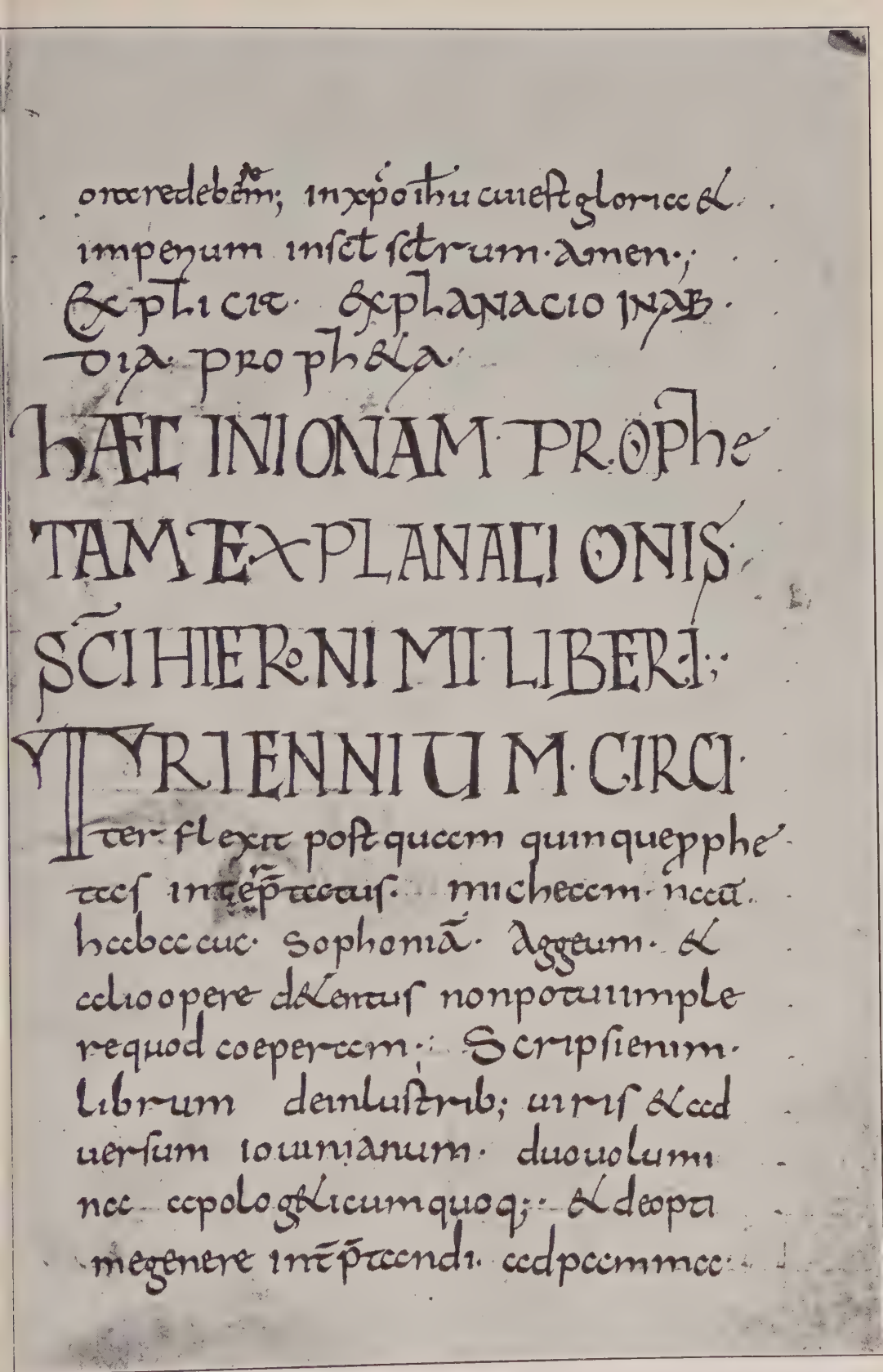
This hand begins Alcuin's letter to Arno not only without the usual Tours hierarchy of well-defined scripts but without a title of any sort. This is hardly the way to begin a book intended as a present, even if the work had to be hurried. Hand *B* is not unlike Hand *A*. It is larger, however, and tends to group the letters in twos and threes.

[1] Wilhelm Köhler, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften, Paläograph., kunsthist., liter. u. bibliotheksgeschichtl. Untersuchungen. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtst. von Hermann Degering* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1926).

[2] Rand and Howe, 'The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours,' *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, I (1917), 1–38.

[3] W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, 461: '(From Tours — "saec. viii — foll. 1–109 in Continental, foll. 110–143 in Anglo-Saxon minuscule"). If, as seems likely, Cologne *106* belongs to Alcuin's time, this MS. must be earlier than Alcuin.'

[4] For an account of this hierarchy of scripts and of the preservation of the purity of single styles of script at Tours, see L. Delisle, 'Mémoire sur l'école calligraphique de Tours au ix^{e} siècle,' *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* XXXII, 1re Partie (Paris: 1885). Some Tours manuscripts of the early ninth century do not show this hierarchy of scripts.



orcredebem; inxpo ihu cuiest glorice &
impenum insct sctrum amen.;
Explicit explanacio ihe
oia prophta

HAEC INIONAM PROPHE
TAM EXPLANATIONIS
SCI HIERONIMI LIBER I;
TRIENNIUM CIRCI
ter flexit post quecm quinquepphe
tcc intpcatus micheccm nccā
hcdbcccuc sophoniā aggeum &
cchiooperc dclcratus nonpotuiumple
requod coepercem; Scripsienim
librum deinlustrib; uirīs &ccd
uersum iouinianum duouolumi
nec ccpologticumquoq; & deopti
megenere intptcendi ccdpcemmcc

PLATE II

Cologne, Dombibliothek, *MS. 54*, fol. 41.

a is represented by both the minuscule and the double-*c* forms. In the latter the upper extremities of both *c*-parts have heavy dots (as in Hand *A*). *g* resembles somewhat the figure 3-*g* of Tours. The back of *h* is tall and tends to curve toward the left after the Merovingian fashion; this is a mark of relatively early date.

Ligatures are frequent in the case of *æ* (often written separately — *ae* — however, or with the cedilla), *st*, *re*, and *ræ*. *et* is represented by the usual symbol *&* (made in three strokes) and *ex* by a ligature not unlike this symbol, with its final stroke going all the way through the line.

Abbreviations are fairly common.[1]

[1] No abbreviations have been cited here and none will be cited in the description of the subsequent hands unless they be unusual or apparently characteristic of an individual hand. A fairly complete list of the ordinary abbreviations in *all* twenty-one hands and of some of the more unusual abbreviations in the hands not described in this article would include the following:

dixit: dix̄
esse: ēe ·ē·e·
est: ē ·ē· ÷
fratres, *etc.*: frs̄ frībus
gloria: gl̄a
id est: ·l·
liber: lib
meus: m̄s
nobis: nob
nomen: nom̄
non: n̄
noster, *etc.*: nr̄, nr̄a, nr̄i, nr̄ae, nr̄ę, nr̄m, nr̄orum, nr̄arum, nr̄is, nr̄as
omnia: o m̄a
omnes: o m̄
nunc: n̄c
post: p̓
quam: q m̄
quasi: q s̄i
quem: q m̄
qui: *q* with small *i* above (Hand *R* only).
quibus: The sign for *qui* described just above plus *b;* (Hand *D* only).
quod: qd̄
quoniam: q n̄m; qN̄m (Hand *H* only).
quos: q s̄
saecula, *etc.*: sc̄la, sc̄li, sc̄lo, sc̄lm, sc̄lorum, sc̄l *plus the usual abbreviation for* -orum (see below)
secundum: secdm
sicut: sic̄ (Hands *N* and *R* only).
sunt: s̄t
tempore: tempr̄
vel: ul
verbis: uerb
vester, *etc.*: urae, urę, urorum, uris
vobis: uob

Syllabic Abbreviations

bus: b; b: (Hand *M* only).
con: c̄ (Hand *R* only).
m: a horizontal stroke over a vowel.
men: m̄

The dot at the middle of a letter seems to be used for both half- and full-stop.

On the whole this hand does not look like one of Tours.

Hand *C*

(See Plate I, fol. 4, bottom)

This elegant hand gives something of a block effect. Its letters are formed with thinner strokes than are those of Hand *B* and tend to slant toward the left. It does not suggest the manner of Tours. It has certain Irish touches: cf., e.g., the ornate capital *Q* at the end of fol. 4.

a is represented by both the double *c*-form and the ordinary minuscule, the latter being rare at first and commoner later on. *d* appears in its minuscule and uncial forms. *g* has two varieties, both of which tend to be almost closed at the bottom: the first is wide open at the top, the second closed. Both varieties are used regardless of any rule or order. *m* and *n* appear not only in the ordinary minuscule form but occasionally with hooks bending

mus: ṁ *m* with a stroke slanting downward (Hand *L* only)
nus: ṅ
orum: the usual compendium for *-or* plus a curved, downward cross-stroke; the same except with cross-stroke hooked at both ends (Hand *P* only).
per: p̥
prae: p̄
pro: p with a curved, downward stroke attached at left.
que: q̥;
ter: t̄
tus: ṫ
us: an apostrophe over a letter.

Nomina Sacra

amen: a$\overline{\text{m}}$
apostolorum: apł plus the usual abbreviation for *-orum*.
deus, *etc.*: d$\overline{\text{s}}$, d$\overline{\text{i}}$, d$\overline{\text{o}}$, d$\overline{\text{m}}$
dominus, *etc.*: d$\overline{\text{ns}}$, d$\overline{\text{ni}}$, d$\overline{\text{no}}$, d$\overline{\text{nm}}$, dN$\overline{\text{m}}$ (Hand *N* only), d$\overline{\text{ne}}$
Iesus, *etc.*: i$\overline{\text{hs}}$, i$\overline{\text{hu}}$, i$\overline{\text{hm}}$
Israel: $\overline{\text{isrl}}$
sanctus, *etc.*: s$\overline{\text{cs}}$, s$\overline{\text{ca}}$, s$\overline{\text{cm}}$, s$\overline{\text{ci}}$, s$\overline{\text{cae}}$, s$\overline{\text{cæ}}$, s$\overline{\text{cę}}$, s$\overline{\text{cam}}$, s$\overline{\text{co}}$, s$\overline{\text{carum}}$, s$\overline{\text{cos}}$, s$\overline{\text{cis}}$
words including forms of *sanctus:* s$\overline{\text{cissimo}}$, s$\overline{\text{cissimam}}$, s$\overline{\text{cissime}}$, s$\overline{\text{cificatio}}$, s$\overline{\text{cific\&ur}}$, s$\overline{\text{citati}}$, s$\overline{\text{cuario}}$
spiritus, *etc.*: $\overline{\text{sps}}$, $\overline{\text{spm}}$, $\overline{\text{spu}}$, sp$\overline{\text{itales}}$
Christus, *etc.*: $\overline{\text{xps}}$, $\overline{\text{xpi}}$, $\overline{\text{xpo}}$, $\overline{\text{xpm}}$, $\overline{\text{xpe}}$, $\overline{\text{xpiani}}$

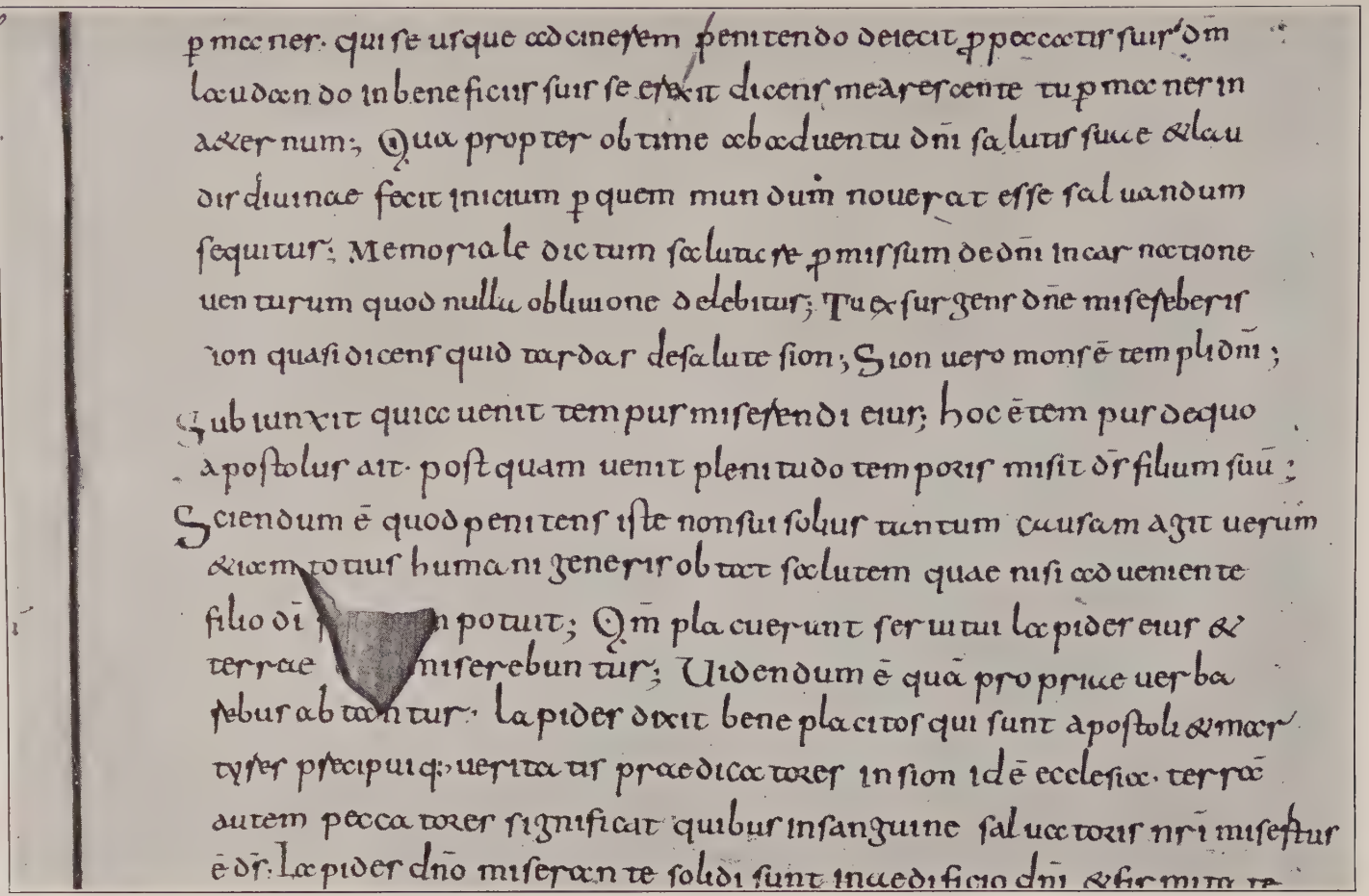


PLATE III

Cologne, Dombibliothek, *MS.* *106*, fol. 16.

toward the right at the ends of all the strokes. In addition, both letters are occasionally semiuncials, *m* at the end of a word and *n* within a word. *y* is always dotted.

Ligatures are frequent: *&* is formed by writing an *e* with a long central tongue so that a downstroke may be added to form an inverted *t*. There is a somewhat similar ligature for *ex*, and, curiously enough, for *ec*. Though *ae* is sometimes written as two separate letters, it is often compressed to *æ* or represented by *e* with the cedilla. *ct*, *rt* and *st* respectively are regular combinations. The ligature of capital N and T appears at the end of a word. *or*, and once *ur*, also occur. High-backed *r* is joined regularly with *e* and with *o* (once with the stroke of the *o* continued into a long upward flourish).

The only sign of punctuation is the dot at the middle of a letter.

Hand *E*

(See Plate IV, fol. 6^{v}; see Arndt, *op. cit.*, Taf. 45 = fol. 15)

The table of contents is written in the same ink (brown) and the same plain, smooth hand as the text of the pages following. It is a very early specimen of such a table. Note the rude, but even, uncials of the first line. In the table uncial (and semiuncial) *m* and semiuncial *N* (with a long left-hand shaft) appear.

Particularly worthy of attention in Hand *E* is the frequent appearance of a dot or comma in the circle or circles of a capital or uncial letter, especially *O* and *Q*, but also *B*, *D*, *H*, *M*, *P*, *U*. At times (as on fol. 15) the tail of the *Q* starts with this dot. This phenomenon is so frequent in appearance as to constitute a distinct trait.[1] An Irish capital *B* appears on fol. 14.

Minuscule *a* and double c-*a* both occur. *b* and *l* at times tend to curve in the Irish way. *d* appears as the ordinary minuscule, as the broad-based form with the top of the loop bowed in, and as the uncial. The top of the *g* is usually closed.

Ligatures occur as follows: *ct* (but sometimes *c* and *t* are separate), *rt*, *ra* (with double c-*a*), *ri* (with *i-longa;* occasionally only), *ro* (with

[1] The sporadic appearances of this phenomenon in MSS of Tours hardly constitute a trait of the school.

upward stroke at end of word), *st*, *nt* (minuscule *n* with its right-hand stroke extended along the line and crossed by a down stroke), *en* (not always; sometimes with a rather tall *e*), *ei* (*i-longa*). *e* with the cedilla (less commonly *æ* except in the ligature for *aet*) represents *ae*. *&* is peculiar in that the bottom is usually open.

Notable abbreviations are b;· and b; (*bus*), q:, and q; (*que*), ej.: (*eius*), N$\bar{\text{r}}$a (with uncial *N*), p:, quam (*postquam*), s̊um (i.e., *suum;* a sort of sickle-shaped *u* above the minuscule *u*).

It should be noted that *-tur* is not always abbreviated, but that when it is, it is represented by what Lindsay calls [1] the Italian sign (a horizontal stroke with a small vertical cap at either end) over the *t*.[2]

The dot is used for the half stop; the comma for the full stop (just the opposite of our present-day system). Both are placed on or near the line. Later marks have occasionally been added. The vocative *O* is marked with an acute accent,[3] as often in manuscripts of Tours.

The hand is somewhat compressed on fol. 14^{v} and somewhat expanded on fol. 17, but nevertheless the same. It has a slight resemblance in spots (cf. fol. 15, e.g.) to the work of Vera in *Cologne MS. 67*.[4]

Hand *F*

(See Plate III, fol. 16)

The lines are thinner and lighter than are those of Hand *E*. At first double c-*a* and minuscule *a* are used, as in the preceding hand, but later on open *a* and broad closed *a* are also used. The *g* is open at both top and bottom. At the end of a line semiuncial *m* sometimes appears. Ligatures for *et*, *or* and *re* are frequent. Notable is the abbreviation q: (*que*).[5] *-tur* is always written out in full.

Noteworthy is the capital *Q* with one dot in the middle and another outside and at the bottom. The dot or comma in the centre

[1] *Notae Latinae*, p. 373.

[2] Cf. *lapidaretur* (fol. 10), *continetur* (fol. 11).

[3] See fol. 15^{v}.

[4] See A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica*, II. Serie, Band I, Lief. VI, Tafel 10 (fol. 2^{v}).

[5] The comma after *q:* is added by a later hand in a lighter ink.

Iudicium ihesu xpi pro ecclesia psalm dauid

In finem ait ecclesiam significat hymnus ecclesiasticum diuinitus
mysterii alicuius lege compositus. Pro octauae uero dni significat
ecclesiam quando finitae saeculi ebdomadae adiudicandum uenit
mundum, Unde et psalmus iste cum tremore maximo fecit
Intuum in hoc psalmo humanum postulat genus corrigi quidem
et iudicari ado sed non in ira et furore,

DNE Ne in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua corripias
me, Ira enim longae indignationis furor repentinae autem accensio.
sedire in ecclesiam impiorum significat paenam furor ignem
purgatorium deque utroque uir paenitens se liberari ado postulat
Miserere mei dne quoniam infirmus sum sana me dne quoniam conturbata
sunt omnia ossa mea Ecclesiae misericordiae et sanationis affectu

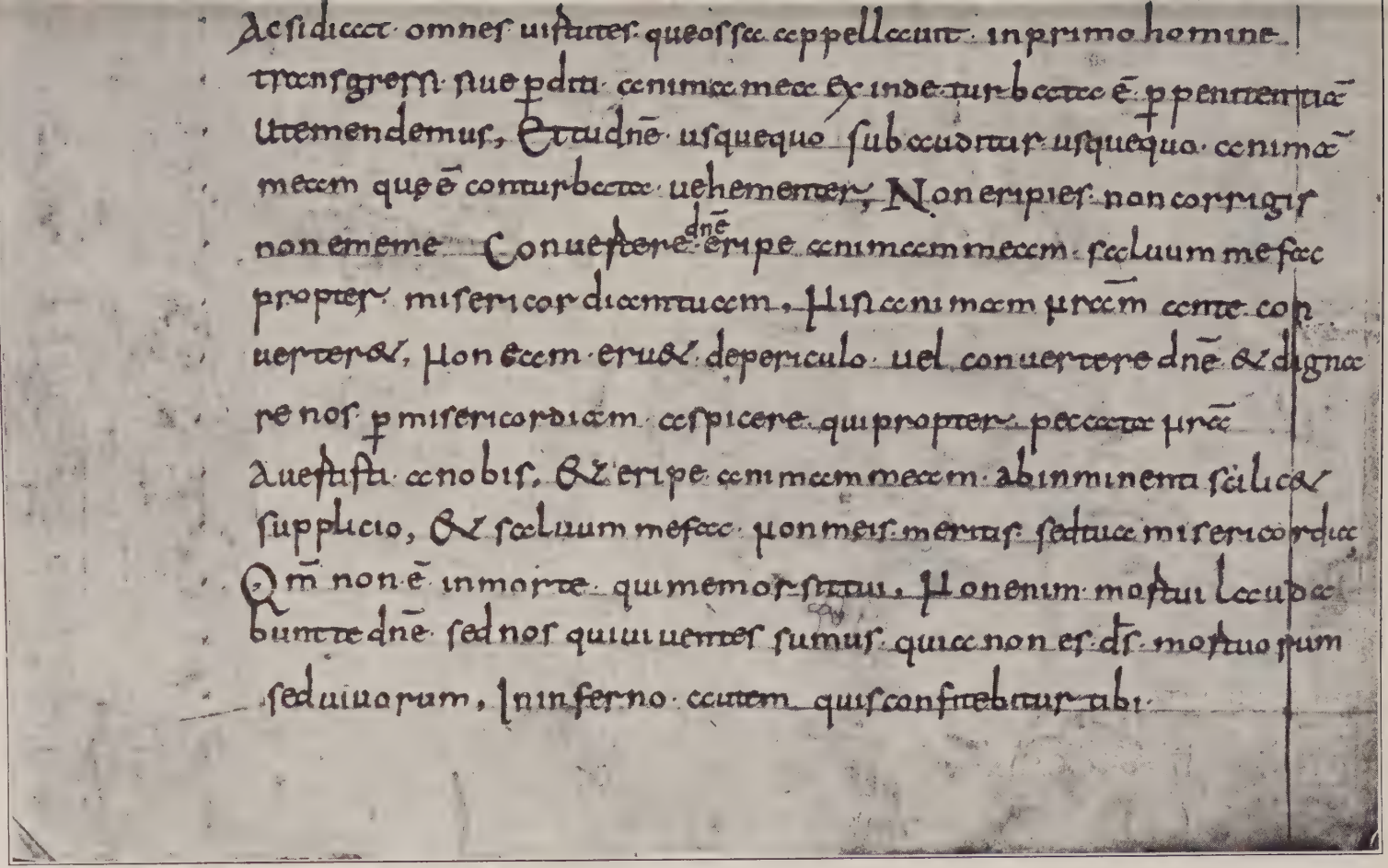


Plate IV

Cologne, Dombibliothek, *MS. 106*, fol. 6^{v}.

of a capital as a distinct trait has already been mentioned in the case of Hand *E*.

Whenever Hand *F* quotes verses from the *Psalms*, it fails not only to give them a distinctive script which will set them off from the body of the text but even to give them the ordinary honor of indention.

Hand *G*

The title-line and the capitals of the abecedary which follow are rubricated.

Hand *H*

The lemmata (i.e., the verses quoted from the *Psalms*) are treated in a variety of ways. They are indicated sometimes by red initials; sometimes by a complete line of red uncials; and sometimes by no means at all. The use of red uncials suggests, to be sure, the Alcuinian manner, but somehow or other the uncials do not seem quite right.[1] If anything may be gleaned from the variety of usage above, it is the suspicion that our manuscript may have been carelessly copied from a book of Tours, which would hardly have permitted the irregularities described.

Hand *I*

The hand is in many respects a good imitation of Tours, but it is not the real thing.

Hand *K*

(See Arndt, *op. cit.*, Taf. 46 = fol. 27; E. K. Rand, 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for -TUR,' Speculum II [1927], 52, Plate I, fol. 29^{v})

This hand is compact. Its tall letters are heavily clubbed. Its *g* in particular has a distinct form, with a vertical shaft, top closed and bottom nearly (sometimes actually) closed. The regular minuscule *a* seems to be the only form used. Minuscule *m* and *n* resemble the script of Tours. Uncial *N* is used frequently with a minuscule. *y* is dotted.

[1] Cf. the *TITULUS* on fol. 20, e.g.

The common ligatures are *&* (in 3 strokes, the top of the *e* and the vertical shaft of the inverted *t* being the second and third strokes respectively), *nt* (uncial *N* with a stroke over the right hand shaft; at the end of a line), *orum*, *re* (high-backed *r*), *ri* (high-backed *r* and *i-longa*), *rum* (high-backed *r* with stroke slanting down toward left), *st*, *ti* (with *i-longa*).

The following abbreviations are to be noted: em̄dari (*emendari*), m̄tis (*mentis*), mem̄to (*memento*). Especially important are the H-symbol for *enim* (supplied above the line on fol. 32^{v}), the 'Insular symbol' for *reliqua* [1] and the 2-symbol for *-tur*.

The original sign of punctuation seems to have been the dot at the center of a letter. Additional strokes are by a later hand — the hand, no doubt, responsible for the slanting strokes over the preposition *a*.

Contrast the careful use of uncials (in black) for headings (on ff. 27, 27^{v}, 29, 29^{v}, etc.) with the less formal means previously used in our codex for denoting lemmata.[2] A manuscript written at Tours in the early ninth century would certainly have been equally formal with the lemmata. Can it be, then, that Hand *K* is copying a Tours original more faithfully than Hand *H*?

Hand *M*

Notable is the fact that only the first word (or two words) of lemmata are given in red uncials. Compare the varying treatment of lemmata in Hands *F* and *H*. Possibly we may say that each scribe was treating in his own way the more formal usage of a Tours original.

Hand *N*

(See Arndt, *op. cit.*, Taf. 39 = fol. 43^{v})

This hand, a rather attractive Insular [3] script, betrays many evidences of Continental influence. The hand varies somewhat from

[1] W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 30: *rl* with a horizontal line through the top of the *l*.

[2] See the description of Hand *H*, p. 45, above.

[3] The script, in general appearance, certainly seems Irish, but there are many Anglo-Saxon traits: the abbreviations, e.g., the uncials and minuscules on fol. 47, etc. Perhaps we have to deal with an Irish scribe who has spent some time in an English scriptorium.

folio to folio: on fol. 46, e.g., it becomes very cursive; on ff. 47 ff. it is regular again and extremely compact.[1]

There are four varieties of *a*: open *a*, minuscule *a* with the top strokes meeting to form a fairly sharp point, minuscule *a* with the right hand stroke slightly overhanging at the top, minuscule *a* with the right hand stroke projecting considerably at the top. *b* is occasionally curved, as one might expect in Anglo-Saxon script, but it is more often straight. *d* has both the regular open form of the pointed Insular script and the uncial form. *e* is high-topped. *g* occasionally resembles the semiuncial *g* of Tours, but more often it has the regular Insular shape. Regardless of its form, however, *g* is always open at the top and closed at the bottom (except in the cursive lines on fol. 46, in which the *g* is open at the bottom). *l* is not particularly curved but it frequently descends well below the line. Uncial *N* appears rarely. *r* (the minuscule form) and *s* descend even further below the line quite regularly. Twice at least *u* is written above a letter.[2] The lower left-hand part of *x* is often a double line, one part of which is sometimes joined with the preceding letter.

Ligatures are frequently employed. Note *&* made in three strokes (the base, the top loop, the side stroke) and the numerous combinations of high-backed *e* with other letters (*g*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *p*, *t*, etc.). *c* and *t* are combined but rarely; *s* and *t* quite regularly.[3] *æ* is represented fairly often by *e* with the cedilla turned toward the right, — a phenomenon apparently rare in Insular manuscripts.

The abbreviations are more numerous than are those of most of the hands that precede Hand *N*. The following are to be noted: a distinctive stroke over a letter for *m*,[4] *b* plus an apothecary's *ounce* sign (*bus*), *q* plus the same sign (*que; quae* on fol. 41^{v}), *c* (*con*), the *h*-symbol for *autem*, ł (*vel*), $\overline{nc}$ (*nunc*). There are several com-

[1] At first glance the hand on ff. 47 ff., seems to be quite different from Hand *N;* a careful inspection, however, reveals it to be the same.

[2] Fol. 51: *perdidimus;* fol. 51^{v}: *tempus*.

[3] The ligature of *s* and *t* does not seem to be a characteristic of Insular script.

[4] The stroke resembles an elongated *s* tilted toward the left. The left-hand end is hooked upward; the right-hand end downward. This stroke is occasionally a mere extension of the letter over which it appears.

pendia of special importance.[1] Four are common to Anglo-Saxon and Continental scripts but not to Irish: *nob᷑* (*nobis*),[2] *p̄* (*per*),[3] *qd̄* (*quod*),[4] *quō* (*quoniam*). One is specifically Anglo-Saxon:[5] *t* with a sinuous line for *-tur* [6] (once for *-tor*, on fol. 53^{v}, possibly by mistake). And two, finally, are common enough on the Continent but rare in England or Ireland: *s* with the comma at the middle of the right-hand side for *sed* [7] and *sic̄* for *sicut*.[8]

The punctuation is simple enough. The comma at the middle of a letter represents both half- and full-stop. A stroke is often placed over the pronouns *me*, *se*, *te*, etc.[9]

The treatment of the lemmata is interesting. As in Hand *M*, the plan was to write only the first word (or two words) in red uncials.[10] Here, however, the plan is not always carried out. On fol. 43^{v} and fol. 53^{v}, e.g., while spaces are left for lemmata, the rubricator has failed to do his part and the words have been supplied in light brown ink by a hasty Continental hand nearly contemporary with that of the text.[11] On fol. 47 a very English sort of uncial appears and on fol. 48 both English uncials and (once only) minuscules.

In contradistinction to the orderly arrangement of lines of poetry exhibited in most of the well-known Tours manuscripts of the early ninth century, we find, on fol. 44^{v}, that four verses of a strophe are written as two continuous lines, the first breaking off anywhere, regardless of form or sense. On fol. 45^{v}, again, we discover that the beginning of each couplet with a capital letter is the only mark that distinguishes the verses from ordinary continuous prose.

[1] The first four abbreviations herewith described would seem to do away with the possibility of our script being Irish (rather than Anglo-Saxon). Of course, every one of these four might be traced to Continental (rather than Anglo-Saxon) influence, but, if they were so traced, appeal could still be had to the purely Anglo-Saxon sign for *-tur*.

[2] Lindsay, *N.L.*, pp. 134 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 175 ff. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 254 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 262 ff. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 372 ff. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 283 ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 286 ff. Common in Anglo-Saxon script in Continental *scriptoria*.

[9] Over *es* on fol. 50.

[10] The red uncials of Hand *N* are less carefully made than are those of Hand *M*, however, and are probably by a different rubricator.

[11] This Continental hand regularly uses *y* for *i*.

Hand *O*

As in Hand *N*, the four verses of a strophe are written as two continuous lines, the first breaking off anywhere, regardless of form or sense.

Hand *Q*

(See Arndt, *op. cit.*, Taf. 40 = fol. 58)

The ink of this hand is light brown, as contrasted with the black of the preceding hand. The scribe is Insular, but he has been trained in an Anglo-Saxon rather than an Irish *scriptorium*.[1]

The occasional appearance of an open *a* is probably due simply to the failure of the ink to appear in the thin stroke that comes down at the left from the top. It is doubtful whether the scribe intended to write open *a* at all. *c* is never high. *e* is often no higher than the other low letters. *g* is a more regular Insular type than is the *g* of Hand *N*. Initial *i* is frequently a tall letter. *m* and *n* sometimes terminate abruptly at the bottom and sometimes end in tiny hooks or dots. The top of *s* is on a level with the tops of the low letters; its bottom is well below the line. The lower left-hand part of *x* is usually extended toward the right and then toward the left again in an elaborate flourish.

Ligatures of high-backed *e* with *m*, *n*, *r*, *t*, and *x* are common. Practically no other ligatures appear.

Abbreviations are rare. Words which are abbreviated in some instances are written in full in others.[2] *q̄uo̅* appears for *quoniam*.

The only original sign of punctuation is the dot at the middle of a letter. A stroke is occasionally placed over short words to help insure their identity.[3]

The first word (or two words) of lemmata is written sometimes in rather good (fol. 55, e.g.), sometimes in slightly unequal (fol. 55^{v}, e.g.), uncials.[4]

[1] The scribe of Hand *N*, as has already been stated, was perhaps an Irishman trained in a *scriptorium* (Insular or Continental) where the Anglo-Saxon script prevailed. Hand *Q*, however, shows no special Irish traits. Indeed it resembles most closely the Anglo-Saxon script of Fulda, although there is no reason to suppose that the scribe came from there.

[2] Cf. *nostris*, fol. 56, but *nr̄a̅*, *nr̄i*, *nr̄as̄*, elsewhere. Cf. also *israhel*, fol. 55, but *isr̄l̄*, fol. 56^{v}.

[3] Cf. *á* and *té*, fol. 55.

[4] Cf. the varying treatment of lemmata in Hands *F*, *H*, *M*, *N*.

Hand *R*

All titles, as well as the *explicit* on fol. 62 and the *incipit* on fol. 73, are written in rubricated uncials.[1]

Throughout this hand three forms of abbbreviation stroke are used: the simple wavy line (high at the left and low at the right), the straight line hooked at both ends (up at the left, down at the right), and the elongated *s* on its left side. The 7-symbol for *et*, finally, may be due to Insular influence.[2]

Hand *S*

(See Arndt, *op. cit.*, Taf. 47 = fol. 67)

The black ink resembles that used by Hand *R*, but the letters are somewhat heavier and blacker.

The ordinary Caroline minuscule form and the double-c form of *a* both appear. *d* and *e* are formed in three strokes. *g* is normally made in four strokes. It is open at top and bottom. Despite its verticality it is stately and well-fashioned. Uncial *N* appears as the first letter of *Non*. All of the incidental capitals are fairly good.

The ligatures are few: *&* (closed at the bottom), *ra* and *re* (both with high-backed *r*) and *st* (not always a ligature, however).

The abbreviations are likewise few and these few are sparingly used. Noteworthy are *b'* (*bus*), *ei'* (*eius*), $\overline{au}$ and $\overline{aut}$ (*autem*), $\overline{qm}$ and $\overline{qnm}$ (*quoniam*), and a capricious compendium: *cantab̄t* (*cantabunt*). There is evidence that the manuscript from which the scribe was copying had $\overline{qm}$ as an abbreviation for *quam*.[3]

A comma on, or just above, the line is the only original mark of punctuation. Other marks have been added later. *te* frequently receives an accent to distinguish its identity as a pronoun.

[1] On fol. 64^{v} the rubricator writes as a title $\overline{Orat}$ *utilis ad animae* and forgets the rest.

[2] See Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 76.

[3] On fol. 69^{v} the scribe has written $q\bar{n}m$ (i.e., *quoniam*) and has then drawn a line through it and substituted *quam*. The most likely explanation, it seems to me, is that the scribe saw in his model $\overline{qm}$ (which can mean either *quam* or *quoniam*), and, reading it (as it happened, erroneously) as *quoniam*, set down another abbreviation for *quoniam* in his work, viz., $q\bar{n}m$. Upon reviewing his work the scribe realized that *quoniam* was not the right word, and, consulting his model, discovered that he should have understood the ambiguous $\overline{qm}$ of the model as *quam*.

The title omitted on fol. 65 is supplied in the upper and right margins by a hand that uses the same light brown ink as Hand *A*. There is no reason, however, to believe that this hand is identical with *A*. The first line of the prayer on fol. 71 is written in rubricated uncials; the first line of the prayer on fol. 71^{v}, on the other hand, in rubricated rustic capitals.

Except for the vertical *g* the script has much of the aspect of the script of Tours. The famous books certainly attributed to Tours, however, do not exhibit the random use of two styles of writing to begin two successive prayers of equal importance.

Hand *U*

While the three lines in black uncials on fol. 71^{v} are specimens of fairly good script, the crude attempt at a hierarchical arrangement of the various styles is not characteristic of the best known manuscripts certainly attributed to Tours.

From the foregoing description of the various hands of *Cologne MS. 106* it seems necessary to conclude that our manuscript can hardly have been written at Tours. Despite the occasional Martinian flavor of certain details (in Hands *I* and S, e.g.), the general appearance of the script is most unlike that of the famous books known definitely to have been written at St Martin's. The script, in fact, is neither that of the mid-century books [1] nor that of the beginning of the century [2] (i.e., when Alcuin was supposed to have written our codex: 802 A.D.).

In scanning the description of the various hands of *Cologne MS. 106*, the reader will have noticed that four kinds of compendia are used for *-tur:* the figure-*2* sign, *t* with the apostrophe, the Italian sign [3] (a horizontal stroke with a small vertical cap at either end) and the so-called Anglo-Saxon symbol [4] (a long, wavy vertical line, like a cursive *s*, cutting the right end of the top stroke of the *t*).

[1] See p. 39 above, and Delisle, 'Mémoire sur l'école calligraphique de Tours au ix^{e} siècle,' *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, XXXII, 1re Partie (Paris, 1885).

[2] See p. 39 above.

[3] Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 373.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 453; *Pal. Lat.*, III (1924), 7.

The occurrence of the apostrophe affords us no difficulty. The frequent appearance of the *2*-sign, however, in a manuscript supposed to have been written at Tours under Alcuin's direction in 802 would seem to be a considerable stumbling block, for according to Lindsay [1] the constant use of this figure-*2* sign in a codex indicates, *ceteris paribus* of course, that the codex was written after 820. But Rand [2] has pointed out that the *2*-symbol was practised fairly often at Cologne (and rarely, he believes, at Tours) at the opening of the ninth century. Our manuscript, however, has too many recurrences of the *2*-sign to have been written at Tours in the early ninth century. The Italian sign and the Anglo-Saxon symbol, moreover, are not characteristic of Tours in this period. Hence, if our manuscript was written in the early ninth century, it was probably written elsewhere.

So far in this article several reasons have been adduced to prove that *Cologne MS. 106* can hardly be a book of Tours. That it is more probably a book of Cologne was suggested by Rand [3] and has been indicated at various points in this discussion. In order to test carefully the latter probability I shall list in chronological order, in so far as is possible, manuscripts which definitely belong to Cologne and I shall note points of similarity between them and our codex. There will hardly be need of starting earlier [4] than the time of Hildebald, archibishop of Cologne from 791–819. During his term of office there were certainly written ten manuscripts which bear the inscription *CODEX SANCTI PETRI SUB PIO PATRE HILDEBALDO SCRIPTUS* or the like, and almost certainly twelve others which because of the nature of the correcting hands seem to belong with this group. Of these twenty-two [5] books I have

[1] *Notae Latinae*, p. 377, and 'The (Early) Lorsch Scriptorium,' *Pal. Lat.*, III (1924), 13 ff.

[2] 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for -TUR,' SPECULUM II (1927), 52–65. Lindsay, *N. L.*, p. 376, notes occasional appearances of the *2*-symbol before 820.

[3] 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for -TUR,' SPECULUM II (1927), 58.

[4] Chroust, *Mon. Pal.*, II Ser., Band I, has only two plates of MSS written in Hildebald's time (Lief. VI, Tafel 10: MS. 67, fol. 2^{v}; and Lief. VII–Tafel 1: *MS. 83*^{II}, fol. 2). For MSS subsequent to Hildebald, however, he has 22 plates (representing MSS written between 819 and 1232) from which the reader may gain a general idea of the later development of the script of Cologne.

[5] H. Foerster, *Die Abkürzungen in den Kölner Handschriften der Karolingerzeit* (Tübingen: Laupp, 1916), p. 5, selects for treatment only fourteen manuscripts that were surely written

been able to make a cursory study of less than half,[1] but of enough, I am convinced, to determine the question in hand. Further investigation in the history of the School of Cologne is, of course, strongly to be desired and I hope at some later date to make additional contributions to the study which I have begun here.

The dates of some of the manuscripts I have considered may be tentatively defined within relatively narrow limits.[2] It seems fairly certain, for example, that *No. 83*^{II} (a computistical treatise) was written about 805.[3] *No. 54* (a miscellany, containing Jerome's commentaries on the other prophets, etc.) is somewhat earlier.[4] With it may be classed *No. 103* (computistical treatises) on the basis of the clear, stately, antique appearance of its script and the traces of Merovingian influence.[5] *No. 76* (opuscula of St Augustine) exhibits a normal, not a fanciful, development of the Merovingian script together with a definitely Irish flavor.[6] It has numerous early traits:

under Hildebald: 41, 51, 54, 55, 63, 65, 67, 74, 80, 83^{II}, 92, 103, 115, 171. Jaffé and Wattenbach in their catalogue, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis Codices Manuscripti* (Berlin: 1874), p. 4 ff., add eight others:

Agnoscimus autem in eis (i.e., in Hildebaldian MSS) et in aliis nonnullis, quos eiusdem generis esse apparet, librarios veteri disciplina imbutos, ex Italia procul dubio arcessitos illos, qui notarum Tironiarum plenam adhuc notitiam habebant et in emendandis codicibus, qui diligenter a correctoribus relegebantur, eis usi sunt. Quas quidem notas adhibitas videmus in codicibus XIII, LII, LXXV, LXXVI, . . . CXXII, CLXIV, CLXXXIV, CC . . . ' (I have omitted from this list XCIII and XCVIII, which were written under Hadebald, CIII, which is included in Foerster's list, and CCXII, which belonged to Cologne in Hildebald's time but was not necessarily written there at that time.)

[1] As I have already pointed out (p. 28, note 2) my chief source of information in this study has been the notes and photographs lent me by Professor Rand.

[2] The interesting and significant abbreviations for *-tur*, which are considered later (pp. 57 ff.) are not used here as evidence for date.

[3] According to Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 29, the first part was written in 798 and the rest in 805. Chroust, *op. cit.*, II Serie, Band I, Lief. VII, Tafel 1 (fol. 2), assigns the entire MS. as probably belonging to the latter date. Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 5, follows Chroust ('um 805'). E. K. Rand, 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for -TUR,' SPECULUM II (1927), 58–59, points out that the antique character of the abbreviations bespeaks a fairly early date, a date which might well be 805. Cf. B. Krusch, *Studien zur christlichen mittelalterlichen Chronologie*, pp. 195 ff.; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, XVII, 442, Tafel 3, second example (3 lines of fol. 76).

[4] Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 17, assign it to the end of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century. Rand, *art. cit.*, p. 60, notes that *h* with Merovingian sloping shaft is common in several of the hands.

[5] Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 40, say simply *Hildebaldi iussu scriptus*. The computistical contents of this MS. may eventually yield some positive clue as to its date.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 25: '*saec. viii.*'

the *h* with the shaft sloping toward the left [1] (as in *No. 54*), antique Irish initials,[2] old-looking uncials; [3] it may, therefore, be accounted one of the first of the books of Hildebald, if indeed it was not written a bit before his time. *Nos 63, 65* and *67* (the three forming a unit that contains St Augustine's commentary on the Psalms) show a clear, plain, round script in which cursive traits are retained and embellished,[4] a script which is to be placed perhaps, but by no means certainly, just after the time of *No. 83*^{II}. So even is the work of the ten nuns [5] responsible for these three intimately connected manuscripts that one might well refer the script to the tenth century, were it not for open *a* and for the initials with Merovingian animals and crude lace-patterns. *No. 171* (homilies),[6] finally, is patently one of the later Hildebaldian codices. In so far as I have been able to determine, there is no *h* with shaft sloping to the left (as in *Nos 54* and *76*) or any other antique trait. The Merovingianisms seem to have been ironed out, though some of them are retained and embellished.

The manuscripts just described may, then, be arranged as follows in what approximates chronological order:

Early in the Hildebaldian period (791–819):	*No. 76*
	Nos 54 and *103*
Circa 805:	*No. 83*^{II}
	Nos 63, 65, 67 (?)
Late in the Hildebaldian period:	*No. 171*

Here we have our touchstones. If we apply them with due care, we

[1] Ff. 2, 146, 170, etc.

[2] The outline of the ornamental initial *L* on fol. 2, e.g., is certainly Irish.

[3] E.g., the uncial *t* on fol. 1^{v}.

[4] Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, 21 ff.: *saec. ix.* For *No. 67* see Chroust, *op. cit.*, II Serie, Band I, Lief. VI, Tafel 10 (fol. 2^{v}).

[5] Jaffé-Wattenbach, *loc. cit.*, and Chroust, *loc. cit.*, name only nine scribes. Foerster, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7, demonstrates the existence of a tenth, unnamed, scribe.

[6] Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, 71: CODEX SCIPETRI SUB PIO PATRE HILDIBALDO SCRIPTUS on fol. 1. E. K. Rand, 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for -TUR,' SPECULUM, II (1927), 60.

may be able to discover both the provenience and the approximate date of our much-debated codex.

I shall proceed at once to set down the manuscripts in the order in which they appear in the table above and to note in each case traits which our own book also possesses.[1]

No. 76

Fol. 1^{v}: careful table of contents (*'In hoc corpore continetur':* uncials); cf. *No. 106*, fol. 6 (*'In huius codicelli corpore continentur':* minuscules).

Ff. 2, 2^{v}, 16, 146, 157^{v} and often elsewhere: Merovingian *h* with back sloping toward left; cf. *No. 106*, fol. 4, e.g. (my Plate I, top).

There is no identity of hand. *No. 76* represents an earlier stage than *No. 106* but it suggests the same school.

No. 54

Fol. 2^{v}: Merovingian sloping *h* (see E. K. Rand, 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for *-TUR*,' Speculum II [1927, Plate IV, 60]); cf. *No. 106* (my Plate I, top).

Ff. 3, 40^{v}, 41, 159^{v}: (see my Plate II for fol. 41) the same style, but not the same hand, as *No. 106*, fol. 4, the lower hand (my Plate I, bottom). The letters are similar. In *No. 106*, however, the writing slopes to the left, whereas it is vertical in *No. 54*.

Ff. 41, 82: (see my Plate II for the capitals of the heading on fol. 41) capital *O* with a comma inside; cf. *No. 106* in several hands (my Plate III: *Q* twice with dots inside and out; and my Plate IV: *M* with two commas, *Q* twice with comma and once with dot).

[1] In this article, of course, only a limited number of plates can be used. The reader is, therefore, referred, whenever possible, to facsimiles readily available elsewhere.

No. 103

Fol. 1: in title in three cases *O* with comma inside; cf. *No. 106* in several hands (my Plates III and IV).

Ff. 51^{v}, 190^{v}: cf. *No. 106*, fol. 16 (my Plate III). *No. 106* is not quite so thick, but it has the same blocky effect.

Fol. 57^{v}: Merovingian sloping *h* (my Plate V, a); cf. *No. 106* (my Plate I, top).

Ff. 132, 134: (see my Plate VI for fol. 134) the hand is very near, but not quite the same as, that of *No. 106*, fol. 6^{v} (my Plate IV).

Fol. 192^{v} (bottom): there is a suggestion of the same fine sort of hand (though it is not the same hand) in *No. 106*, ff. 61^{v}–62.

No. 83^{II}

Fol. 2: (see Chroust, *op. cit.*, II Serie, Band I, Lief. VII, Tafel 1) though the hand is not quite the same, the style is similar to that of *No. 106*, fol. 2.

Fol. 25: (see Rand, *art. cit.*, Plate II) not quite the same hand, but very close to *No. 106*, fol 29^{v} (Rand, *art. cit.*, Plate I). Capital *O* with a large dot; cf. *No. 106* (my Plates III and IV).

Fol. 45: (see my Plate V, b) capital *C* and capital *O*, both with comma (the latter three times); cf. *No. 106* (my Plates III and IV).

Fol. 151^{v}: an approach to the style of Tours, similar to that in *No. 106*, fol. 22, but even nearer, surpassing *No. 106* in large elegance. (Cf. the similar approaches to this style in *No. 83*^{II}, ff. 2, 14, 97.) The approaches to this style in *No. 106*, therefore, *are not in themselves proof that the manuscript was written at Tours.*

No. 67

Fol. 1: capital *O* with a large dot; cf. *No. 106* (my Plates III and IV).

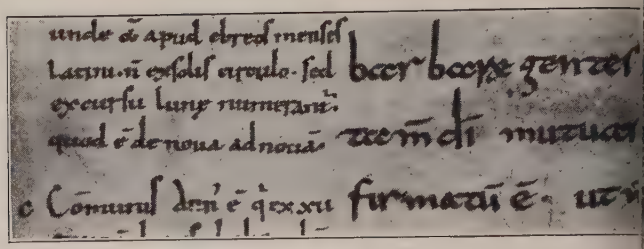


PLATE Va

Cologne, Dombibliothek, *MS. 103*, fol. 57

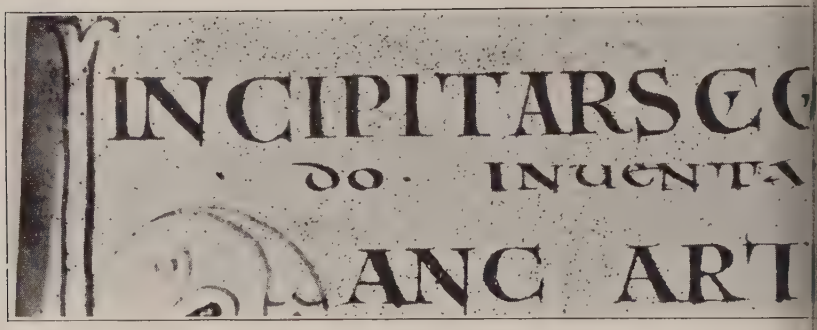


PLATE Vb

Cologne, Dombibliothek, *MS. 83*II, fol. 4

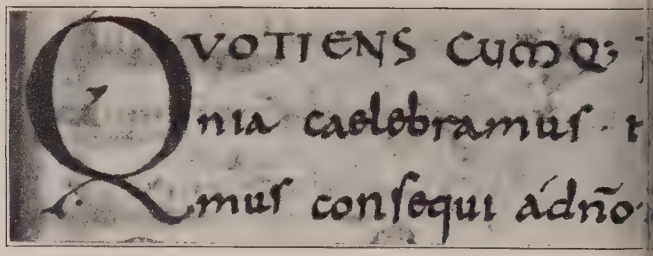
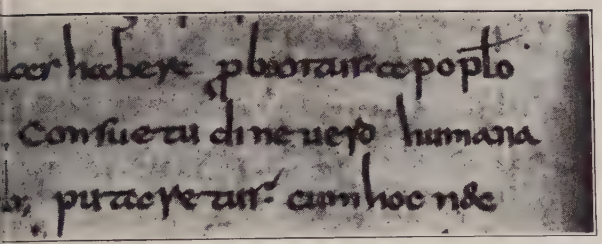
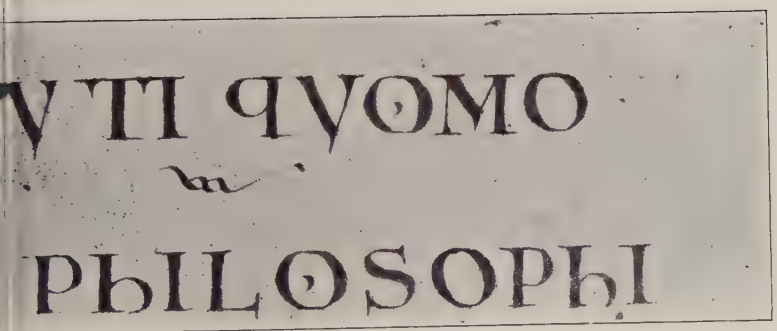
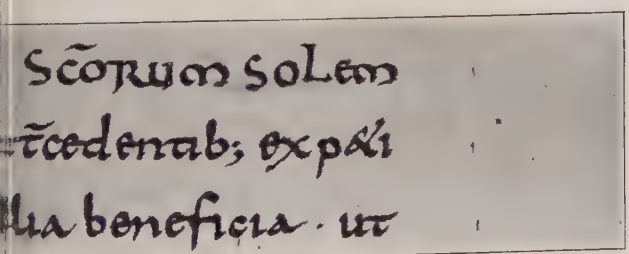


PLATE Vc

Cologne, Dombibliothek, *MS. 171*, fol.


loor habere pbrorum populo
consuetu dine uero humana
ra; puracepe rur- cum hoc nde


VTI QVOMO
PHILOSOPHI


scorum solem
tcedentab; expli
lia beneficia · ut

Fol. 2^{v}: (see Chroust, *op. cit.*, II Serie, Band I, Lief. VI, Tafel 10) the hand is rather squat like that of *No. 106*, fol. 29^{v} (see E. K. Rand, *art. cit.*, Plate I).

No. 171

Fol. 2: the hand resembles that of *No. 106*, fol. 65.

Ff. 42, 42^{v}: (see my Plate V, c, for fol. 42) capital *Q* with comma; cf. *No. 106* (my Plates III and IV).

Fol. 54^{v}: a near approach to the style of Tours; cf. similar approaches in *No. 106*, fol. 22, etc., and in other Hildebaldian books (*No. 83*^{II}, fol. 151^{v}, etc.). *No. 106* was not, therefore, necessarily written at Tours.

Fol. 55: the hand resembles that of *No. 106*, ff. 22–22^{v}.

Note should be made, finally, of *Cologne MS. 213* (a collection of canons), which may possibly, though not necessarily, have been produced at Cologne [1] during Hildebald's tenure of office or just before.[2] This manuscript is written in a fine Insular (probably Anglo-Saxon) hand,[3] the very style of script used by Hand *N* of *No. 106*. Here we have at least a possible parallel, a parallel which future investigation may well prove to be a certain one.

In the face of the evidence presented above it seems to me natural to conclude that *Cologne MS. 106* is a book of Cologne and that it was written about the time of *No. 83*^{II}.

A consideration of the Hildebaldian abbreviations for *-tur* serves to confirm this fact. It has already been pointed out [4] that the figure-*2* sign was in general use at Cologne at the opening of the ninth century and that its appearance in *Cologne MS. 106* does not by any means preclude the possibility that our codex was written within the dates of Hildebald's tenure of office (791–819). It may be noted now, moreover, that a considerable variety of compendia

[1] Maasen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, I (Gratz, 1870), 511, holds that it may well have been done at Cologne. Chroust, however, *op. cit.*, II Serie, Band I, Lief. VI, Taf. 9, cites the quantity of its ligatures and the character of its orthography as indications that it may have been done in France.

[2] Chroust, *loc. cit.*, calls it '*saec. viii.*'

[3] Chroust, *loc. cit.*, reproduces ff. 1 and 59.

[4] Page 51.

for *-tur* such as occurs in *No. 106* [1] may be found in many Hildebaldian books. So far, then, as the provenience and date of the codex in hand are concerned, there is no need for any further consideration of the Cologne usage in abbreviations for *-tur*. For the history of the script of Cologne in general, however, it will be no waste of time to indicate briefly the vagaries of style and a possible explanation for them.

To attain as high a degree of accuracy in treatment as possible it will be best to cite here only those manuscripts of Hildebald whose dates have been shown above to be defined within relatively narrow limits.[2] *No. 76*, the oldest in our group, displays, among other symbold, a special variety of the Italian sign (a horizontal, or slanting, line with a short vertical stroke at each end, the one at the left pointing upward, the one at the right downward).[3] But it expresses *-tur* most commonly by a symbol of the *2*-species which resembles, in its various forms, a figure *2* with the bottom curved downward,[4] a flying bird [5] or a small minuscule *h*.[6] That all of these variations are the work of the original scribe and that they do not presuppose the apostrophe is evident from the manner in which they are made. In each case the left-hand stroke is either nearly horizontal (often straight as well) [7] or slanting toward the left at the top; [8] in no case is this stroke curled underneath toward the left like an apostrophe. It is significant that the apostrophe does not occur it all in this

[1] *No. 106* shows the following: the *2*-sign, the apostrophe, 'the Italian sign' (a horizontal stroke with a small vertical cap at either end: cf. W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 373) and the Anglo-Saxon symbol (a long, wavy line like a cursive *s*, cutting the right end of the top stroke of the *t:* cf. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 379). Abbreviations for many of the Hildebaldian books are conveniently presented in Foerster's table (*op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101), where, however, no instances of the 'Italian sign' appear.

[2] Of the other Hildebaldian books I have studied (through Professor Rand's notes and photographs) *Nos 74* and *115* show both the apostrophe and the *2*-sign commonly, while *No. 92*, though showing both, prefers the former. All of the Hildebaldian books in Foerster (*op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101) other than those in my chronological list (with the exception of *No. 80*) show both the apostrophe and the *2*-sign commonly. *No. 80* has the *2*-sign but rarely and the apostrophe in only one instance (fol. 125^{v}). For signs other than the *2*-symbol and the apostrophe in the codices mentioned above see Foerster, *loc. cit.*

[3] E.g., fol. 2: *praeponuntur;* fol. 214: *aguntur.*

[4] E.g., fol. 169: *legitur.*

[5] E.g., ff. 109 and 182: *igitur.*

[6] E.g., fol. 158: *sequitur;* and fol. 161: *consentitur.*

[7] *Ditto.*

[8] Fol. 169: *legitur;* ff. 109 and 182: *igitur.*

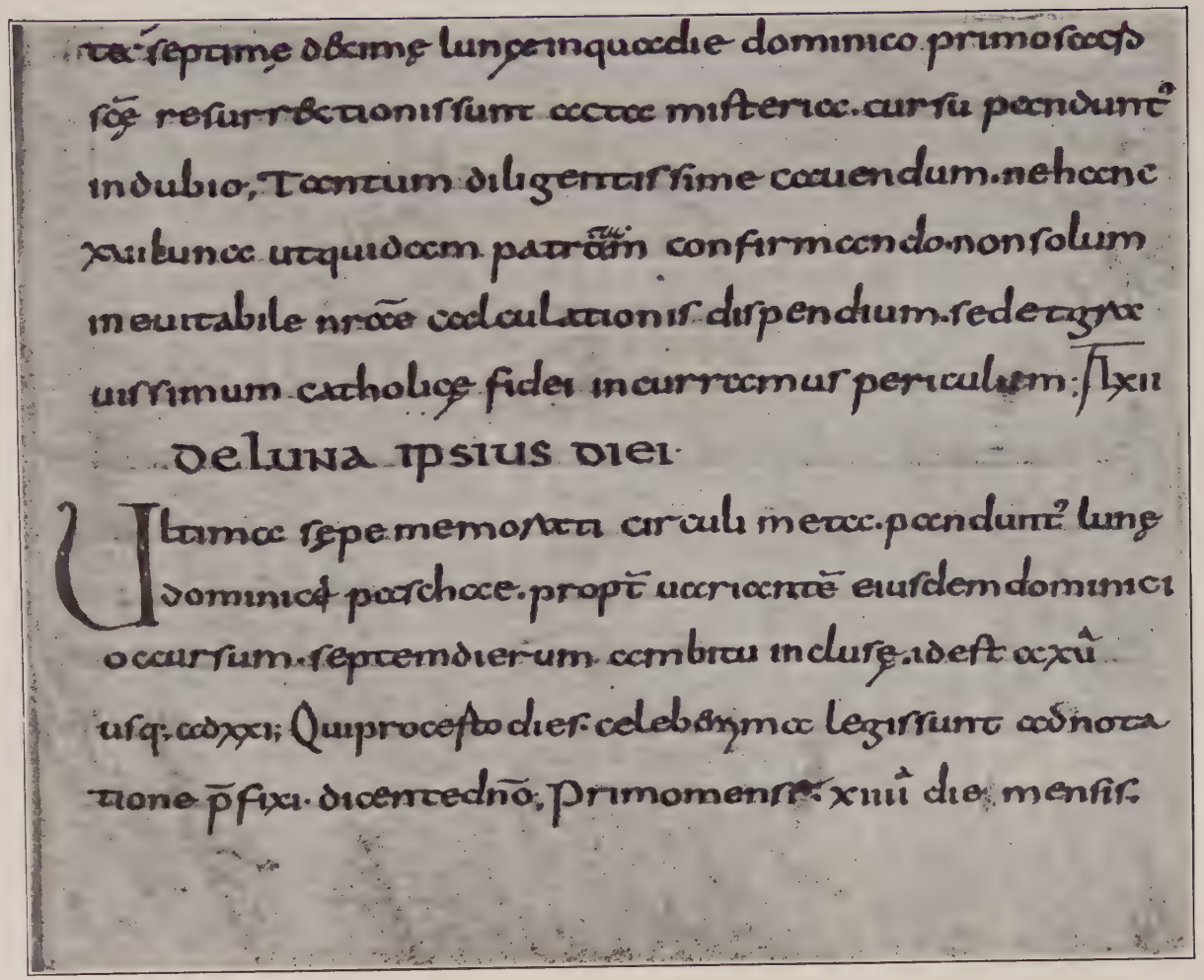


PLATE VI

Cologne, Dombibliothek, *MS. 103*, fol. 134.

manuscript. In *No. 54*, the second oldest of our group, the figure *2*-sign is common,[1] while the apostrophe is decidedly rare.[2] The former shows numerous modifications: a sickle-shape, for example,[3] a figure *2* with the final stroke curved [4] and other varieties. *No. 103* has three common forms, the horizontal Italian sign,[5] the apostrophe [6] (almost always in an erasure), the figure *2* [7] (the last named being rarer than the other two), and a fourth rarer variation [8] in which a wavy line like a reversed *s* is put above the *t*. *No. 83*[II] shows both apostrophe [9] and *2*-sign,[10] as well as certain modifications.[11] *No. 67* shows the same two symbols and a modification of its own.[12] Its sister codices, *Nos. 63* and *65*, as Foerster points out,[13] follow varying usages: the first has the *2*-sign but once, the apostrophe but rarely and other abbreviations frequently; the second has the apostrophe and other compendia fairly often but the *2*-sign not at all. *No. 171*, finally, the latest of our group, exhibits the Italian symbol, the *2*-sign,[14] and a sort of *7*-sign,[15] but it has not even a single instance of the apostrophe.

Foerster explains the variety of usage described above somewhat as follows.[16] Most of the compendia for *-tur* found at Cologne may be accounted for as having arisen from two fundamental forms, the apostrophe (or semicircle) and the *2*-sign. The first (here he points out that he is following Lindsay), which is the older abbreviation, gives way eventually to the second. In such manuscripts as *No. 74* (Vera) and *No. 103*, for example, the original apostrophe has been transformed into the *2*-symbol. Foerster is certainly correct in saying that the apostrophe and the *2*-sign are fundamental forms and that the former eventually gives way to the latter.[17] And it is

[1] E.g., fol. 5: *habetur;* fol. 24: *appellabatur;* fol. 26: *censetur.*
[2] E.g., fol. 163: *sequuntur.*
[3] E.g., fol. 82: *interpretatur.*
[4] E.g., fol. 14: *sequitur.*
[5] Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
[6] E.g., fol. 134: *agebatur.*
[7] Foerster, *loc. cit.*
[8] E.g., fol. 167[v]: *conturbato;* note that the *-tur* is abbreviated in the middle of a word.
[9] E.g., fol. 116: *includuntur.*
[10] E.g., fol. 14: *adquiritur.*
[11] Foerster, *loc. cit.*
[12] Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] E.g., fol. 4: *contemplabatur;* fol. 25[v]: *invenitur.*
[15] E.g., fol. 30: *adquiruntur;* cf. W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 374.
[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 111.
[17] Cf. the post-Hildebaldian codices cited in Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

surely true that in most Continental centres the former is the older abbreviation.[1] There is some ground, however, for suspecting that the apostrophe may *not* have preceded the *2*-sign at Cologne. To make my point clear I shall set down a bare chronological outline of the usages listed above.[2]

Early in the Hildedian period:	*No. 76: 2*-sign *only*.
	No. 54: 2-sign common; apostrophe rare.
	No. 103: 2-sign rare; apostrophe in erasures only.
Circa 805:	*No. 83*^{II}*: 2*-sign and apostrophe both common.
	No. 63: 2-sign once; apostrophe rare.
	No. 65: no 2-sign; apostrophe fairly common.
	No. 67: apostrophe and *2*-sign both common.
Late in the Hildebaldian period:	*No. 171: 2*-sign *only*.

It would seem in the face of the evidence that the *2*-sign is the older abbreviation at Cologne, that the apostrophe is introduced fairly early within the Hildebaldian period (from Tours possibly?),[3] that for a time it equals the *2*-sign in popularity and is used with it, and that it eventually yields, as it does in other Continental centers, to the superior strength of the figure *2*. I put this suggestion forward only as a possible hypothesis. Further investigation may perhaps shed light on the all-too-obscure origin and history of the *-tur* abbreviations. I would point out here, however, as proof of my hypothesis, the fact that the earliest manuscript of our period (*No. 76*) shows the *2*-sign alone and the further fact that the single manuscript of our period to have only the apostrophe (*No. 65*) is relatively late.[4] It is interesting to note, finally, that *No. 83*^{II}, the Cologne manuscript which has been shown to bear the closest resemblance to *No. 106*, employs (as does *No. 106*) both the *2*-sign and the apos-

[1] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 376 ff.

[2] I omit from this outline all signs except the *2*-symbol and the apostrophe.

[3] Cf. the Tours influence on the script of *No. 83*^{II} and other MSS, e.g.

[4] It should be noted too that *No. 65* was obviously written at the same time as *Nos 63* and *67*, both of which have the *2*-sign (*No. 63* once; *No. 67* commonly).

trophe. My previous judgment concerning these two codices is further strengthened.

It may be concluded, then, with a fair degree of certainty, that *Cologne MS. 106* is a Hildebaldian book written about the time of *No. 83*^{II} (i.e., *ca.* 805). Certainly it is not the codex sent by Alcuin to either Arno or Hildebald. It may well be, however, a badly planned and carelessly executed Hildebaldian copy of Alcuin's codex (with additions and omissions): witness the occasional resemblances to the script of Tours and the varying interpretations (sometimes crude, sometimes careful) by individual scribes of Alcuinian uncials, lemmata and titles. Perhaps Alcuin's codex, through such manuscripts as *No. 106*, may have led to the gradual influence of the Tours *scriptorium* on that of Cologne, for such an influence there undoubtedly was.[1] This matter, however, fascinating and important though it is, must be postponed for later discussion.

[1] Chroust, *op. cit.*, II Serie, Band I, Lieferungen VI, VII, VIII, and Band II, Lief. IX, shows some twenty-two facsimiles of MSS subsequent to Hildebald (dating 819–1232) which will repay study in this connection.

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FATE IN BOETHIUS AND THE NEOPLATONISTS

By HOWARD ROLLIN PATCH

THE great figure of the orb of destiny in the Fourth Book of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* is the means used by Boethius to present his unusual conception of a mutable Fate. The stability of the centre is occupied by Providence; all else controlled by the turning sphere is subject to Fate, who, however, by this very fact is also subservient to God. The whole idea, justly famous and well known to later writers, immediately suggested to many the corresponding idea that Fate's more customarily fickle sister, Fortune, is also subject to God, and thus helped to give us the Christian conception of Fortune.[1] Brief study will show, nevertheless, that the mutability of Fate is probably not original with Boethius; and the whole passage has been traced, with apparent satisfaction among scholars, to the works of Proclus. It is my intention here to offer a different explanation, and to suggest that more important problems are involved than have so far been appreciated.

In the interest of clarity I shall quote the entire passage from the *Consolatio:*

Siue igitur famulantibus quibusdam prouidentiae diuinis spiritibus fatum exercetur seu anima seu tota inseruiente natura seu caelestibus siderum motibus seu angelica uirtute seu daemonum uaria sollertia seu aliquibus horum seu omnibus fatalis series texitur, illud certe manifestum est immobilem simplicemque gerendarum formam rerum esse prouidentiam, fatum uero eorum quae diuina simplicitas gerenda disposuit mobilem nexum atque ordinem temporalem. Quo fit ut omnia quae fato subsunt prouidentiae quoque subiecta sint cui ipsum etiam subiacet fatum, quaedam uero quae sub prouidentia locata sunt fati seriem superent. Ea uero sunt quae primae propinqua diuinitati stabiliter fixa fatalis ordinem mobilitatis

[1] The matter is discussed in my study, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 17 ff. For the wheel and its use for divine purposes, see pp. 19 and 175. Cf. the interesting interpretation of 'rota in medio rotae' as the New Testament within the Old, by Hrabanus Maurus, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CXII, 1041; Abbott Wolberio confirms the tradition, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CXCV, 1059. 'The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna,' *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, III, No. 4 (July, 1922), pp. 192 ff., may also be consulted.

excedunt. Nam ut orbium circa eundem cardinem sese uertentium qui est intimus ad simplicitatem medietatis accedit ceterorumque extra locatorum ueluti cardo quidam circa quem uersentur existit, extimus uero maiore ambitu rotatus quanto a puncti media indiuiduitate discedit tanto amplioribus spatiis explicatur, si quid uero illi se medio conectat et societ, in simplicitatem cogitur diffundique ac diffluere cessat, simili ratione quod longius a prima mente discedit maioribus fati nexibus implicatur ac tanto aliquid fato liberum est quanto illum rerum cardinem uicinius petit. Quod si supernae mentis haeserit firmitati, motu carens fati quoque supergreditur necessitatem. Igitur uti est ad intellectum ratiocinatio, ad id quod est id quod gignitur, ad aeternitatem tempus, ad punctum medium circulus, ita est fati series mobilis ad prouidentiae stabilem simplicitatem. Ea series caelum ac sidera mouet, elementa in se inuicem temperat et alterna commutatione transformat; eadem nascentia occidentiaque omnia per similes fetuum seminumque renouat progressus. Haec actus etiam fortunasque hominum indissolubili causarum conexione constringit, quae cum ab immobilis prouidentiae proficiscatur exordiis, ipsas quoque immutabiles esse necesse est.[1]

For all its length this section is remarkably compact, and every detail has its significance for the purposes of this paper. In the last sentence quoted we may observe that Boethius himself has not been careful to distinguish between the works of Fate and those of Fortune, and thus that Fortune would be an easy substitute for Fate in the passage. The stability and simplicity of Providence are several times emphasized, in words like *immobilem*, *simplicem*, *diuina simplicitas*, *stabiliter fixa*, and *stabilem simplicitatem*. Furthermore, the context of the passage has reference to the *caelestibus siderum motibus*, which accounts in a way for the nature of the figure, and perhaps for what brought it into the mind of the author; the analogous situation in the sources will appear later. Finally, the chief point in Boethius is that 'that which departeth farthest from the first mind is involved more deeply in the meshes of Fate, and everything is so much the freer from Fate, by how much it draweth nigh to the hinge of all things.' [2]

[1] *Boethius*, H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand (London and New York, 1918; the Loeb Classical Library), *Cons. Philos.*, bk. IV, pr. vi, ll. 51–89, pp. 340–344.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

I

Up to this time the only passage suggested as the immediate source of the figure in Boethius has been sections 5–9 of Proclus' treatise *De Prouidentia et Fato*,[1] known to-day only in the thirteenth-century Latin rendering of William of Moerbeke, Archbishop of Corinth. There is no great reason to suppose that Moerbeke changed any salient feature of his original; and almost certainly the section of the *Consolatio* containing the orb of destiny is much indebted to this work of Proclus.[2] In the latter Boethius found a mutable Fate, revolving all things, although apparently not with such caprice as may be implied in his own phrase, '*mobilem nexum atque ordinem temporalem.*'[3] '*Dicantur igitur,*' says Proclus, '*communes de iis*

[1] Friedrich Nitzsch, *Das System des Boethius*, etc. (Berlin, 1860), pp. 62 f.; Fritz Klingner, *De Boethii Consolatione Philosophiae* (Berlin, 1921), p. 88 and n. 5; A. Fortescue and G. D. Smith, *Boethius, De Cons. Philos.* (London, 1925), pp. 165 ff. Reference to Plato's *De Legibus*, X, is made by Vallinus — R. Vallinus, *Boetii, Cons. Philos.*, etc. (Leiden, 1656), notae, pp. 80 f.; see also Fortescue and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 124, and W. W. Skeat, *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, II (Oxford, 1900), 451.

[2] Yet Boethius' composition of the section was obviously quite independent of his sources. This point, I hope, will become much clearer in the present paper. Here notice that lines 11 ff. of prose vi, book IV, give a programme for discussion which is not wholly based on Proclus, but which shows that at this point Boethius had conceived his general plan, not following slavishly any one author. For this paper it is especially significant that Dr Klingner (*op. cit.*, p. 88, n. 4) compares lines 21–40 (Peiper ed.; Stewart and Rand, ed., ll. 22–42) with passages in the Third *Ennead* of Plotinus. On the other hand, I cannot find full appreciation of the way in which Proclus' treatise probably led Boethius to think of other discussions. Perhaps we are too far removed from his time even to conjecture about such things, but note the way in which *De Prou. et Fato* goes on to take up the question of predestination and necessity, as Boethius himself does in a later part. It was not inevitable logically that this problem should come next. Compare Proclus:

'Si nouit Deus omne futurum, ex necessitate erit quod futurum. Sed ii quidem falsum esse aiunt Deum determinate nosse omne, sed aiunt etiam ipsum indeterminari in fientibus indeterminate, ut saluent contingens; alii autem, determinatam cognitionem attribuentes Deo, admiserunt necessitatem in omnibus quae fiunt.' *De Prou. et Fato*, sect. 50.

'Non igitur, si cognoscunt futurum, ex necessitate fixit huic euentum; sed huic quidem indeterminatam ex determinato generationem dans, diis autem determinatam indeterminati praecognitionem.' *Ibid.*, sect. 52.

But see the discussion of God's foreknowledge in the περὶ ἑρμηνείας (ed. C. Meiser, Leipzig, 1880), II, second commentary, 225 ff. On the relation of Boethius to the Neoplatonists, Rand has indicated the right approach, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XV (1904), 16 ff. (Cf. T. Whitaker, *Macrobius* [Cambridge, 1923], p. 13).

[3] *Cons. Philos.*, bk. IV, pr. vi, ll. 59–60. In Proclus, Fate seems wholly subordinate to God, but he acknowledges (as Dante of Fortune) that her workings are sometimes mysterious: '. . . et rursus eum qui per multas complexas inuicem causas et nobis ignotas euentum non

conceptus apud omnes indubitanter entes, Prouidentiam quidem causam esse bonorum iis quibus prouidetur; Fatum autem causam quidem esse et ipsum, sed connexionis cuiusdam et consequentiae iis quae generantur. Quod enim hos habemus irrefragabiles de iis conceptus omnes manifestamus,' etc.[1] The things ruled by Fate '*mobilia sunt et corporalia omnino.*'[2]

With Proclus it is almost literally true that Fate is what makes the world go round:

Isto igitur inuentum est quid Fatum et quomodo huius mundi Natura substantia quaedam ens incorporea, si quidem corporum praeses et uita; tum substantia, si quidem intrinsecus mouet corpora et non deforis, mouens omnia secundum tempus, et connectens omnium motus et temporibus et locis distantium; secundum quam et mortalia coaptantur aeternis, et illa concirculantur, et haec inuicem compatiuntur. Etenim quae in nobis natura partes omnes corporis nostri colligat et connectit, easque in inuicem factiones ipsarum, et est fatum quoddam et haec nostri corporis. Et ut in isto hae quidem existunt principaliores partes, hae autem minus principales, et assequuntur hae illis; sic utique et in toto, et assequentes minus principalium generationes principaliorum motibus, puta coelestium periodis quae sub luna generationes; et imago qui huius circulus, eius qui illius et in aeternis.[3]

aliter quam Fatum nominantes.' *De Prou. et Fato*, sect. 5. Elsewhere his description of Fortuna or her equivalent is an anticipation of Dante (cf. *Inf.*, VII, ll. 67 ff.):

. . . Νοῦς γὰρ, ὡς εἴπομεν, ὑπὸ τῆς λογικῆς μετέχεται ψυχῆς , ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ φύσις ὑπὸ σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς διανοίας· καὶ ἔτι ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ θυμοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἄρχει, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης· μόνος δὲ ὁ δαίμων πάντα κινεῖ, πάντα κυβερνᾷ, πάντα διακοσμεῖ τὰ ἡμέτερα· καὶ γὰρ τὸν λόγον τελειοῖ, καὶ τὰ πάθη μετρεῖ, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐμπνεῖ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα συνέχει, καὶ τὰ τυχαῖα χορηγεῖ, καὶ τὰ εἱμαρμένα πληροῖ, καὶ τὰ ἐκ προνοίας δωρεῖται, καὶ εἷς ἐστιν οὗτος ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς, οἰακίζων ἡμῶν τὴν σύμπασαν ζωήν. Ed. V. Cousin (Paris, 1864), *Opera Inedita, Com. Platonis Prim. Alcib.*, cols. 386–387, ll. 36 ff.

Rand, *op. cit.*, remarks (p. 20): 'If Boethius borrowed his doctrine of chance from a Neoplatonist, the latter took it straight from Aristotle.' Note Rand's further discussion with reference to the argument on chance in the περὶ ἑρμηνείας. Cf. *De Prou. et Fato*, sect. 26, and *De Decem Dubitationibus*, sect. 8. With the discussion of chance in Boethius, cf. Plato, *De Legibus*, IV, 709; on the other hand, see *Cons. Philos.*, V, pr. i, ll. 35 ff. Note also the use of the wheel figure, strikingly similar in some respects ('*casibus et fortuitis semper rotantur*'), in Macrobius, *Com. in Somn. Scip.*, ed. F. Eyssenhardt (Leipzig, 1868), I, x, 14–15, pp. 514–515.

[1] Ed. Cousin, *Opera Inedita* (Paris, 1864), *De Prou. et Fato*, col. 151, ll. 18–31.

[2] *Ibid.*, col. 154, ll. 18–19.

[3] *Ibid.*, cols. 155–156, ll. 29 ff.

In discussing the same matter, Plato, according to Proclus, calls the motive cause Necessity:

Etenim quod circulo mouetur circulariter, mobile ens, ex necessitate sic mouetur, sicut ignis ad circumferentiam, terra autem ad medium. Necessitatem quidem igitur corporum generationibus praefecit ille, propter hoc et corporibus; Intellectum autem extulit, hunc principari Necessitati determinans. Si igitur Prouidentia et supra Intellectum est, palam quod Intellectui quidem principatur et iis quae sub Necessitate hac, solis autem iis quae sub ipsa, Necessitas. Et propter hoc omne quidem intellectualiter ens sub Prouidentia perseuerat solum; omne autem quod corporaliter, sub Necessitate.[1]

This is really all that Proclus gives us toward the figure of Boethius.[2]

Here we have a clear suggestion that Fate turns all things in an orbit; but one cannot help noting that the definite figure of an orb of Fate, in which man becomes involved by his own submission, is not fully presented. That God is the centre of Fate's orbit is not even implied.[3] Providence, we are told, is *above* Fate;[4] that is, the figure changes when Providence is mentioned. Later the idea is presented in still another way:

[1] *De Prou. et Fato*, col. 157, ll. 18–32.

[2] For figurative use of the circle or the sphere in Proclus, see his discussion of the soul of the universe in his commentary on Plato, especially on the *Timaeus*, 30 B; also T. Taylor, *The Theology of Plato*, etc. (London, 1816), II, book VI, chapters iv, ix, and xxiii; and Klingner, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f. Also cf. Proclus' *De Decem Dubitationibus:*

'Et dicitur quidem, et recte dicitur, et in centro totus circulus esse centraliter: si quidem causa centrum, causatum autem circulus; et in unitate omnis numerus monadice propter eamdem rationem. In Prouidentiae autem Uno maiori modo omnia sunt; si quidem est Unum maiori modo illud quam centrum et monas. Sicut igitur, si centrum haberet cognitionem circuli, centralem utique haberet cognitionem sicut et hypostasin, et non partiretur se ipsum in circuli partibus. . . .' col. 82, ll. 8 ff.

In his use of the figure he seems to follow the Platonic tradition without influence from Plotinus.

[3] Nitzsch, p. 63, shows that he is aware of this fact: 'Was nun dem Mittelpunkte dieser Kreise nahe steht, steht nicht unter der Botmässigkeit des Schicksals, sondern lediglich unter der Herrschaft der Vorsehung.' Then, as a note to the foregoing, he writes: 'Auf welche Wesen sich dies bezieht, können wir aus dem Proclus errathen von dem diese Gedanken offenbar herrühren; cap. 8: omne quidem intellectualiter,' etc.

[4] Cf., for instance, the following passage: 'Si enim fontem bonorum, primum quidem diuinam ipsam causam determinans recte dices (unde enim aliunde omnibus bona quam diuinitus? Ita ut *bonorum quidem*, ait Plato, *nullum alium causandum quam Deum*); deinde, omnibus superstantem intellectualibusque et sensibilibus, superiorem esse Fato.' *De Prou. et Fato*, col. 156, ll. 24 ff.

Et Prouidentia differt a Fato, qua differt Deus a diuino quidem, sed participatiue diuino et non prime; quoniam et in aliis, ut uides, aliud quod prime, et aliud quod secundum participationem; uelut lumen sol, et quod in aere lumen, sed hic quidem prime, hoc autem propter illum lumen; et uita prime quidem in anima, secundarie autem in corpore propter illam.[1]

Incidentally, of course, the comparison here with light and the sun is striking. The force of the turning sphere Proclus does not refer to, except with regard to the power of Necessity. The stability and simplicity of Providence are in no way emphasized; and the chief point which Boethius makes, with respect to that which 'draweth nigh to the hinge of all things,' is not mentioned in the least.[2]

II

What is missing in Proclus, Boethius supplied, I believe, from Plotinus, with the remarkable genius to see the harmony of the ideas. Before he had begun this part of the *Consolatio* the rest of the conception was already known to him, as we can tell from his reference in Book III, prose xii, to the orb of 'divine simplicity' which '*rerum orbem mobilem rotat, dum se immobilem ipsa conseruat.*'[3] The sources of this passage, I think, have been quite inadequately represented.[4] In both cases it seems likely that Boethius had in mind an elaborate figure in Plotinus. To this it is probable his attention was called, at least in the case of the orb of destiny, by Proclus' remarks apropos of the circular motion of Fate, which, says Proclus, is an image of the celestial orbs. With regard to these Plotinus speaks at length, beginning as follows:

[1] Cols. 157–158, ll. 37 ff.

[2] Certain implications pointing this way are found in *De Prou. et Fato*, sects. 11 ff., especially 17 and 34, where the slavery of the corporeal and the freedom of the intellectual are discussed.

[3] Stewart and Rand, pp. 292–293, ll. 85–86 and 106–107.

[4] It may be wholly based on Parmenides. But cf. *Cons. Philos.*, bk. III, m. ix, ll. 13 ff., formerly attributed simply to the influence of the *Timaeus*. Cf. Fortescue and Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 f., referring to Proclus, *In Pl. Tim. Com.* (ed. E. Diehl, Leipzig, 1903), vol. I, p. 402, ll. 23 ff.; and Klingner, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and n. 3, citing Plotinus, properly, I believe. See also note 2, p. 71, below. Incidentally in Parmenides notice the use of fire, Frag. 8, ll. 56 ff., and Frag. 12, (H. Diels, *Vorsokratiker* [Berlin, 1912], I, 158 and 161 f.)

Διὰ τί κύκλῳ κινεῖται; ὅτι νοῦν μιμεῖται. καὶ τίνος ἡ κίνησις; ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος; [ἢ ψυχῆς]. Τί οὖν; ὅτι ψυχὴ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐστι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀεὶ σπεύδει ἰέναι; ἢ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ οὐ συνεχὴς οὖσα; ἢ φερομένη συμφέρει; ἀλλ' ἔδει συμφέρουσαν μηκέτι φέρειν, ἀλλ' ἐνηνοχέναι, τουτέστι στῆναι μᾶλλον ποιῆσαι καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ κύκλῳ. ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ στήσεται ἥ, εἰ κινεῖται, οὕτι γε τοπικῶς.[1]

The whole passage should be studied in this connection, including (as Boethius may have recalled) the allusion to fire. The parallel between the motion of souls and the spheres is never entirely dropped, and we are told that of this motion God is the centre:

Εἰ δὴ ψυχή ἐστι περιθέουσα τὸν θεὸν, ἀμφαγαπάζεται καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν, ὡς οἷόν τε αὐτῇ ἔχει· ἐξήρτηται γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντα. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐχ ἔστι πρὸς αὐτόν, περὶ αὐτόν. πῶς οὖν οὐ πᾶσαι οὕτως; . . . εἰ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς ἐν πᾶσι, τὴν συνεῖναι βουλομένην ψυχὴν περὶ αὐτὸν δεῖ γίγνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ πῃ.[2]

A little before, Plotinus had pointed out that the centre of the circle is the place of rest, and the idea is again emphasized here.

In the Third *Ennead* he returns to the figure once more. After having discussed the motion of the stars and the question of astrology, he considers the problems of the soul, Fate, and God, in a manner not dissimilar to the argument in Proclus. While the soul is in the body it is subject in part to Fate and Fortune. The problem of evil is then examined, and necessarily the question of the origin of the corporeal world in the Divine Intelligence. Here the symbolic almost seems to become literal, and we have what appears to be an actual intermediary between Plato and Dante's *Paradiso*. The World speaks, explaining that the heavens are animate, being the seat of all excellent souls:

. . . ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ ψυχαὶ ἀγαθαὶ πᾶσαι, ἄστροις ζῆν διδοῦσαι καὶ τῇ εὐτάκτῳ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀιδίῳ περιφορᾷ νοῦ μιμήσει κύκλῳ φερομένῃ ἐμφρόνως περὶ ταὐτὸν ἀεί· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω ζητεῖ. πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐφίεται μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τυγχάνει δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστα· ἐξήρτηται γὰρ πᾶς μὲν οὐρανὸς ἐκείνου, πᾶσα δὲ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ καὶ οἱ ἐν μέρεσιν ἐμοῖς θεοί.[3]

[1] *Ennead*, II, ii, 1 (R. Volkmann, Leipzig, 1883, vol. I, p. 129, ll. 20–27).

[2] *Ennead*, II, ii, 2 (Volkmann, vol. I, pp. 131 f., ll. 32 ff.).

[3] *Ennead*, III, ii, 3 (Volkmann, vol. I, p. 230, ll. 2 ff.). See the *Paradiso*, IV, 49 ff., and G. Busnelli, *Il Concetto e L'Ordine del' 'Paradiso' Dantesco* (Florence, 1911), I, 64–65. The question of Dante's knowledge of Plotinus will be referred to later. Placing souls in the spheres is found in Cicero's *Somn. Scip.*, IX, 2; and in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, IX, 1–14, copied by Prudentius (see F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, [Oxford, 1927], pp. 70, 71), and

The discussion in Proclus of the Intelligence, and the later comparison of Providence and Fate (differing as the sun differs from light), may have served to remind Boethius of the similar discussion in Plotinus, far more extended, where the figure of the orb or circle is frequently used, and where we read of the approach to God, of His simplicity, and of His place at the centre of the universe.[1] Here the following passage occurs, which I may be pardoned for quoting at length because of the importance of its matter here:

Καὶ ἔστι μὲν οἷον ἐκεῖνο, ἀμυδρὰ δὲ καὶ οἷον ἴχνη ἐκείνου τοῦ ὅτι δύναται αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς γραμμὰς δυνάμενου, αἳ πανταχοῦ ἔχουσιν αὐτὸ, καὶ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τῶν γραμμῶν, οἷόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο, οἷον ἐξελιχθὲν οὐκ ἐξεληλιγμένον — οὕτω τοι καὶ τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὸ ὂν χρὴ λαμβάνειν, γενόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ οἷον ἐκχυθὲν καὶ ἐξελιχθὲν καὶ ἐξηρτημένον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ νοερᾶς φύσεως μαρτυρεῖν τὸν οἷον ἐν ἑνὶ νοῦν οὐ νοῦν ὄντα· ἓν γὰρ· ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐκεῖ γραμμὰς οὐδὲ κυκλον τὸ κέντρον, κύκλου δὲ καὶ γραμμῶν πατέρα, ἴχνη αὐτοῦ δόντα καὶ δυνάμει μενούσῃ γραμμὰς καὶ κύκλον οὐ πάντη ἀπηρτημένα αὐτοῦ ῥώμῃ τινὶ γεγεννηκότα. οὕτω τοι κἀκεῖνο τῆς νοερᾶς περιθεούσης δυνάμεως τὸ οἷόν ἐνδάλματος αὐτοῦ ἀρχέτυπον ἐν ἑνὶ πολλοῖς καὶ εἰς πολλὰ οἷον κεκινημένου καὶ νοῦ διὰ ταῦτα γενομένου, ἐκείνου πρὸ νοῦ μείναντος, [ἐκ] τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ νοῦν γεννήσαντος, τίς ἂν συντυχία ἢ τί αὐτόματον ἢ τί ὡς συνέβη εἶναι τῆς τοιαύτης δυνάμεως τῆς νοοποιοῦ καὶ ὄντος ποιητικῆς πλησίον ἥκοι; οἷον γὰρ τὸ ἐν νῷ [εἰ καὶ] πολλαχῇ μεῖζον τοιοῦτον τὸ ἐν ἑνὶ ἐκείνῳ ὥσπερ φωτὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ σκεδασθέντος ἐξ ἑνός τινος ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντος διαφανοῦς, εἴδωλον μὲν τὸ σκεδασθέν, τὸ δ' ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἀληθές· οὐ μὴν ἀλλοειδὲς τὸ σκεδασθὲν εἴδωλον ὁ νοῦς, ὃς οὐ τύχῃ, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτοῦ λόγος καὶ αἰτία. αἴτιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ αἰτίου. . . .[2]

in Boccaccio, *La Teseide*, XI, st. 1–3, and Chaucer, *Troilus*, V, st. 259–261. Cf. Macrobius, *Com. Somn. Scip.*, I, xi, 6 ff., and St Augustine, *Genesi ad Litteram*, XII, xxix. That the stars are animate was held by Cicero, *Nat. Deorum*, II, 39; cf. St Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XIII, xvi, on Plato's view; and see also Cicero's *Somn. Scip.*, III, 4, and St Augustine, *Confess.*, IX, xxv. For further discussion of the subject, see *Studies in the History of Natural Theology* by C. C. J. Webb (Oxford, 1915), pp. 14 f. and 92 ff. With the passage quoted above cf. *Ennead*, III, viii, 8 (Volkmann, vol. I, p. 341, ll. 6 ff.), and see Plato, *Parmenides*, 138, and the *Cons. Philos.*, bk. IV, pr. vi, 69–73 and 80–81. It may not be a far cry from the discussion of the 'one and the many' in Plato to that of the simple and the manifold intelligence in Plotinus, and again to that of the Divine Simplicity in Boethius. Cf. *Ennead*, VI, viii, 18 (Volkmann, II, 502 ff.); and see note 2, p. 66, above.

[1] *Ennead*, VI, viii, 15–18 (Volkmann, II, 498 ff.), and ix, especially 5–6 (Volkmann, II, 513 ff.). Of Fortuna he writes: "Οστις οἴεται τὰ ὄντα τύχῃ καὶ τῷ αὐτομάτῳ διοικεῖσθαι καὶ σωματικαῖς συνέχεσθαι αἰτίαις, οὗτος πόρρω ἀπελήλαται καὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἐννοίας ἑνός, *Ennead*, VI, ix, 5 (Volkmann, vol. II, p. 513, ll. 30–32). See also VI, viii, 17. On the comparison with light, see IV, v, 6 and VI, iv, 10. Also cf. *Cons. Philos.*, bk. V, m. ii; St Augustine on Plotinus, *De Civ. Dei*, IX, ii; and Macrobius on Plato, *Com. Somn. Scip.*, I, ii, 15.

[2] *Ennead*, VI, viii, 18 (Volkmann, vol. II, pp. 502 f., ll. 24 ff.).

The figure is used so often that it pervades the *Enneads*. Indeed it is not too much to say that the scheme is essential to the whole work of Plotinus. Initially the idea is a development of Plato's universe with its universally extended *anima;* [1] but I cannot find that Plato offers more than just that, and Plotinus goes much further. According to him the souls of all things move round the Divine centre and tend toward it as the source of all life:

Εἴ τις οὖν ψυχὴ οἶδεν ἑαυτὴν τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον καὶ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἡ κίνησις αὐτῆς οὐκ εὐθεῖα ἀλλ' ἢ ὅταν κλάσιν λάβῃ, ἡ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν κίνησις οἵα ἡ ἐν κύκλῳ περί τι οὐκ ἔξω, ἀλλὰ περὶ κέντρον, τὸ δὲ κέντρον ἀφ' οὗ ὁ κύκλος, κινήσεται περὶ τοῦτο, ἀφ' οὗ ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῦτο ἀναρτήσεται συμφέρουσα ἑαυτὴν πρὸς τὸ αὐτό, πρὸς ὃ ἐχρῆν μὲν πάσας, φέρονται δὲ αἱ θεῶν [μόνον] ἀεὶ· πρὸς ὃ φερόμεναι θεοί εἰσι· θεὸς γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνῳ συνημμένον, τὸ δὲ πόρρω ἀφιστάμενον ἄνθρωπος ὁ πολὺς καὶ θηρίον. τὸ οὖν τῆς ψυχῆς οἷον κέντρον τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ζητούμενον; . . . οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀεὶ μὲν περὶ αὐτό, καὶ ὅταν μή, λύσις ἡμῖν παντελὴς ἔσται καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσόμεθα· οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ εἰς αὐτό, ἀλλ' ὅταν εἰς αὐτὸ ἴδωμεν, τότε ἡμῖν τέλος καὶ ἀνάπαυλα καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπᾴδειν χορεύουσιν ὄντως περὶ αὐτὸ χορείαν ἔνθεον.[2]

Two striking figures are introduced in this section, that of the chorus about its leader, and also (not quoted above) that of the man partly submerged in water, which would be almost enough in themselves to fix the passage in the mind of any reader. Another idea, harmonious with what has preceded, follows in the next section:

Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ χορείᾳ καθορᾷ πηγὴν μὲν ζωῆς, πηγὴν δὲ νοῦ, ἀρχὴν ὄντος, ἀγαθοῦ αἰτίαν, ῥίζαν ψυχῆς· οὐκ ἐκχεομένων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνων, εἶτ' ἐλαττούντων· . . . οὐ γὰρ ἀποτετμήμεθα οὐδὲ χωρὶς ἐσμέν, εἰ καὶ παρεμπεσοῦσα ἡ σώματος φύσις πρὸς αὐτην ἡμᾶς εἵλκυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐμπνέομεν καὶ σωζόμεθα οὐ δόντος, εἶτα ἀποστάντος ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ χορηγοῦντος ἕως ἂν ᾖ ὅπερ ἔστι. μᾶλλον μέντοι ἐσμὲν νεύσαντες πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ εὖ ἐνταῦθα, τὸ [δὲ] πόρρω εἶναι μόνον καὶ ἧττον εἶναι· ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀναπαύεται ψυχὴ κακῶν ἔξω εἰς τὸν τῶν κακῶν καθαρὸν τόπον ἀναδραμοῦσα· καὶ νοεῖ ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ἀπαθὴς ἐνταῦθα· καὶ τὸ ἀληθῶς ζῆν ἐνταῦθα. . . .[3]

[1] See *De Legibus*, X; *Timaeus*, 30, 34; *Philebus*, 29–30; *Parmenides*, 138. Cf. *Critias*, 121. Note the discussion in St Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XIII, 17, and C. C. J. Webb's *Studies in the History of Natural Theology*, especially pp. 12, 14, and 223 ff.

[2] *Ennead*, VI, ix, 8 (Volkmann, II, pp. 518 ff., ll. 30 ff.). Cf. V, i, 11. With the figure of the chorus, cf. the Second Hymn of Synesius; also Proclus, *Theology of Plato*, T. Taylor, II, p. 15, book VI, chapter iv, 'Time itself, likewise . . . which forms a circular dance'; *In Parmen. Pl.* (ed. Cousin, Paris, 1827), VI, 42 f.; *In Pl. Tim. Com.* (ed. Diehl), II, p. 248, ll. 1 ff. Klingner, *op. cit.*, p. 46, refers to the *Phaedrus*.

[3] *Ennead*, VI, ix, 9 (Volkmann, vol. II, p. 520, ll. 16 ff.).

The whole passage should be studied, for its emphasis on the simplicity of God, and for its conclusion regarding the union of man and God, whereby man becomes absorbed in the Divine Principle as one centre may come to coincide with another. Then:

Ἑαυτὸν μὲν οὖν ἰδὼν τότε, ὅτε ὁρᾷ, τοιοῦτον ὄψεται, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτῷ τοιούτῳ συνέσται καὶ τοιοῦτον αἰσθήσεται ἁπλοῦν γενόμενον.[1]

The old idea of God as surrounding His universe and turning it from the outside,[2] however majestic, here gives way to another. With Plotinus He is not merely the spirit that 'rolls through all things.' He is at the very heart of the universe. The conflict between these two conceptions forms in part the subject-matter of the twenty-eighth Canto of the *Paradiso*, where in preparation for the final vision Dante learns to see the universe in a form almost the direct opposite of that which has appeared in the *Commedia* hitherto. If I am not mistaken, his spiritual antecedent here is not Aristotle but Plotinus.[3] What is implied in the fatal sway of the turning spheres in Proclus' treatise, Boethius combined with the corresponding scheme of Plotinus, according to which God is the centre wherein the soul may find peace as well as life. The union of ideas is perfect. The more the soul is freed from things corporeal and thus, according

[1] VI, ix, 10 (Volkmann, vol. II, p. 522, ll. 28–31).

[2] Aristotle is sometimes cited as anticipating the conception we have in Plotinus. Cf. Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 19, 'He [Boethius] declares in a general, Aristotelian fashion that the farther off an object is from the inner circle of providence,' etc. Inferences of the sort might be made from the 'immoveable mover' on whom all the universe depends: *Metaphysics*, Λ, 3 ff. (Cf. Λ, 7, 1072, and the *Paradiso*, XXVIII, 41–42); *Physic.*, Θ, 6, 258 b, 10 ff.; and especially *De Caelo*, II, iii. But see his comment on the *Timaeus*, *De Anima*, A, 3, 406 b, 26 ff., and cf. *De Xenophane*. In *Aristotle's Metaphysics* (Oxford, 1924), vol. I, p. clii, W. D. Ross remarks that Aristotle speaks of 'God not as operative with equal directness in all change and being, but as directly operative only at the outermost confines of the universe.' See also Boethius, *Cons. Philos.*, bk. I, m. v, ll. 1 ff.; IV, m. i, ll. 19 ff.; IV, m. vi, ll. 32 ff. Closest to the third of these, perhaps, is the passage in Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, *C. T.*, A 2987 ff., 'The firste moevere of the cause above,' etc. Cf. *Man of Law's Tale*, *C. T.*, B 295 ff., and Juvencus, *Libri Euangeliorum* (ed. C. Marold, Leipzig, 1886), p. 2, Praefatio, ll. 1 ff. Cf. Macrobius on Plotinus, *Com. Somn. Scip.*, I, xvii, 11 ff., and also the *Somn. Scip.* itself, IV, 1.

[3] Possibly through Dionysius and Boethius. The suggestion of Plotinus was made by Thomas Whittaker (*The Neo-Platonists*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 193) and dismissed by Gardner (E. G. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics* [London, 1913], pp. 78–82). Professor Gardner cites the passage from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, which hardly covers the whole case, and refers to Dionysius, apparently under the impression that the latter derives only from Proclus in this respect. Cf. H. F. Müller, *Dionysios, Proklos, Plotinos*, etc. (Münster i. W., 1918), pp. 36 ff.

to both Proclus and Plotinus, from Fate,[1] the more it may attain to that centre of stability and simplicity which, according to Plotinus, is Providence, or God. Here is that 'hinge of all things,' which means freedom and, for Boethius, consolation, but lacking in that more ecstatic, if intellectual, mysticism which is found in Plotinus, and which would be out of place in the *Consolatio Philosophiae*. With an inspired eclecticism, therefore, Boethius utilized his sources, joining the two schemes in form and significance in a masterly fashion and with rich expression, later to be equalled in skill only by Dante.

[1] Boethius later uses another figure with reference to Fate, the *fatalis catena*, which may limit the actions of men, *Cons. Philos.*, V, pr. ii, ll. 2 ff.; cf. the 'chain of necessity' which he introduced into the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, vol. II, p. 246, ll. 17–18. The chain is a fairly common figure: see the *Cons. Philos.*, I, m. iv, l. 19; III, m. x, l. 2; also *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, p. 98; and Klingner, *op. cit.*, p. 48. The 'fatal chain' perhaps derives from the chain of Necessity in Plato's *De Re Publica*, X, 616; referred to in Proclus, *The Theology of Plato*, etc., T. Taylor, II, p. 15, book VI, ch. iv; also in Macrobius, *Com. Somn. Scip.*, I, vi, 23. But cf. Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 19, on 'series,' and note his quotation from Aulus Gellius, VII, ii, 1 (taken from Chrysippus). Another tradition depends on Homer's golden chain (*Iliad*, VIII, 18–19): see Macrobius, *Com. Somn. Scip.*, I, xiv, 15–16; cf. *Le Roman de la Rose*, (ed. E. Langlois), ll. 16, 786 f.

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CRIMEN LAESAE MAIESTATIS IN THE *LEX ROMANA WISIGOTHORUM*[1]

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THE crimes of *lèse-majesté* and treason under the Roman Law have been investigated with care by Theodor Mommsen in his *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899), while some additional evidence has been brought forward in the articles on *Maiestas* and *Perduellio* by G. Humbert and Ch. Lécrivain in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionaire des Antiquités Grècques et Romaines.*[2] More recently a brief

[1] The standard edition of the *Breviary* is *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, ed., G. Haenel (Leipzig, 1849). In the present study I refer to the provisions of the *Breviary* in Haenel's edition under the abbreviation *L.R.V.*, while other references to this work will be designated simply Haenel. A valuable aid to research is M. Conrat, *Breuiarium Alaricianum. Römisches Recht im Fränkischen Reich in Systematischer Darstellung* (Leipzig, 1903), which provides a systematic topical arrangement of the material in the *Breviary*. For the various texts and redactions of the *Breviary* and its epitomes, see the *Prolegomena* (Vol. I, part 1) of the Mommsen-Meyer edition of the *Theodosian Code* (Berlin, 1905), pp. lxv-cvi.

For essential secondary works, see R. Schröder, *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* (6th ed. by E. von Künstberg, Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1922), pp. 252–253, with nn. 5–6 (Bibliography); H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1906), I, 510–516; O. Karlowa, *Römisches Rechtsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1885), II, 976–982; M. Conrat, *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des Römischen Rechts im Früheren Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1891), I, 41–46; 89–90; 218–252; P. Krüger, *Geschichte der Quellen und Litteratur des Römischen Rechts* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1912), pp. 308–316, in *Systematisches Handbuch der Deutschen Rechtswissenschaft;* R. de Ureña y Smenjaud, *La Legislación Gótico-Hispana* (Madrid, 1905), pp. 296–323; F. C. von Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter* (2d ed., Heidelberg, 1834), II, 37–67; Haenel, pp. v-xl; A. Tardif, *Histoire des Sources du Droit Français, Origines Romaines* (Paris, 1890), pp. 129–143; H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (4th ed., New York: Macmillan, 1925), II, 272–273, 278; *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History*, compiled and edited by a Committee of the Association of American Law Schools (Boston, 1907), I, 15 ff.; H. D. Hazeltine, 'Roman and Canon Law in the Middle Ages,' *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1926), V, 721–722.

[2] Mommsen was, by no means, the first scholar to deal with this phase of Roman Law, as one may observe if he scan through the lists in the various editions of the *Bibliotheca Iuridica*, an extensive bibliography of legal literature widely used in the 18th century and compiled by M. Lipenius, but rather his *Strafrecht* represents the culminating accomplishment of modern study in this field. Also the writers of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries were, as a rule, commentators or legal theorists, whereas Mommsen determined facts in accordance with modern scientific methods of research. Note the works of Mommsen's immediate predecessors: G. Geib, *Geschichte des Römischen Criminalprocesses bis zum Tode Justinian's* (Leipzig, 1842), pp. 50–66; W. Rein, *Das Criminalrecht der Römer von Romulus bis auf Justinianus* (Leipzig, 1844), pp. 504–597; A. Zumpt, *Das Criminalrecht der Römischen Republik* (Berlin, 1865–69) especially I (2), 324–338 on *perduellio;* II (1), 226–264; 376–392 on *perduellio* and *maiestas;* II (2), 62–78 on *crimen falsi.*

treatment of these offences has appeared in Part I of a monograph by Pandias M. Schisas of the University of London, entitled *Offences against the State in Roman Law*.[1] This study is incomplete but represents independent research. However, Mommsen remains still our standard authority, and it seems unlikely that the near future will add greatly to his definitive contribution in the field of Roman public criminal law. Unfortunately Mommsen did not carry these studies into either the *Breviary* [2] or the *Papianus;* and an analysis of these bodies of law must be made, if we are to know what provisions of the Roman Law dealing with offences against the state were carried over into the *leges romanae* when the Visigothic and Burgundian kings turned to the task of providing codes for their Roman subjects. Of the two, the *Lex Romana Wisigothorum* or *Breuiarium Alarici* (*Breviary*) is by far the more significant and far-reaching in its influence, and it alone constitutes the object of examination in this article.

The history of the *Breviary* has been dealt with at length by a number of accepted specialists in legal history and historical jurisprudence, and requires no detailed discussion. It was compiled for the use of the *prouinciales* of southern Gaul by a commission of jurists who were appointed by King Alaric II to examine such Roman laws as were in current use in his dominions.[3] The resulting code was approved in 506 at an assembly at Aire in Gascony and was promul-

[1] P. M. Schisas, *Offences against the State in Roman Law* (London: University of London Press, 1926), pp. 3–15.

[2] Various names have been applied to this compilation. The confusion in terminology seems to have arisen mainly because of the variations of the manuscript sources. The following list gives several titles which I have chanced upon in the course of the preparation of this study, and does not exhaust the possibilities: *Lex Romana, Lex Romana Wisigothorum, Liber Legum Romanorum, Liber Legum Romanarum, Lex Romanorum, Liber Aniani, Liber Legum, Liber Legis, Liber Legis Doctorum, Originalia Legum, Corpus Legum, Liber Iuris, Liber Iuridicus, Lex Theodosii, Corpus Theodosii, Corpus Theodosianum, Liber Breuiatus, Breuiarium, Breuiarium Alarici,* and *Breuiarium Alaricianum.* See H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 512; P. Krüger, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Haenel, p. vi, n. 6.

The *Lex Romana Wisigothorum* belongs to the group of laws designated *leges romanae* and must be distinguished carefully from the *Leges Wisigothorum* or *Forum Iudicum* of later date which are properly termed *leges barbarorum.*

[3] Brunner believes that Alaric's sudden interest in his Roman provincials was caused by no altruistic impulse but by the threat of impending attack at the hands of Clovis and his Franks. Cf. H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 511.

gated by the king as the sole code for his Roman subjects. Constructed directly upon the foundations of Roman Law, it is a curious collection of materials drawn in large part from the *Theodosian Code* and *Sentences* of Paulus.[1] The text of the Roman Law is quoted *uerbatim*,[2] and many provisions are accompanied by an interpretation (*interpretatio*) which usually expresses in briefer form the sense of the text.[3] These *interpretationes* do not reflect a Visigothic attempt to restate the Roman Law in terms which they could better understand, but, as Henry Osborn Taylor remarks, probably represent 'the approved exposition of the *leges*, with the exposition of the already archaic *Sentences* of Paulus, current in the law schools of Gaul in the fifth century.'[4] Maitland says in his helpful article in the *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History:* 'It is thought nowadays that this "interpretation" and the sorry version of Gaius represent, not Gothic barbarism, but degenerate Roman science. A time had come when lawyers could no longer understand their

[1] These are the only portions of the *Breviary* containing material bearing on treason and related offences. The texts derived from the *Nouellae* of Theodosius and succeeding emperors, Gregorian and Hermogenian Codes, *Responsa* of Papinian, and *Liber Gaii* yield nothing of importance.

[2] Save for the *Institutes* of Gaius which appear in the corrupted form of the *Liber Gaii*.

[3] Cf. *Codex Theodosianus*, 7, 1, 1 (*L.R.V. Codex* 7, 1, 1) with its *interpretatio*. The invidious relation between *barbari* and *Romani* in the *constitutio* disappears in the *interpretatio* and epitomes. Marauding barbarians give way to plundering brigands, i.e., the *interpretatio* generalizes the law. Cf. another similar case in *C. Th.*, 15, 14, 14 (*L.R.V. C.* 15, 3. 1). Also the omissions of the *interpretationes* are sometimes suggestive. However, all evidence of this sort is, in the main, negative. The Visigothic *interpretationes* are not complete analyses and commentaries with some re-formulation or re-statement comparable to portions of the Lombard *expositiones*. They were 'often not so much explanatory of the text as qualificative or corrective.' Cf. H. Goudy, 'Roman Law,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., Cambridge, 1911), XXIII, 572.

[4] H. O. Taylor, *op. cit.*, II, 272. Cf. O. Karlowa, *op. cit.*, II, 977–979, regarding a basis of earlier commentaries for constructing the *interpretationes* and giving the views of Fitting, Dernberg and Degenkolb; H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 514; P. Krüger, *op. cit.*, pp. 311–313; M. Conrat, *Quellen*, I, 89–90; Haenel, pp. x–xi, especially notes 37–38. Haenel remarks:

'Finis interpretationis duplex potissimum erat: ut explanarentur leges et ad praesentem Romanorum statum accommodarentur, quare complurium legum interpretatio ad uerbum facta est, contra aliarum eum in modum, quem praesens Romanorum status et usus prouinciae postulauit. Ad hoc genus interpretationes pertinent, quibus leges correctae rebusue aliunde sumtis amplificatae sunt, aut in quibus aliorum librorum similes leges commemorantur. Eae mouerunt doctos, ut a Wisigothis factam esse interpretationem existimarent, et hunc quidem in finem, ut ius Gothorum ad Romanos deferretur, quam sententiam ueram esse nego.'

For the older contrary view, see F. von Savigny, *op. cit.*, II, 54–55.

own old texts and were content with debased abridgments.'[1] Little contrast between Roman and Germanic legal ideas may be obtained by comparing the *Interpretatio* with the text which it accompanies. Thus, the *Breviary* possesses little value arising from any originality of its own, but it does serve to indicate what Roman laws, bearing on treason and other related public offences, were transmitted to the western Germans since it remained the great legal compend for those peoples outside Italy, as late as the Carolingian period.[2] Between the eighth and tenth centuries it was reduced to epitomes making the work less bulky and combining the *lex* and the *interpretatio*.[3] In general, however, little new light is cast upon the pro-

[1] *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History* (Boston, 1907), I, 15.

[2] Cf. O. Karlowa, *op. cit.*, II, 977: 'Sie (Savigny, Haenel, Fitting) haben gezeigt, dass sie als eine wichtige Erkenntnisquelle für die damaligen Zustände des westgotischen Reichs zu betrachten ist, ferner aber auch, wenn sie auch keinen Wert hat für die Kenntnis des klassischen römischen Rechts, doch Aufschluss giebt über den Rechtszustand im weströmischen Reich um die Scheide des 5. und 6. Jahrhr. nach Chr.'

H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 515, discusses the later history of the *Breviary* and shows that it remained the chief book on Roman Law in France, Germany, and England as late as the twelfth century. It was retained in the Frankish lands, although its use in Spain had been discontinued by Recceswinth. Cf. H. O. Taylor, *op. cit.*, II, 272.

In determining precisely what contributions the *Breviary* made to subsequent legislation, no student of mediaeval law should overlook the highly detailed analysis of Alfred von Wretschko in Vol. I, Part 1, of the Mommsen-Meyer edition of the *Theodosian Code* (Berlin, 1905), pp. cccvii-ccclx (*De Usu Breuiarii Alariciani Forensi et Scholastico per Hispaniam, Galliam, Italiam Regionesque Vicinas*).

The influence of the *Lex Romana Burgundionum* (*Papianus*) and of the *Edictum Theodorici* was much more circumscribed, and the possible influence of a Roman '*Vulgärrecht*' wherein Roman law became debased to a kind of popular custom among the Gallo-Roman provincials must be subjected to special study before reaching positive conclusions. However, I doubt that this customary Roman law transmitted much material, not contained in the *Breviary*. Cf. H. O. Taylor, *op. cit.*, II, 268, 275, 277, on Romanesque or popular Roman law; also C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 195–196, who says: 'For most people (in parts of Italy and in Southern France) the Roman law came to rest upon local custom, a popularized and, in some respects degenerate form of law, which bore somewhat the same relation to the classical jurisprudence as the Vulgar Latin of the provinces bore to the classical speech.'

Also it should be borne in mind that there were other channels, less obvious than the *Breviary*, whereby Roman legal ideas might find their way into the *leges barbarorum*. Cf. M. Conrat, *Quellen*, I, 3, with notes 8–9, 13–14, regarding elements in the Bavarian and Lombard laws derived from the *Corpus Iuris Ciuilis* and ecclesiastical legislation.

[3] As a rule, the epitomes tend to be based upon the *interpretationes* rather than the original text of the Roman *lex* and *ius*. Cf. H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 515–516. The best discussions of the epitomes and glosses are Haenel, pp. xxiii-xl, and M. Conrat, *Quellen*, I, 222–252, 286–292, with notes, and A. Tardif, *Histoire des Sources*, pp. 136–142. Haenel, Conrat, and Tardif agree,

visions relating to public criminal law by either the *interpretationes* or the epitomes. New ideas are rarely added, while alterations and excisions seldom modify the original meaning in a vital manner.[1] The chief exceptions to this rule may be found in the *Epitome Sancti Galli.*

Following the classification of the Roman Law, the most serious offences against the state are included under the provisions of *laesa maiestas*,[2] and in the *Breviary* the crime of *laesa maiestas* is defined in the terms of the well-known passage from the *Sentences* of Paulus: [3]

in the main, on problems concerning the date and place of origin of the epitomes, as here listed: *Epitome Aegidii* (8th century, southern France); *Scintilla* or *Epitome Codicis Parisiensis 10753* (formerly *Suppl. Lat. 215*) (8th century, France); *Epitome Monachi* (8th century, France); *Epitome Codicis Guelpherbytani* (8th century, France?); *Epitome Codicis Lugdunensis* (7th–9th century, France); *Epitome Codicis Seldeni* (12th-century English MS., based on earlier Frankish sources?); and *Epitome Sancti Galli*, variously known as *Lex Romana Utinensis*, *Lex Romana Curiensis*, *Lex Romana Raetica*, and *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* (*ca.* 8th century, Switzerland). The exact place of origin of the *Epitome S. Galli* has long been disputed. Various places have been suggested including Lombardy, Istria, southern Germany, and the region of Switzerland (Rhaetia), which is generally accepted at present. See Conrat, I, 288, n. 6; 289, n. 1; 290, n. 4; 291, n. 1. The *Epitome S. Galli* alone possesses any large significance for this study inasmuch as it displays the influence of Germanic elements markedly: 'Die *Lex Romana Curiensis* — von germanisch-rechtlichen Einflüssen stark durchsetzt ist' (Conrat, I, 238); '[La *Rex Curiensis*] nous fournit des renseignements précieux sur le droit romain vulgaire de cette époque' (Tardif, p. 141).

[1] This statement is by no means true of the provisions relating to matters in private law, and must not be accepted too narrowly in any case. For the relation of the epitomes to the development of a Roman '*Vulgärrecht*' under the influence of Germanic law, see H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 516, especially n. 26.

[2] Note other offences against the state, listed in the *Breviary*, which are closely related and sometimes involved with *maiestas: C. Th.*, 9, 10, 1 and 3–4 (*L. R. V. C.* 9, 7, 1–3) *Ad Legem Iuliam de Vi Publica et Priuata;* Paulus, *Sententiae*, 5, 26, 1–4 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 28, 1–4) *Ad Legem Iuliam de Vi Publica et Priuata; C.Th.*, 9, 27, 1 and 4 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 21, 1–2) *Ad Legem Iuliam Repetundarum;* Paul. *Sent.*, 5, 28, 1 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 30, 1) *Ad Legem Iuliam Repetundarum; C. Th.*, 9, 19, 1 and 4 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 15, 1–2) *Ad Legem Corneliam de Falso;* Paul. *Sent.*, 4, 7, 1–6 (*L.R.V. P.* 4, 7, 1–6) *De Lege Cornelia;* 5, 25, 1–2 and 4–13 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 27, 1–12) *Ad Legem Corneliam Testamentariam; C. Th.*, 9, 34, 1 and 9 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 24, 1–2) *De Famosis Libellis;* 9, 39, 1–3 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 29, 1–3) *De Calumniatoribus;* Paul. *Sent.*, 5, 27, 1 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 29, 1) *Ad Legem Iuliam Peculatus;* 5, 30*a*, 1 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 32, 1) *Ad Legem Iuliam Ambitus.*

[3] Paul., *Sent.*, 5, 29, 1–2 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 31, 1–2) *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis:* 1. Lege Iulia maiestatis tenetur is, cuius ope consilio aduersus imperatorem uel rempublicam arma mota sunt, exercitusue eius in insidias deductus est: quiue iniussu imperatoris bellum gesserit, dilectumue habuerit, exercitum comparauerit, sollicitauerit, deseruerit imperatorem. His antea in perpetuum aqua et igni interdicebatur: nunc uero humiliores bestiis obiiciuntur uel uiui exuruntur; honestiores capite puniuntur. Quod crimen non solum facto, sed et uerbis impiis ac maledictis maxime exacerbatur. 2. In reum maiestatis inquiri prius conuenit, quibus

I. According to the *Lex Iulia Maiestatis* he shall be held by whose aid and counsel arms have been taken up against the emperor [1] or public authority,[2] or the armies of the emperor have been betrayed: [3] or who has waged war without the lawful consent of the emperor, or levied troops,[4] or stirred up disturbance within the army,[5] or deserted the emperor.[6] All such shall be perpetually interdicted from fire and water; [7] the more humble (*humiliores*) shall be cast to the beasts or burned alive while those of higher rank (*honestiores*) shall be punished capitally.[8] Also this offence rests not on overt act alone but is particularly aggravated by (impious disrespectful) [9] words and maledictions.[10]

opibus, qua factione, quibus hoc auctoribus fecerit: tanti enim criminis reus non obtentu adulationis alicuius, sed ipsius admissi causa puniendus est. Et ideo quum de eo quaeritur, nulla dignitas a tormentis excipitur.

Cf. *Digest*, 48, 4, 3 (*Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis*): *Marcianus libro quarto decimo institutionum* . . . lex autem Iulia maiestatis praecipit eum, qui maiestatem publicam laeserit, teneri: qualis est ille, qui in bellis cesserit aut arcem tenuerit aut castra concesserit. eadem lege tenetur et qui iniussu principis bellum gesserit dilectumue habuerit exercitum comparauerit: quiue, cum ei in prouincia successum esset, exercitum successori non tradidit, quiue imperium exercitumue populi Romani deseruerit: quiue priuatus pro potestate magistratuue quid sciens dolo malo gesserit: quiue quid eorum, quae, supra scripta sunt, facere curauerit.

It should be noted that neither *C. Th.*, 9, 4, 1, *Si Quis Imperatori Maledixerit* nor *C. Th.*, 9, 5, 1 *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis* was taken over into the *Breviary* (cf. *Codex Iustinianus*, 9, 7, 1 and 9, 8, 3). Hence most positive statements in the *Breviary* defining *maiestas* are drawn from the juristic literature, as indicated above, and not from the *constitutiones* of the emperors. Cf. Ulpian in *Dig.*, 48, 4, 1–2, and Scaevola in *Dig.*, 48, 4, 4.

[1] Cf. T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 549–555.

[2] Cf. *Dig.*, 48, 4, 1 and 3; *C. Iust.*, 9, 8, 5 *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis.*

[3] Cf. T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 546–49; *Dig.*, 48, 4, 3–4, *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis;* 48, 4, 10: 'Maiestatis crimine accusari potest, cuius ope consilio dolo malo prouincia uel ciuitas hostibus prodita est'; 49, 16, 6, 4 *De Re Militari.*

[4] Cf. *Dig.*, 48, 4, 3.

[5] Cf. *Dig.*, 48, 4, 1; 49, 16, 3, 20 *De Re Militari; C. Iust.*, 9, 8, 5.

[6] Cf. T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 537–538; *Dig.*, 48, 4, 2–3; 49, 15, 19, 8 *De Captiuis et de Postliminio et Redemptis ab Hostibus;* 49, 16, 3 *De Re Militari;* 4, 5, 5, 1 *De Capite Minutis. Epitome Aegidii* says: 'uel ipsum imperatorem in exercitu deseruerit.' Does this convey the Germanic idea of deserting the army when the king is present or suggest the Frankish offence of *herisliz?* Cf. Ethelred, c. 5, 28; 6, 35; Cnut, 2, 77–78; *Leges Henrici Primi*, 13, 12; 43, 7; *Edictum Rothari*, c. 7; *Leges Alamannorum*, c. 90; *Capitulare Ticinense* (*a.* 801), c. 2; *Capitulare Bononiense* (*a.* 811), c. 4.

[7] Cf. T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 549, for 'aquae et ignis interdictio.' Cf. *Dig.*, 48, 19, 28, 13–14 *De Poenis* for breaking the ban of exile.

[8] Cf. *Dig.*, 48, 19, 38, 1–2 *De Poenis;* 49, 16, 3, 10 *De Re Militari;* 49, 16, 6; 3, 2, 11, 3 *De His Qui Notantur Infamia.*

[9] *Verbis impiis* refers in this passage to the addressing of unseemly language to a 'god-king' and is not far removed from blasphemy, but among the Visigoths who were now Christians and their converted Roman subjects, the force of *impiis* must be considered as reduced to 'disrespectful' or some similar correlative meaning.

[10] Note that malediction appears a mitigating rather than an aggravating circumstance, at least in certain cases, in C. *Th.*, 9, 4, 1 *Si Quis Imperatori Maledixerit; C. Iust.*, 9, 7, 1. The

II. In any accusation of *maiestas* it should be asked through what resources, by what faction, and through what agents this act was performed: and the person accused of so great a crime must be punished not as a pretext for fawning flattery (*non obtentu adulationis*) but on account of acknowledged guilt.[1] Hence when evidence is sought in such cases, no dignity shall be exempted from torture.[2]

It is noteworthy that this statement of the crime, which is one of the most comprehensive in Roman Law, should have been incorporated into the *Breviary*. The authorities of the *Digest* expand and amplify the subject, but adhere in a general way to the categories mentioned by Paulus. His rather bare outline preserved the essential features of the Roman theory of treason for the Latin West.[3]

Under the heading *Ne Praeter Crimen Maiestatis Seruus Dominum uel Patronum Libertus seu Familiaris Accuset*,[4] *L.R.V. C.* 9, 3, 1–2, states the Roman Law relative to accusations of *laesa maiestas* [5] and emphasizes the important exception, namely, that information regarding crimes against majesty is not included among the prohibited delations. The best summary is, perhaps, the *Interpretatio* of *L.R.V.*, *C.* 9, 3, 2:

law can hardly be construed ironically: 'eum poenae nolumus subiugari neque durum aliquid nec asperum sustinere, quoniam si id ex leuitate processerit, contemnendum est, si ex insania, miseratione dignissimum, si ab iniuria, remittendum.' Cf. *Dig.*, 48, 4, 7, 3. Note *Dig.*, 48, 4, 3: 'facere curauerit.'

[1] Cf. *Dig.*, 48, 4, 7, 3: 'Hoc tamen crimen iudicibus non in occasione ob principalis maiestatis uenerationem habendum est, sed in ueritate.'

[2] Cf. *C. Iust.*, 9, 8, 3–5; *C. Th.*, 9, 5, 1 *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis;* 9, 35, 1 *De Quaestionibus.* On the torture of slaves, see *C. Iust.*, 9, 8, 6, 1 *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis.*

[3] Paulus is comprehensive in the sense that his statement includes the most important elements of *laesa maiestas*, but his outline is bare because the separate topics have not been developed in the complete manner of *Digest* 48, 4 *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis.*

[4] *C. Th.*, 9, 6, 2–3 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 3, 1–2). Cf. Paul. *Sent.*, 5, 13, 3 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 15, 3) on delation (*De Delatoribus*). Cf. *C. Th.*, 9, 5, 1 *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis*, which states: 'In seruis quoque uel libertis, qui dominos aut patronos accusare aut deferre temptauerint, professio tam atrocis audaciae statim in admissi ipsius exordio per sententiam iudicis conprimatur ac denegata audientia patibulo adfigatur.' This sentence is lacking in *C. Iust.*, 9, 8, 3 *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis.* Cf. *C. Iust.*, 9, 8, 4–5; 9, 41, 1 *De Quaestionibus; Dig.*, 48, 4, 7, 1–2; 48, 4, 8; 5, 1, 53 *De Iudiciis.*

[5] Cf. *L.R.V. C.* 9, 3, 1, which speaks not of *crimen laesae maiestatis* (crime of injured majesty) but employs the unusual term, closely synonymous, of *crimen appetitae maiestatis* (crime of attacked majesty). Cf. *C. Iust.*, 9, 24, 2 *De Falsa Moneta* mentions *crimen obnoxii maiestatis*, but the expression is not found in *L.R.V. C.* 9, 17, 1 *De Falsa Moneta.*

If a slave shall accuse his master or inform against him in the matter of any crime whatsoever or if any follower or servant or freedman shall do likewise in the case of his patron, let the sword be his punishment immediately at the very beginning of his accusation, since we wish to cut off such a voice, not listen to it: *unless* perchance the master or patron shall prove to have been involved in the crime of majesty.

A most significant difference arises here between the text of the *constitutio* and the *interpretatio* (*L.R.V.*, *C.* 9, 3, 2) on the one hand, and the text of the *Epitome S. Galli* on the other, as may be noted:

Interpretatio. Si seruus dominum aut amicus uel domesticus siue libertus patronum accusauerit uel detulerit cuiuslibet criminis reum, statim in ipso initio accusationis gladio puniatur: quia uocem talem exstingui uolumus, non audiri, nisi forte dominum aut patronum de crimine maiestatis tractasse probauerit.

Epitome S. Galli. Intrepretatio. Si quis seruus dominum suum aut liberatus patronum suum accusare uoluerint nisi forsitan probare potuerint quid ipse dominus aut patronus contra dominum blasfemasset aut p̄aganus eos probare potuerit de tale accusatione licenciam habeant et si uero dixerint ipse liberatus aut seruus sine omne iniuria liberi abscedant nam si de hoc mentierint aut si forsitan de alia qualecumque: causa lib̄eratus patronum aut seruus dominum suum ad qualecumque: iudice accusauerint de presente in ipsa ora accusatione iudex eos capite punire faciat.

Thus the great exception in the Roman Law is transformed from *maiestas* to blasphemy and adherence to paganism. The *Epitome Aegidii*, *Epitome Monachi*, *Epitome Lugdunensis*, and *Epitome Guelpherbytani*, all follow the original *interpretatio* closely and represent the law of Gallo-Romans, but the *Epitome S. Galli* exhibits profound modification under Christian and Germanic influence. This passage offers added evidence concerning the frequent failure of the *Leges Barbarorum* to adopt the Roman idea of *maiestas* and the very general failure to employ the word *maiestas* itself.[1]

[1] Cf. heading of *Epitome S. Galli* (*L.R.V.*, *C.* 9, 3, 2), which reads *Ne propter Crimen Magistatis Seruus Dominum vel Patronū Liberatus seu Familiares Acuset; Epit. S. Galli* (*L.R.V. C.* 10, 5, 4): 'Si quis homo in crimine magistatis inuentus fuerit'; *Epit. S. Galli* (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 32, 1): 'si de crimine magistatis acusatus fuerit.' I have found the genitive form *magistatis* three times in the *Epitome S. Galli*, once in a heading although there lacking in the ensuing *lex*, and twice in the main body of the *lex*, all as indicated in the references above, but I have noted no other declension forms of the word *magistas*. The entire subject of the incorporation of the con-

The great exception, likewise, makes it appearance in the laws of inheritance, and that noble principle of the Roman Law which says that 'the crime shall perish with its author' is expressly denied application in the cases of the children of those who have been condemned for *laesa maiestas*. According to the *constitutio* IMPP. VALENTINIANVS ET VALENS AA. AD SYMMACHVM PE. V. (25 November, 364): [1]

Substantiam damnatorum integram ad liberos peruenire, et in qualibet causa positis parentibus liberos heredes esse praecipimus, *excepta sola maiestatis quaestione:* quam si quis sacrilego animo assumit, iuste poenam ad suos etiam posteros mittit.[2]

The property of a traitor, thus withheld from his children (*nisi forte maiestatis crimine damnatus sit aliquis, quorum etiam filios de bonis damnati patris fieri iubemus alienos*), shall be confiscate to the *fiscus* although the prince reserves the privilege of making unsought gifts of such goods at his discretion.[3]

ception *maiestas* and of the word *maiestas* into the *Leges Barbarorum* is now being investigated by me in connection with the *Leges Wisigothorum*. Cf. H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, II, 687–688; G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (3d ed., Berlin, 1880), II (1), 195–196; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1898), II, 502; also Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France* (*La Monarchie Franque*), (5th ed., Paris: Hachette, 1924), Ch. VII (*Étendue du Pouvoir Royal*), especially pp. 132–135.

[1] *C.Th.*, 9, 42, 6 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 32, 1) *De Bonis Proscriptorum seu Damnatorum.* Cf. *C. Iust.* 9, 49, 10.

[2] I think this statement clearly implies attainder of blood. In the *Interpretatio* the force of the passage is weakened to mere disinheritance. If one takes the liberty to combine *lex* and *interpretatio*, he may secure this forceful expression: 'Si quis pro crimine suo occidi uel damnari meruerit, crimen cum auctore deficiat: nisi forte maiestatis crimine damnatus sit aliquis' (*Int.*), 'iuste poenam ad suos etiam posteros mittit' (*lex*). Cf. *Dig.*, 48, 4, 11, quoting *Ulpianus libro octauo disputationum:* 'Is, qui in reatu decedit, integri status decedit: extinguitur enim crimen mortalitate. nisi forte quis maiestatis reus fuit: nam hoc crimine nisi a successoribus purgetur, hereditas fisco uindicatur.' The use of *purgetur* implies attainder which must be cleansed away. Subsequently Ulpian limits this harsh rule to those guilty of *perduellio* only. Cf. *C. Iust.*, 9, 49, 10, 5: 'Excepta sola maiestatis quaestione: quam si quis sacrilego animo adsumpserit, iuste poenam ad suos etiam posteros mittit' (*ca.* A.D. 426). However, note *Dig.*, 48, 19, 26 *De Poenis:* 'Crimen uel poena paterna nullam maculam filio infligere potest'; 48, 19, 20.

[3] Cf. *C.Th.*, 10, 10, 15 (*L.R.V.*, *C.* 10, 5, 4) *De Petitionibus et Ultro Datis et Delatoribus: Interpretatio:* 'Si quid tamen nullo petente, proprio arbitrio de talibus bonis cuiquam dederimus, donatio huius modi firma permaneat.'

Keepers of private prisons are subject to the penalties for injured majesty.[1] Also by implication the majesty of the prince is injured if suit is entered through the imperial treasury with the emperor as heir, *nec enim calumniandi facultatem ex principali maiestate capi oportet.*[2] Similarly one may infer that *lèse-majesté* was incurred by anyone who consulted astrologers or soothsayers (*mathematici, harioli, haruspices, uaticinatores*) regarding the health or security of the prince or the welfare of the state, and by those who made replies and prophecies in such matters, for the offence was punished capitally.[3] And whoever was discovered to be in possession of books treating of the magic arts should be exiled to an island, while his goods were to be seized and burned in public. *Humiliores* should be punished capitally. *Non tantum huius artis professio, sed etiam scientia prohibita est.*[4] Such was the pall of fear and suspicion that overhung the later despots of Rome's declining empire.[5] Even slaves who consulted about the health of their masters were ordered to be crucified, and the offending soothsayer was either condemned to the mines or exiled upon an island.[6]

Perhaps the parallel should not be forced too far, but it is impossible to escape the suggestion that the *potestas* of the master over the slaves and freedmen within his *dominium* was similar in kind, though more limited in scope, to the *maiestas* of the prince over the subjects beneath his *regnum* or *imperium*. This line of thought links up with parricide, which may originally have been punished as a

[1] *C.Th.*, 9, 11, 1 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 8, 1) *De Priuati Carceris Custodia.* Note variant reading in *Epit. S. Galli.* Cf. *C. Iust.*, 9, 5, 1 *De Priuatis Carceribus Inhibendis.*

[2] *L.R.V. P.*, 5, 14, 4–5 *De Fisci Aduocato.*

[3] Paul., *Sent.*, 5, 21, 3 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 23, 3) *De Vaticinatoribus et Mathematicis;* and 5, 23, 17 (5, 25, 11) *Ad Legem Corneliam de Sicariis et Veneficis* states that the punishment for those 'magicae artis conscios' shall be the beasts or crucifixion, while the magicians (*magi*) themselves shall be burned alive. Cf. *C.Th.*, 9, 16, 3–4 and 7 (*L.R.V. C.* 1–3) *De Maleficis et Mathematicis et Ceteris Similibus.*

[4] Paul. *Sent.*, 5, 21, 4 (5, 23, 4); 5, 23, 18 (5, 25, 12) *Ad Legem Corneliam de Sicariis et Veneficis.*

[5] Cf. *Lex Wisigothorum* (ed. K. Zeumer), 6, 2 *De Maleficis et Consulentibus Eos adque Veneficis,* in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Leges,* Sectio I, Tomus I). Note especially 6, 2, 1 and 6, 2, 4, which were taken over from the *Breviary* and hence indicate the diffusion and continuance of older Roman ideas among the Visigoths of the seventh century.

[1] Paul., *Sent.*, 5, 21, 4 (5, 23, 4). In this connection it must be remembered that under ordinary circumstances slaves could not inform against their masters.

violation of the *patria potestas* and so have constituted a rudimentary form of treason within the family-group in an age when the family-group fulfilled functions of a semi-public character.[1] In any case parricide was an heinous offence against the sacred ties of blood.[2] Of this crime, Paulus states: 'According to the *lex Pompeia de parricidiis* he shall be held who has killed his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, patron, or patroness, and although in earlier days all such were cast into the sea bound in a sack (*culeus*), let them now be either burned alive or cast to the beasts.' [3]

In the matter of counterfeiting and debasing the coinage which constitutes a cardinal instance of *lèse-majesté* in Roman Law,[4] two provisions may be found derived from the *Theodosian Code*. The first says that a reward will be given for information concerning an adulterine moneyer (*adulterinus monetarius*), while the accused moneyer if convicted of his crime shall be burned.[5] The second declares that whoever clips *solidi* or offers counterfeit *solidi* (*figuratum solidum adultera imitatione*) shall be punished capitally.[6] The distinction between debased and counterfeit money should be kept in mind though both were regarded in the same light at law. The offence

[1] On the relation of parricide to treason, see E. C. Clark, *History of Roman Private Law* (Part III, *Regal Period*), (Cambridge University Press, 1919), pp. 588 ff., 604 ff.

[2] Parricide seems to have involved the ideas of pollution and sacrilege. Note *Dig.*, 48, 4, 1: 'Proximum sacrilego crimen est, quod maiestatis dicitur.'

[3] Paul., *Sent.*, 5, 24, 1 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 26, 1) *Ad Legem Pompeiam de Parricidiis.* Cf. *C.Th.*, 9, 15, 1 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 12 1) *De Parricidio*, which fails to list the *patronus* and *patrona* along with the *propinqui.*

[4] The various phases of *crimen falsi* are again associated with treason when one comes to the later English codes. Cf. H. de Bracton, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, ed. G. E. Woodbine (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), f. 119b: 'Est et aliud genus criminis laesae maiestatis quod inter grauiora numeratur, quia ultimum inducit supplicium et mortis occasionem, scilicet *crimen falsi*'; R. de Glanville, *Tractatus de Legibus*, 14, 7; also Britton, I, 41; Fleta, p. 32.

[5] *C.Th.*, 9, 21, 5 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 17, 1) *De Falsa Moneta.* Cf. *C.Th.*, 9, 21, 9, where counterfeiting is declared to be *crimen maiestatis.* Also Paul., *Sent.*, 5 25, 1 (*L.R. V. P.*5, 27, 1) *Ad Legem Corneliam Testamentariam:*

'Lege Cornelia testamentaria tenetur . . . quine nummos aureos, argenteos adultauerit, lauerit, conflauerit, raserit, corruperit, uitiauerit: uultuue principum signatam monetam, praetera dulterinam, reprobauerit. Et honestiores quidem in insula deportantur, humiliores autem aut in metallum damnantur aut in crucem tolluntur. Serui autem post admissum manumissi capite puniuntur.' *Ibid.*, 5, 25, 5 (5, 27, 4).

[6] *C.Th.*, 9, 22, 1 (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 18, 1) *Si Quis Solidi Circulum Exteriorem Inciderit uel Adulteratum in Vendendo Subiecerit.*

to majesty consisted in the desecration of the image of the divine emperor through making a fraudulent likeness,[1] though the economic consequences of the crime were possibly considered also. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Emperor Constantine opens his *constitutio* on this subject by affirming that 'our countenance and veneration are one.'[2] The extent to which pagan elements depending upon the conception of 'god-kingship' exercised influence among the provincials of the West in the sixth century must have been negligible. At any rate the evidence of the *Forum Iudicum* (*ca.* 650–675), which incorporates the legal ideas prevailing in Spain during the previous century, contains no suggestion that would support a contrary view.[3]

As regards sedition and disturbance of the public peace one finds: instigators of sedition and rioting or popular disturbance, according to their station, shall be crucified, cast to the beasts or exiled;[4] if anyone rouses the people to revolt, let him be subject to the heaviest fines;[5] if anyone shall obtain booty in company with public enemies or shall divide the booty with brigands, let him be burned.[6] The first two provisions resemble the laws concerning *seditio* and *per-*

[1] A similar point of view is maintained in legislation regarding the desecration of statues of the emperors. Cf. *Dig.*, 47, 10, 38 *De Iniuriis et Famosis Libellis;* 48, 4, 7, 4; 48, 4, 4, 1; 48, 4, 5; and especially 48, 4, 6: '*Venuleius Saturninus libro secundo de iudiciis publicis.* Qui statuas aut imagines imperatoris iam consecratas conflauerint aliudue quid simile admiserint, lege Iulia maiestatis tenentur.' Cf. T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 585, and notes; also T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* (2d ed., Oxford, 1892), I (2), 470–509, which discusses the insurrection of Antioch in 387 and the overthrowing of the imperial statues. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* i, 73–74; iii, 36, 70, with the notes in the edition of Furneaux (Vol. I, 2d ed., Oxford, 1896).

[2] *C.Th.*, 9, 22, 1 (9, 18, 1): 'Omnes solidi, in quibus nostri uultus ac ueneratio una est, uno pretio aestimandi sunt atque uendendi.'

[3] *Lex Wisigothorum* (ed. Zeumer), 7, 6, 2. This is a law of Recceswinth and Erwig entitled *De His, Qui Solidos et Monetam Adultauerint.* It is based upon *L.R.V. C.* 9, 18, 1 (*Interpretatio*) and *L.R.V. P.* 5, 27, 1.

[4] Paul., *Sent.*, 5, 22, 1 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 24, 1) *De Seditiosis; Ibid.*, 5, 3, 1 (5, 3, 1) *De His, Quae per Turbam Fiunt,* provides that those who suffer loss in a case of 'res pecuniaria, per turbam seditionemue,' shall receive double damages and personal injuries shall be vindicated at the discretion of the judge, but nothing is said regarding the capital punishment of the offenders. In *L.R.V. P.* 5, 3, 3, however, we read: 'Hi, qui aedes alienas uillasue expilauerint, effregerint, expugnauerint, si quidem id turba cum telis coacta fecerint, capite puniuntur.'

[5] *C.Th.*, 9, 33, 1 *Interpretatio* (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 23, 1) *De His, Qui Plebem Audent contra Publicam Colligere Disciplinam.*

[6] *C.Th.*, 7, 1, 1 *Interpretatio* (*L.R.V. C.* 7, 1, 1) *De Re Militari.* Cf. *C.Th.*, 9, 29, 2 (9, 22, 1) *De His, Qui Latrones uel Aliis Criminibus Reos Occultauerint.*

duellio which had a larger significance in the time of the Roman Republic, while all three are incorporated eventually into the Germanic crime of breaking the peace (*pax*) of the land (*Landesverrat*), or perhaps evolve into *scandalum* or spoliation.[1]

A survey of the evidence given above will indicate the broad scope of Roman legal principles relating to the general subject of treason which were made accessible to the western Germans through the medium of the *Lex Romana Wisigothorum*. The laws concerning *maiestas* extended the field of high treason beyond the limits of Germanic customary law, since they depended on a different conception of sovereignty.[2] The crime was not limited to such overt acts of violence as would bring personal injury to the ruler but came to include maledictions as well as mere offensive expressions of opinion. The conception of violated majesty ranged from aggravated assault and attempted assassination of the monarch to counterfeiting, which had long been a form of *laesa maiestas* in Roman Law.[3] The provisions, regarding guilty intent (*dolus malus*) which appeared later in the *Digest*,[4] do not seem to have been carried over into the *Breviary*, although one finds no good reason to suppose that these general juristic rules did not prevail among the Roman provincials of Spain and Gaul. The *ius* held the intent equivalent to the deed, while instigators and accomplices, embraced under the formula *cuius ope consilio*, were punished in the same way as the authors of the crime, though perhaps with somewhat less severity.[5]

Violated majesty, however, comprehended more than the elements which entered later into high treason since it embraced treason against

[1] Cf. *Edictum Rothari*, c. 8; 35–41, on *scandalum;* also c. 4 ('inimicús intra prouincia'), and c. 5 ('escamaras intra prouincia').

[2] In the earliest and purest Germanic custom, treason consists in the main of *Landesverrat* and *Treubruch* (*infidelitas*), and is closely associated with crimes of infamy. See my *Early History of Treason* (unpubl. Harvard Univ. diss., 1925), pp. 105 ff.; 250 ff., Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 12–14; H. Brunner, *op. cit.* (Leipzig, 1892), II, 685 ff.; P. Bisoukides, *Der Hochverrat* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 34–40; K. von Amira, *Das Altnorwegische Vollstreckungsverfahren* (Munich, 1874), pp. 21–25; and especially W. E. Wilda, *Gesch. d. deutschen Strafrechts*, I (Halle, 1842), 21, 989, quoting from the Old-Norwegian *Frostaþingslǫg*. Suggestive material may be found scattered through the Icelandic sagas.

[3] T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 580–587.

[4] *Dig.*, 48, 4, 1, 1; 48, 4, 3; 48, 4, 7, 2; 48, 4, 10; 49, 16, 3, 11.

[5] *Dig.*, 48, 4, 1, 1–3. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grècques et Romaines*, article '*Maiestas*' by G. Humbert and Ch. Lécrivain (Paris, 1904), III (2), 1559, 1560.

land and folk (*Landesverrat*) as well.[1] Other components of *Landesverrat* have been derived from the laws concerning sedition, rioting, and breach of the peace, but the military crimes such as desertion did not pass extensively into the *Breviary* despite their presence in the *Theodosian Code*.[2] Many factors which have hastened the development of petty treason passed over to the Middle Ages from the laws on accusation and parricide.[3] In each case the sanctity of the bond between patron and client is emphasized. The client may inform against the patron only when the latter is guilty of a violation of *maiestas*, and if he kills his patron, it is the basest sort of crime. Thus, a certain parallel is suggested here with the later relation of lord and vassal, just as the laws of *maiestas* suggest the later relation of king and subject.[4] Of course, this relation must not be pushed too far and must be considered in its more purely legal bearings.

Finally, it must be added that, in any case, the *Breviary* preserved the characteristic and fundamental features of Roman public criminal law for the Middle Ages, albeit in an excised and fragmentary form. But we still face the solution of certain problems: Was the mediaeval legal mind sufficiently mature to understand and apply the earlier Roman theory of *maiestas?* Did the circumstances attending Germanic customary law admit the application of Roman rules

[1] Cf. Paul., *Sent.*, 5, 29, 1 (*L.R.V. P.* 5, 31, 1), which represents in the main the earlier law of the Republic and is directed against *Landesverrat*. The wording has been modified to meet the conditions of the Principate, and the addition of 'sed et uerbis impiis ac maledictis maxime exacerbatur' refers to high treason against the person of the emperor.

[2] Cf. *C.Th.*, 7, 18, 1–17 *De Desertoribus et Occultatoribus Eorum.*

[3] E. C. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–263, especially n. 22. Also cf. *ibid.*, pp. 588 ff.; T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 527, regarding the close association of *parricidium* and *perduellio* in the early Roman Law.

[4] See Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II, 504: 'Petty treason perpetrated against a lord was but slowly marked off from high treason perpetrated against the king; and in much later days our law still saw, or spoke as if it saw, the essence of high treason in a breach of the bond of "ligeance."' That the relation of client to patron or even of slave to master in the Roman Law was interpreted by the lawyers of the later Middle Ages as bearing upon the matter of feudal allegiance may be inferred from the argument in II, 504, n. 2. Here Pollock and Maitland quote from Bracton, f. 105: 'Igne concremantur qui salute dominorum suorum insidiauerint,' and point out that he copies with certain omissions from *Dig.*, 48, 19, 28, 11 *De Poenis:* 'Igni cremantur plerumque serui, qui saluti dominorum suorum insidiauerint, nonnumquam etiam liberi plebeii et humiles personae.' 'He [Bracton] holds therefore that to plot against one's lord's life is a capital crime. We imagine that this crime would have been punished in England rather by drawing and hanging than by burning.'

and practice in the matter of offences against the state? Were the fields of operation of Roman public law and of Germanic customary law mutually exclusive, or did they interact and combine? The answers to these questions await a careful analysis of the public law matter in the barbarian codes, and its comparison and correlation with the Roman materials accessible during the earlier Middle Ages.

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NOTES

A PERSONAL MEMORANDUM BY CONRAD BUITZRUSS 1422–1427

Most of the learned works in Latin, of the later Middle Ages at least, were the work of the University men. Often, indeed, they are in the form of lectures delivered by professors or note-books amassed by students, or text-books utilized by both. In such manuscripts as had been purchased or copied by students attending the universities we sometimes find personal memoranda concerning their own academic careers jotted down on the fly-leaves or elsewhere.

The following memorandum of the activities of a German student, Conrad Buitzruss, in the main a *Lebenslauf*, during the years 1422–1427, and from his fifteenth to twentieth year, covers both sides of the first leaf of a Latin manuscript in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich [1] which otherwise may be described as a book of magic. As far as I have been able to ascertain, it has not been printed. The author's name appears as 'Conradus Byncz-rusz de Augusta' in the matriculation list for 1422, together with that of his brother Stephanus.[2] Conrad's personal memorandum is prefaced by some verses reflecting upon the venality of the papal court which suggest on the one hand the similar satire of the Goliardic poets and *clerici vagantes* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and on the other hand the German discontent at 'German gold flying over the Alps,' to which Luther gave more effective voice a century later. The text is as follows:

Curia uult markas bursas exhaurit et archas.
Si non habes markas, fuge papas et patriarchas;
Si dederis markas et eis inpleueris archas,
Culpa solueris quacumque ligatus eris.
Curia romana [3] non querit ouem sine lana.

Anno domini millesimo cccc° xxii° ego, Cuonradus [4] Buitzruss, ueni ad Heydelbergam et fui annorum quindecim et fui intitulatus sub Magistro Dietmaro, sacrorum canonum doctore eximio et desposui beaunium in bursa Magistri Heinrici de Gauda.[5]

[1] *Cod. Monac. lat. 671*, fol. 1 r–v.

[2] Gustav Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662*. I. Theil, *Von 1386 bis 1553* (Heidelberg, 1884), p. 156.

[3] Spelled *romauna* in the MS., but this seems a slip of the pen, since it spoils the rhyme.

[4] Or possibly *Cunoradus*.

[5] Or *ganda*. Probably Henricus de Gouda is meant, who on 21 November, 1428, bequeathed books to the university: see G. Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386–1662*, I (Heidelberg, 1884), p. 693.

Anno domini 1424 in die Augustis (Augustini?) fui temptatus pro gradu baccalariatus in artibus et hii fuerunt temptatores: Magister Hermannus de Heydelsheim, decanus tunc temporis, Magister Iohannes Kraushein, Magister Iohannes Deriechen et sub illo ego determinaui inettencius (?) et titulus questionis mee erat ille utrum in bona pollicia licitum sit artibus magicis fidem usum et studium adhibere Magister Arnoldus de Tharen et magister Rudolffus[1] de Pr<u>xella[2] et numerum baccalariandorum fuerunt 26 et 4^{or} fuerant reiecti.

(fol. 1v.) Item ego consumpsi in Heydelberga 166 floris (florenos?) et decem et septem floris (florenos?) quos habui a casu et fui ibi 4^{or} annos demptis sex septimanis. Summa in toto 200.

Item anno domini m°cccc°xxvi° feria 2^{a} in festo Pauli[s] obiit Dux Rupertus,[3] filius Ducis Ludovici, Reni Pallantini comitis.

Item anno domini 1426 in die Nicomedi recessi de Ursperg et in feria 6^{a} de mane circa horam decimam ueni ad Heydelbergam.

Anno domini 1426 recessi ab uniuersitate Heydelberg. in die sancti Bernhardi, et ueni ad Argentinam in die sancti Sinphoriani et Thimothei.

1427 in sabato ante Inuocauit recessi ab Argentina et in feria 2^{a} ante festum Gregorii Pape ueni ad Heydelbergam et in die Ciryaci ego recessi de Heydelberga et ueni ad Augustam in die Benedicti Abbatis et in uigilia annunctiationis ego ueni ad Ursperg. Et in die Sancti Ambrosii abii de Ursperg uersus partes Ytalie.

Another record by a student of his academic career which was printed in the eighteenth century by Affò [4] has been overlooked in the recently published *Codice Diplomatico* [5] or chartulary of the University of Pavia, and so seems worth calling attention to again. It is the record of an Italian student a decade or so later than that of Conrad Buitzruss. Since *Rotuli* of the professors of Arts and Medicine at Pavia are lacking for the years 1436–1439 inclusive, and again for the year 1440–1441, during which times records of examinations for degrees and lists of examiners such as our student gives are likewise wanting in the aforesaid *Codice Diplomatico*, the information which our student provides in these respects for the years 1438 and 1441 is important, helping us to bridge these gaps. Our student jotted down his personal record in a manuscript [6] of the *Questions on Perspective* of Blasius of Parma (died in 1416), whose son Francesco Pelacani was one of our student's promoters for his degree.

[1] Or *Rodolffus*, an *o* being written in above the *u* in the MS.

[2] Brussels?

[3] Or *Ropertus;* again an *o* is written in over the *u*.

[4] Padre Ireneo Affò, *Memorie degli Scrittori e Letterati Parmigiani* (1789), II, 166–168.

[5] Società Pavese di Storia Patria. *Codice Diplomatico dell'Università di Pavia* II, i (1401–1440), 1913; II, ii (1441–1450), 1915.

[6] Affò described the manuscript simply as 'Codice Ambrosiano della Perspettiva,' but in his earlier account of Blasius of Parma (*op. cit.*, II, 123) he gave the shelf-mark as G.71.

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ALFODHOL DE MERENGI AGAIN

In a previous note in Speculum (II, 1927, 326–331), I was mistaken in representing the geomancy or book of lot-casting, ascribed in a manuscript at Florence to Alfodhol de Merengi, as 'hitherto unnoted,' since the treatise has been discussed by both Moritz Steinschneider [1] and Heinrich Suter,[2] not to mention Guidi and Wüstenfeld. Its author was probably Fadl b. Sahl al Sarahsi, who died about A.D. 818, and the Latin translation appears to be by Gerard of Cremona, in the list of whose works as drawn up by his associates there is a *Liber Alfadhol*. But the words 'de Merengi' are hard to explain. There are other manuscripts of the work than that in the Laurentian library at Florence — manuscripts in Arabic, and in German as well as Latin translation. But the Berlin Latin manuscript from which Steinschneider gave some extracts differs from the Laurentian codex even more than he indicated on the basis of Bandini's description of it.

[1] Recently, on referring again to the Index of Steinschneider's 'Die europäischer Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen,' Vienna Academy, *Sitzungsberichte*, philos.-hist. Klasse, CLI (1906), 89; see also Vol. CXLIX (1905), 21–22, I was horrified to see the word, 'Alfadhol,' staring me in the face. Almost immediately thereafter I received a letter from Professor Alexander Marx, librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, very kindly calling my attention to Steinschneider's discussion of Fadl b. Sahl al Sarahsi and Alfodhol in his 'Arabische Mathematiker und Astronomen,' *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, IV (1901), 345–354.

[2] See especially his 'Ueber einige noch nicht sicher gestellte Autornamen in den Uebersetzungen des Gerhard von Cremona,' *Bibliotheca Mathematica* IV (1903), 25–26.

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A NOTE ON EUHEMERISM

Mr J. D. Cooke, in his study of Euhemerism (Speculum, II [1927], 396–410), cites the use made by early Christian fathers of the euhemeristic mode of interpretation in their polemics against pagan worship. It may be of interest to note how euhemerism is used as a motif in lives of the early martyrs and saints.[1] In the *Acta Disputationis Acacii*, the Roman consul, Marcianus, before whom Acacius is being tried, says (*Acta Sanctorum*, Mart. III, 899D) '*Christianorum consuetudo est multa in deos nostros maledicta confingere, propterea te ueuire mecum ad Iunonem Iouemque praecipio, ut simul celebrantes dulce conuiuium numinibus quae sunt digna reddamus.*' Acacius answers: '*Quomodo hic sacrificabo illi, cuius sepulchrum constat esse in Creta? Numquid surrexit a mortuis?*' In the *Acta Sancti Apollonii*,

[1] The motif is borrowed from the writings of the fathers. Cf. H. Delehaye, *Les Passions des Martyrs et les Genres Littéraires* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 344–364, *passim*.

when Perennius, before whom the trial is being held, commands Apollonius to sacrifice to the gods, Apollonius replies (*Analecta Bollandia* XIV, 290, ¶ 22): *θεοὺς λέγουσιν τοὺς ὄντας τὸ πρὶν ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἐξελέγχουσιν οἱ παρ' αὐτοὺς μύθοι · Διόνυσον γάρ φησιν διασπώμενον καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ πυρὸς ἀλώμενον ζῶντα, τὸν δὲ αἰἀθαπτόμενον ἐν Κρήτῃ, οἵσπερ ἀκολούθως συνεζήτειται τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ τοὺς μύθους ὢν καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα γινώσκεται· διὰ τὸ δυσσεβὲς αὐτῶν μάλιστα παραιτοῦμαι.* In the *Martyrium Sancti Ignatii*, when making his defence, Ignatius says (J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, London: Macmillan, 1890, II, 499): *οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι θεοὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν ὡς θνητοί, οὐκ ἠγέρθησαν δὲ. αὐτίκα γοῦν Ζεὺς μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ τέθαπται,*[1] *Ἀσκλήπιος δὲ κεραυνοβοληθεὶς ἐν Κυνοσούρῃ, Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Πάφῳ μετὰ Κινύρου τέθαπται, Ἡρακλῆς πυρὶ ἀνήλωται.* Finally, when ordered to sacrifice, he asks (Lightfoot, 503): *Ποίοις θεοῖς θέλεις θύσω; . . . . . ἢ τῷ ὑπὸ Τιτάνων διασπωμένῳ ἀνδρογύνῳ;*[2]

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AN UNWORKED VEIN IN MIDDLE-ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY?

WHILE excerpting for quite another purpose Thurot's masterly article in *Notices et Extraits des MSS de la Bibliothèque Imperiale* (XXII, ii, 1868), 'Notices et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales du Moyen Age,' I was much interested to find that some of the mediaeval grammars there quoted contain English glosses. I made a note of a few which struck me as remarkably early occurrences and on consulting the *NED.*, found that in some cases the glosses were considerably older than the earliest recorded occurrence of the usage.

As examples I would quote the following, from pp. 531 ff.: *tidy* is found in a thirteenth-century MS. as a gloss of *saluber;* of the same date is *ykel* (icicle), while in a MS. of about 1430 one is somewhat surprised to come across the word *pancake* (I am sorry I did not note the Latin for it!).

Though I am not in a position to consult Thurot's article again, I hardly think there is a great deal of material there. But considering the very large number of English students at Paris and elsewhere in France in the thirteenth century, it seems reasonable to suspect that there must exist other manuscripts of mediaeval textbooks containing similar English glosses. As these books are largely of a lexicographical nature, such glosses

[1] Celsus complains of the Christians' jesting references to the tomb of Zeus. Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii, 43.

[2] Cf. Diodorus Siculus, iii, 61. See also J. Rendel-Harris, *The Apology of Aristides* (Cambridge, 1891), p. 106.

may help to make up for the lack of contemporary English glossaries, and supplement the somewhat scanty literary sources. For instance, if a MS. of the *Graecismus* with English glosses could be found, it would assuredly enrich our dictionaries with a considerable number of new thirteenth-century words.

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THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF ANDREAS CAPELLANUS' *DE AMORE*

One of the main arguments by which Gaston Paris was induced to fix the first few years of the thirteenth century as the time in which Andreas Capellanus probably composed his famous book, *De arte Honeste Amandi*, was Andreas' two allusions to Hungary.[1] In the colloquy of a nobleman and a noblewoman, an Italian count is contrasted with an unnamed king of Hungary who despite his most ungainly appearance is praised by all:

> Rex est in Ungaria intensa plurimum habens crura simulque rotunda prolixosque et aequales pedes et omnibus fere decoribus destitutus. Quia tamen nimia morum inuenitur probitate fulgere, regalis coronae meruit accipere gloriam et per uniuersum paene mundum resonant eius praeconia laudis.[2]

Paris declared that this king of Hungary must have been Andrew II (1204–1235), who was son of a French princess and of whom 'on parlait beaucoup en France au commencement du XIII[e] siècle tant à cause de sa participation à la cinquième croisade que de son séjour en Italie et de son mariage en troisièmes noces avec Béatrice d'Este.'[3] Hungarian historians do not record such an unpleasant picture of King Andrew. On the contrary, they remember his gallantry and his chivalrous nature; they rather stress his great physical strength; but far from lauding his virtues, they dwell on his weakness of character, his prodigality, and his general lack of prudence and acumen. The only really memorable act of his long reign, so nearly ruinous to Hungary, was the grant of the Hungarian *Magna Charta*, which he was forced to bestow upon the Hungarian noblity in 1222.[4] The events

[1] Gaston Paris, 'Le Conte de la Charrette,' *Romania*, XII (1883), 526 ff. K. Voretzsch evidently follows G. Paris when saying that the treatise *De Amore* reflects the views of French society in the beginning of the thirteenth century: *Einführung in die Geschichte der afrz. Lit.* (3rd ed., Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), p. 337; likewise, G. Lanson, *Hist. de la Litt. Franç.* (17th ed., Paris: Hachette, 1922), p. 126.

[2] E. Trojel, ed., *Andreae Capellani Regii Francorum De Amore Libri Tres* (Copenhagen, 1892), p. 62.

[3] G. Paris, *loc. cit.*, note.

[4] A. Domanovszky, *Die Geschichte Ungarns* (München u. Leipzig: Rösl. 1923), p. 60.

which Paris mentions took place too late during his reign to make him well-known in France. He joined in the Fifth Crusade in 1217, and achieved nothing. His expedition was a complete failure, and discouraged, he soon returned to Hungary; it was an unpleasant adventure on which he had embarked half-heartedly and which he would never have started but for an oath taken before the death of his father.[1] His third marriage with Beatrice d'Este took place as late as 1234, one year before he died.[2] A stay of his in Italy is not recorded by Hungarian historians. Thus, all historic data speak against a possible identification of the unnamed king of Hungary, contemporary of Andreas Capellanus, with Andrew II. Trojel was right to question the correctness of Paris' conjecture, and more plausible still is his argument that the passage quoted might refer to Bela III, Andrew's father, who married Marguerite, daughter of Louis VII, in 1186. Still, Trojel,[3] like Paris, was too eager to find a possible relationship between France and Hungary towards the end of the twelfth century, and forgot Andreas' portrait of the king himself. The weightiest argument against Trojel's idea is the fact that Bela III was, to all appearances, most comely, and by no means *omnibus decoribus destitutus*. According to a contemporary witness, Richard, burgher of London, he was a man, tall and handsome, in whose countenance the glory of royalty was resplendent.[4] On the basis of this historic fact, Trojel's conjecture must be discarded also.

There remains only one difficulty to be solved. In all probability, the present tense found in the passage of *De Amore* led Paris and Trojel to search for a contemporary king of Hungary. Aside from the point that Andreas would probably not have used such strong terms in portraying a son-in-law or a grandson of his king, would it be too daring to suppose that Andreas, whose inaccuracy in matters of grammar and syntax is well known,[5] employed the historical present. Indeed, one variant, in manuscript *H*, says *resonabat* instead of *resonant*.

It is certain that the passage quoted does not refer to Bela III, and there is no evidence at all for the hypothesis according to which it might refer to Andrew II. On the other hand, if the verbs in the passage are regarded as historical presents, another, more satisfactory, solution of the problem may be offered. The high praise given to the anonymous king of Hungary is in keeping with the historic and traditional character of King Coloman, who ruled from 1095 to 1114, and was nearly a contempo-

[1] S. Mika, *A Hüberiség és a Kereszteshadjáratok Kora* (Budapest: Franklin-Révai, n. d. (190–?), pp. 594, 595, 605.

[2] L. Erdélyi, *Árpádkor* (Budapest: Pallas, 1922), pp. 201, 202.

[3] Trojel, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

[4] *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, XXVIII, 200; quoted by H. Marczali, *Magyarország Története az Arpádok Korában* (Budapest, 1896), p. 311.

[5] G. Zonta, 'Rileggendo Andreas Capellano,' *Studi Medievali*, V (1911), 52.

rary of Andreas. Coloman, the 'Lover of Books,' one of the greatest of the mediaeval kings of Hungary, had studied for the priesthood, and his reign is a significant landmark in the history of European civilization: the *Chanson de Roland* bears a covert memory of his resistance to the irregular hordes of the vanguard of the First Crusade,[1] and his law, which forbade the burning of witches,[2] is an act of enlightenment unparalleled in the twelfth century. The identification is likely to be of interest to students of Hungarian history also,[3] for it has long been disputed whether Coloman's appearance was really as ungainly as depicted in John Thuroczy's Chronicle.[4] According to Thuroczy, Coloman was flabby and very ugly, but witty and clever.[5] The traditional portrait of this king is in keeping with Andreas Capellanus' cryptic eulogy.

Gaston Paris was undoubtedly right in presuming that Hungary was a topic of general interest to circles frequented by Andreas when he composed his *De Amore*. But since the description of the king of Hungary does not agree with the historic portrait of any contemporary of our author, and since, as has been pointed out, it most probably refers to King Coloman who died sixty years before the only actual date found in *De Amore*,[6] would it not be natural to suppose that the work was composed at a time when the pros and cons of the prospect of a marriage between the French princess and the king of Hungary were discussed in court circles? Evidently, Andreas was not enthusiastic over the plan and gave rather free expression to his feelings.[7] He was, however, prudent enough to give due praise to

[1] P. Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland* (Paris: Champion, 1923), pp. 181, 182.

[2] *De strigis uero, quae non sunt, ne ulla quaestio fiat.*

[3] Authentic references to Hungary are rare in the mediaeval historians of France; cf. H. Marczali, *Ungarns Geschichtsquellen im Zeitalter der Árpáden*, Berlin, 1882; mediaeval French poetry, on the other hand, abounds in the portrayal of an imaginary land which had little to do with real Hungary; cf. Louis Karl, 'La Hongrie et les Hongrois dans les Chansons de Gestes,' *Revue des Langues Romanes* LI (1908), 5 ff.

[4] Cf. the discussion of the question in J. F. Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades* (Paris, 1841), III, 210 ff. Michaud apparently accepted Thuroczy's portrait, whereas modern Hungarian historians are agreed in regarding it as exaggerated, indeed, even a malicious invention. G. Pray, *Historia Regum Hungariae* (Buda, 1801), I, 96, writes: 'Colomannum domestica chronica tam deformem pingunt, ut monstro similior, quam homini, fuisse uideatur. Pilosum enim, luscum, gibbosum, claudum, blaesumque perhibent.' The adjectives are from Thuroczy, *loc. cit. infra*. Coloman must have been, indeed, *omnibus decoribus destitutus*. For protests against this ugly portrait, cf. J. Csuday, *Geschichte der Ungarn* (Berlin, 2d ed., 1899), I, 170, 171; I. Acsády, *A Magyar Birodalom Története* (Budapest, 1903), I, 182, etc.

[5] Cf. J. Thwrocz (Thuroczy): *Chronica Hungarorum* (in J. Bongars: *Rerum Hungaricarum Scriptores Varii*, Frankfurt a/M, 1660), p. 68: 'Erat autem habitu corporis contemptibilis sed astutus et docilis.'

[6] Namely, 1174; in this connection, it matters little whether Zonta was right in supposing that the letter of Marie de Champagne was fictitious. Cf. Zonta, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 87: Malo igitur aere modico Franciae contenta adesse et liberum eundi, quo uoluere, possidere arbitrium quam Ungarico quidem onusta argento alienae subiici potestati.

a near relative and predecessor of the king of Hungary. He would have been even more cautious if the marriage had actually taken place.

To sum up, the two allusions to things Hungarian seem to point to the fact that Andreas Capellanus' treatise *De Amore* was written between 1174 and 1186, and not in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

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THE WISE SAYINGS OF FLANN FÍNA

(Aldfrith, King of Northumbria)

Introduction [1]

The text here edited for the first time is based upon the well-known Irish MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, *The Yellow Book of Lecan*, which dates from the end of the fourteenth century.[2] Variant readings of sufficient grammatical or textual importance are given from the following four MSS:

(*a*) *Additional 30512* in the British Museum (15th and 16th century).[3]
(*b*) *H. 4.22* (now *1363*) in Trinity College, Dublin (of various dates).[4]
(*c*) *Leabhar Breac* in the Royal Irish Academy (before 1411).[5]
(*d*) *23 N 27* in the Royal Irish Academy (beginning of the 18th century).[6]

Of these MSS, *YBL*, *Add*, and *H* are so similar in language and in content that they are probably derived from a lost common original. *LB*, on the other hand, already represents a later stage both in its grammatical forms and in its textual modifications. *N*, in turn, belongs to the modern period; linguistically it conforms to the Irish of to-day, and, as regards the text, it often substitutes more current words for the archaic expressions in the other MSS which probably were no longer understood.[7]

[1] I am indebted to Professor R. Thurneysen for aid in interpreting the text.

[2] Facsimile edition, Dublin, 1896, ed. R. Atkinson, col. 232 (p. 412 of facsimile); abbrev. *YBL*. See also T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co., 1921), p. 98. Since the facsimile of *YBL* is at this point illegible, Dr R. I. Best has kindly furnished me with a transcript from the MS. itself.

[3] Cf. fol. 19; abbrev. *Add*. See S. H. O'Grady and R. Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1926), II, 477. I am indebted to Mr Robin Flower for a copy of the text in this MS.

[4] Cf. p. 87; abbrev. *H*. See also T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts*, p. 206.

[5] Facsimile edition, Dublin, 1876, ed. R. Atkinson, p. 12, col. b, l. 29; abbrev. *LB*.

[6] Cf. pp. 32–33; abbrev. *N;* Miss Kathleen Mulchrone of the Royal Irish Academy has been kind enough to transcribe the version in *N* for me.

[7] Of all these MSS, *N* alone omits one of these sententious utterances (see below, p. 8); but this probably was a scribal oversight.

Though these five MSS belong to three distinctly different periods in the literary tradition of Ireland, they vary among themselves in ascribing this text to Flann Fína or Aldfrith (King of Northumbria, 685–705), as he is known in English history and literature. In the oldest group, *YBL* [1] and *Add* definitely assign these proverbial sayings to him; whereas *H*, on the contrary, entitles them 'The Testament of the Trinity.' [2] *LB*, the sole representative of the second group, is in acordance with *YBL* and *Add* in attributing these maxims to Aldfrith. *N*, on the other hand, which constitutes the third group, makes no ascription, but the following item in this MS., likewise a series of gnomic sayings, is ascribed to him.[3] If, therefore, the testimony of the MSS is alone taken into consideration, the evidence overwhelmingly favors Flann Fína or Aldfrith as the author of these moralistic precepts.

Such an ascription, however, need cause no particular surprise. In an able and well-documented article, dealing with the literature of instruction to princes in Ireland,[4] Mr R. M. Smith has clearly demonstrated that the reputation that Flann Fína or Aldfrith enjoyed on account of his learning and wisdom, combined with his long residence in Ireland and his connections by birth with that country, led the Irish to attribute to him a poem describing the peculiarities of the individual Irish tribes, and also a work consisting of a series of wise sayings very similar in structure, though not in tone, to the text here assigned to him.[5] Mr Smith, however, argues against the authenticity of ascribing the above-mentioned aphorisms to him on the ground that these moralistic precepts are often assigned to a different author,[6] and that, furthermore, they are much too pagan in spirit to have been composed by a prince who was noted for his Christian piety. That these maxims have no specifically Christian color cannot be denied; but to conclude, as Mr Smith does, that they are therefore of pagan origin is not an entirely justifiable corollary, since it does not allow for the fact that their author may have been a layman who was not especially concerned with imparting to his work a religious atmosphere. Unlike these maxims, however, the text here published for the first time is unmistakably religious in tone and in spirit. If, therefore, Mr Smith's argument is carried to its logical conclusion, one is forced to conclude that these precepts, in contradistinction to the foregoing, must have been composed by Flann Fína or Aldfrith.

[1] Cf. R. Thurneysen, 'Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern,' *Abh. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wissensch. z. Gött.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F., XIV (1912), 21, 22.

[2] That is, 'The Testamentary Precepts of the Trinity.'

[3] Cf. Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 8, note 15.

[4] 'The Speculum Principum in Early Irish Literature,' SPECULUM, II (1927), 411–445.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 432–434.

[6] Namely, the Irishman Fithal; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 429–431.

But to maintain such an assumption would be flying in the face of good sense; for these sayings, from a linguistic point of view, belong to the Middle Irish period and cannot possibly be dated back to an earlier epoch on the basis of their grammatical forms. Though most of the MSS ascribe this text [1] to Flann Fína, it is noteworthy that *H*, which belongs to the oldest group, does not refer to him as the author, but simply calls this piece 'The Testament of the Trinity.' Aldfrith, moreover, died in 705; yet *YBL*, which dates from the end of the fourteenth century, is the earliest MS. to contain these precepts. Although it is possible to assume the existence of a series of MSS, now lost, in order to account for the silence of almost seven centuries between the date of Aldfrith's death and the compilation of *YBL*, it is nevertheless strange that no mention of Aldfrith as the author of any works in Irish exists, previous to 1400.[2] In consequence of his long residence in Ireland, Aldfrith doubtless possessed a fluent command of Irish; but that he should have written three works in a foreign language and none in his own tongue, — none at least that have survived,[3] — is a further reason for questioning the authenticity of such an attribution.

On the basis of these general considerations, one is, therefore, forced to conclude that all these ascriptions are probably spurious, and were made only because of Aldfrith's universal reputation for piety and wisdom and because of his protracted sojourn in Ireland. But even though Aldfrith

[1] In spite of its Christian sentiments, this piece employs the formula (in this case, *Mairg*) and the rhetorical balance so characteristic of the oldest instruction-texts; cf. Speculum, II (1927), 432, and R. M. Smith, 'The Alphabet of Cuigne Mac Emoin,' *Ztschr. f. Celt. Philol.*, XVII (1927), 45, 46. The word *Audacht* (testament) in the heading *Audacht in Trir* of *H* likewise occurs in the *Audacht Moraind*, which, according to Mr Smith, is one of the earliest of these works giving advice to a prince; cf.' The Speculum Principum in Early Irish Literature,' Speculum, II (1927), 415–419. Though Christian in spirit, the present work nevertheless conforms closely to the stylistic framework of its non-religious predecessors. Identical in tone although not in their content with *The Wise Sayings of Flann Fína* are the moralistic precepts which occur in a homily contained in part on fol. 256 a of *LB*; ed. E. Hogan, *The Irish Nennius from L. Na Huidre and Homilies & Legends from L. Brecc* (Dublin: Todd Lecture Series, vol. VI, 1895), pp. 35, 36. These likewise employ the formula *Mairg* at the beginning, and have the same antithetical structure that is so characteristic of the text here edited.

[2] In the *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (London, 1905), ed. W. Stokes, p. 182, Oswald is incorrectly called 'Flann fína mac Ossa,' but no literary attribution whether in English or in Irish is made to Aldfrith in this work.

[3] Though Aldfrith does not seem to have composed any works in English, he was at all events well acquainted with those of his contemporaries who were active in a literary way. Thus he knew Adamnan, who was the author of a Latin life of St Columba, and who may have been his teacher at the monastery of Hy or Iona. With Aldhelm, who dedicated his *Epistola ad Acircium* to him, he seems likewise to have been on friendly terms; cf. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Litteratur des Mittelalters* (München, 1911), Part I, pp. 136, 137, 236–238, and R. M. Smith, 'The Speculum Principum in Early Irish Literature,' Speculum, II (1927), 433, note 3.

was not the author of the various works assigned to him, it is significant that such a tradition should have existed in Ireland, and that the Irish should have ascribed to a Northumbrian prince three separate compositions in their own language. In a word, we have here another precious bit of evidence pointing to literary relations between Ireland and England in the later Middle Ages which may perhaps have been closer and more sensitive than has heretofore been suspected.[1]

THE WISE SAYING OF FLANN FÍNA
(Aldfrith, King of Northumbria)

Text [2]

(*a*) Mairc[3] do-n[4] duine carus[5] duíne, ocus ná[6] car[7] Día no-d-car.[8]

(*b*) Mairg itchi[9] ín[10] téinid[11] n-aimserdha,[12] ocus nadimeclaig[13] in[14] téinidh[15] suthain.[16]

(*c*) Mairg itchí[17] in[18] aidhchi[19] snáas,[20] ocus na[21] háig[22] in[23] aidchi[24] sír.

(*d*) Mairg do-n[25] duíne[26] itchi ín[27] marb, ocus na[28] himeclaigh[29] a[30] beth[31] corob[32] marb.

(*e*) Mairg itchi[33] ín[34] aigred[35] n-acside,[36] ocus na[37] huathaid[38] in[39] uacht[40] sír.

(*f*) Mairg itcluin[41] ín[42] comnessom,[43] ocus na[44] cluin breithir[45] a[46] Dé.

[1] The writings of Aldfrith's celebrated contemporary, Bede, were likewise well known at a later time to the Irish, who translated several of his works into their own language; cf. V. E. Hull, 'The Middle Irish Version of Bede's *De Locis Sanctis*,' *Ztschr. f. Celt. Philol.*, XVII (1927), 225–240.

[2] All MS. contractions have been silently resolved, and the punctuation has been made to accord with modern usage.

[3] In *LB* this piece is entitled: *Fland Fína cecinit. H*, on the other hand, has: *Audacht in Trir so-shis*, 'Here follows the Testament of the Trinity.'

[4] do *LB*. [5] charas *Add;* charus *N*. [6] nach *Add;* na-r *H;* nad *N*.
[7] carand *LB*. [8] no-chara *Add; omitted LB*. [9] ati *LB*. [10] an *N*.
[11] tene *N*. [12] n-aimseradha *H*.
[13] na himecclaig *Add;* nadimeclaidh *H*; na himeglaig *LB;* nach imegluighenn *N*.
[14] an *N*. [15] tene *N*. [16] shuthain *Add;* shior *N*. [17] ati *LB;* adci *N*. [18] an *N*.
[19] oidche *LB;* oidhche *N*. [20] snaas *Add;* snaus *H;* shnadus *LB;* as nessa *N*.
[21] nach *N*. [22] haic *H;* himeclaig *LB;* bfúathuighenn *N*. [23] ind *Add;* an *N*.
[24] aidhche *Add;* oidche *LB;* oidhche *N*. [25] *Omitted LB*.
[26] itchí do-n duíne itchí *H;* ati *LB;* adchí *N*. [27] an *N*. [28] nach *N*.
[29] imeagluighionn *N*. [30] *Omitted N*. [31] bith *Add:* beith *H*; bheith *N*.
[32] *Omitted LB;* gurab *N*. [33] ati *LB;* adchí *N*. [34] an *N*.
[35] oigred *LB;* oighre *N*. [36] aicside *LB;* n-aicsidhe *N*. [37] nach *Add, N*.
[38] fhuathaig *Add;* imeclaig *LB;* imegluighion *N*. [39] an *N*.
[50] fuacht *Add, LB;* oighre *N*. [41] adchluin *N*. [42] an *N*.
[43] coibhnesom *H;* coimhneasamh *N*. [44] nach *Add, N*. [45] briathar *H*; briathra *N*.
[46] n *Add, H;* ṅ *LB; omitted N*.

(*g*) Mairg duine[1] techtas na cairdi[2] collnaidi,[3] ocus do[4] nach muinter[5] aingil[6] Dé.

(*h*) Mairg luaighes[7] ín[8] talmain-se,[9] ocus nach[10] luaidh[11] flaith[12] níme.[13]

(*i*) Mairg gnias fria[14] hirnaigthidh,[15] ocus nach[16] glanann a[17] cridhe.[18]

(*j*) Mairg[19] creites[20] i[21] nn-essergi,[22] ocus[23] na[24] haigi[25] in[26] fugall.[27]

(*k*) Mairg tinolas[28] na peoctha,[29] ocus fhollaiges[30] in[31] n-athírghi.[32]

(*l*) Mairg cuinghes[33] trocaire[34] o[35] Dia,[36] ocus nach[37] dilgenn a[38] ancridhe.[39]

(*m*) Mairg santaighis[40] hoinoir saegalda,[41] 7[42] nach[43] acobair[44] in[45] gloir neamdha.

(*n*) Mairg airdarcais[46] na forcitla[47] fíra,[48] 7[49] nacha[50] timairg[51] fein o mibesaib.[52]

(*o*) Mairg luaides[52] airer[53] in[54] t-shaegail-se,[55] 7 nach[56] honóraigh[57] a[58] Coimdidh.[59]

(*p*) Mairg epscop[60] nach[61] cuindrigh[62] a pharcha,[63] 7 tínolas[64] a mmóine.[65]

(*q*) Mairg foghnas[66] do[67] Mam(o)n[68] i-fus,[69] 7 dínsemas[70] breithir[71] nDé.[72]

[1] dhuine *Add; omitted LB.* [2] cairde *H, LB, N.*
[3] collaide *LB;* collaidhthe *N.* [4] *Omitted N.* [5] maith *H;* muintir *N.*
[6] angeal *Add;* aíngel *H;* d'ainglibh *N.* [7] luaides *LB;* luaidhios *N.* [8] do-n *LB.*
[9] *for* 'ín talmain-se,' *N has;* 'oirear int saoghuil.' [10] na *H.*
[11] *Omitted Add;* luaidhionn *N.* [12] flaitheas *N.* [13] Dé *N.* [14] fri *Add, LB, N.*
[15] hairnaighthib *Add;* hirnaighthib *H;* hirnaigthi *LB;* hiornaidhthe *N.* [16] na *Add.*
[17] *Omitted LB;* MS. *illegible N.* [18] chridi *Add;* cridhe uodein *H;* MS. *illegible N.*
[19] *Omitted N.* [20] cretes *Add;* creidis *H;* credes *LB; omitted N.* [21] a *H; omitted LB, N*
[22] n-eisseirge *Add;* n-eiseirgi *H;* esergi *LB; omitted N.* [23] *Omitted N.*
[24] nach *LB; omitted N.* [25] haithgi *YBL;* haigthi *Add;* haithghi *H;* imeclaig *LB; omitted N.* [26] *Omitted N.* [27] fuigell *LB; omitted N.* [28] thinoiles *LB;* thionolas *N.*
[29] peccatha *H;* pecthaig *LB;* pectha *N.* [30] nach bfoichlionn *N.*
[31] *Omitted LB;* an *N.* [32] n-aithrighe *Add, H, N;* aithrige *LB.*
[33] chuinces *LB;* MS. *illegible N.* [34] MS. *illegible N.*
[35] *Omitted LB;* MS. *illegible, but perhaps omitted N.* [36] na *Add, LB.*
[37] *Omitted H, N.* [38] ancridhi *Add;* ancridi *H;* ancride *LB;* anchridhe *N.*
[39] shanntages *Add;* tsantaiges *H;* shanntaiges *LB;* shanntoigheas *N.*
[40] shaegulda *Add;* soegalta *H;* shaegulta *LB;* saoghalta *N.* [41] MS. *illegible N.*
[42] nad *Add;* nat *LB;* MS. *illegible N.* [43] . . . ar *N.* [44] an *H, N.*
[45] airdharcaiges *Add;* airdarcus *H;* oirrdercaiges *LB;* oirdhearcuighes *N.*
[46] forcetla *LB;* foircedla *N.* [47] fira *Add, LB;* firi *H;* fiora *N.* [48] MS. *illegible N.*
[49] nach *Add, H;* na *LB;* MS. *illegible N.*
[50] . . . airge *N.* [51] mibésa *Add;* mibheusaibh *N.* [52] luaiges *Add;* luaighes *H.*
[53] oirer *LB;* oirear *N.* [54] an *H, N.*
[55] t-shaeguil-se *Add;* t-saegail-se *H;* t-saegail-si *LB;* t-saoguil-si *N.*
[56] na *LB.* [57] anoruidh *H;* onoruigeann *N.* [58] an *N.*
[59] choimdhe *Add;* coimde *LB;* coimdhe *N.*
[60] espoc *LB;* easpoc *N.* [61] na *Add, LB.* [62] coindrigh *N.*
[63] thuath *LB;* thréuda *N.* [64] tinoiles *LB;* thionolas *N.*
[65] maine *Add;* múine *LB;* mhaoine *N.* [66] fhognus *Add;* fhodmas *LB;* fhoghnas *N.*
[67] *Omitted N.* [68] Mamón *Add;* Mammón *H;* dhoman *LB;* domhan *N.*
[69] *Omitted LB;* a-bhus *N.*
[70] dinsimiges *LB;* dínseabhas *N, which glosses this word:* Do-bheir tainsiomh nó tarcuisne ar. [71] briathra *N.* [72] De *Add, H;* ṅDe *LB.*

(*r*) Mairg atchi[1] soillsi na g(réin)e-si,[2] 7 nach[3] cuim(n)idh[4] grein[5] na firinne.
(*s*) Mairg míscnes[6] a chomnessam,[7] 7 nach[8] míscníg[9] a namait,[10] in[11] Diabul.[12]
(*t*) Mairg ar[13] ro-cesair[14] Crist[15] di-a hicc,[16] 7 nach[17] mill[18] a colainn[19] fein[20] ara[21] pecad.[22]
(*u*) Mairg no[23]-tocaib[24] fodeisin[25] sech[26] cach, 7 nacha[27] dene[28] ínisle.[29]
(*v*) Mairg m(ola)s[30] na[31] gnima[32] dóenna,[33] 7 nacha[34] bennach[35] gnímu[36] Dé.
(*w*) Mairg aplaiges[37] do doinib,[38] 7 do-gair[39] lonnas nDé.[40]
(*x*) Mairg toichles[41] mag[42] forcitail,[43] 7 do-d-ell[44] hi[45] saibe.[46]

FINIT[47]

THE WISE SAYINGS OF FLANN FÍNA
(Aldfrith, King of Northumbria)

TRANSLATION

(*a*) Woe to the man who loves mankind,[48] and who does not love God who loves him.
(*b*) Woe to him who sees the temporal fire, and who does not fear the everlasting fire.

[1] atchí *Add;* itchi *H;* ati *LB;* adchí *N.*
[2] gréine-se *Add;* greine-si *H;* greni *LB;* gréine *N.* [3] na *LB.*
[4] cuingenn *Add;* cumnidh *H;* cuindig *LB;* ccuimhnigh *N.* [5] grian *H, LB, N.*
[6] miscniges *LB;* miscnuighes *N.* [7] comnesom *H;* coimhneasamh *N.*
[8] na *LB.* [9] miscnigi *H;* miscnuigheann *N.* [10] nama *LB;* namhaid *N.*
[11] i *Add, H, LB, N.* [12] an Diabhal *N.* [13] o *N.*
[14] ro-chessair *Add;* ro-t-ces *LB;* ro-ceusair *N.* [15] Criosd *N.* [16] íoc *N.*
[17] na *Add, LB.* [18] ccoigill *N.* [19] cholann *Add, H;* choland *LB;* corp *N.*
[20] féin *Add; omitted LB;* fen *N.* [21] ar *Add, H, LB, N.* [22] pecthaib *LB.*
[23] nacha *YBL;* na *Add;* no *H;* no-s *LB; omitted N.*
[24] tóccaib *Add;* thoccaib *H;* toghbhas *N.* [25] fessin *LB;* bhudhesin e féin *N.*
[26] os *N.* [27] na *Add, LB;* nach *H, N.* [28] deine *Add, H;* dein *LB;* dén *N.*
[29] inisle do Dia *LB.*
[30] molas *Add, H, LB, N.* [31] *Omitted N.* [32] gnimha *Add;* n-gníma *H;* gniomha *N.*
[33] daenna *Add, H;* daonna *N.* [34] na *Add, LB;* nach *H, N.* [35] bennacha *Add, H.*
[36] gníma *Add;* gnima; *H* ghnimu *LB;* gniomha *N.*
[37] apbelaiges *Add;* abelaiges *LB;* coimheghluighios *N.*
[38] daínaib *H;* dhainib *LB;* daoinibh *N.* [39] nach aghar *N.* [40] De *H, LB;* Dé *N.*
[41] taighleas *N.* [42] inad *Add;* in *LB.*
[43] forcital *H;* dag-fhorcetul *LB;* foirceadail *N.* [44] do-eall *LB;* da n-̇— deall *N.*
[45] *Omitted N.* [46] saeibe *LB;* saoibhe *N.*
[47] Briathra Flaind Fína sund riam. FINIT *Add;* ET CETERA *H; omitted N; omitted LB, which, however, adds the following conclusion*: Tabrad nech di-a uid ria n-aithnedaib De do dibert do cindas d'fechbas i n-a dheccraib ar Dia 7 cindas guidfess in Coimdid i n-aircc no hi nn-ecin 7 cindas no-s-cluinfea Dia a donuall no a dethbirsi. ET CETERA. 'Let each take into notice before dismissing the commandments of God how in his afflictions he shall look upon God, and how in want and in necessity he shall beseech the Lord, and how God shall hear his cry of anguish and his need. ET CETERA.' [48] Literally: man.

(*c*) Woe to him who sees the night that swims past, and who does not fear the long night.
(*d*) Woe to the man who sees a corpse, and who does not fear his own death.[1]
(*e*) Woe to him who sees the visible ice, and who does not hate [2] the perpetual cold.
(*f*) Woe to him who hears his [3] neighbor, and who does not hear the word of God.
(*g*) Woe to the man who possesses friends incarnate, and who does not possess [4] the friendship of the angels of God.
(*h*) Woe to him who purchases this world, and who does not purchase the kingdom of heaven.
(*i*) Woe to him who prays [5] and who does not cleanse his heart.
(*j*) Woe to him who believes in resurrection, and who does not fear judgment.[6]
(*k*) Woe to him who gathers sins (unto himself), and who neglects [7] repentance.
(*l*) Woe to him who seeks the mercy of God, and who does not forgive a wrong.
(*m*) Woe to him who craves worldly honor, and who does not desire heavenly fame.
(*n*) Woe to him who exalts true teachings, and who does not restrain himself from evil practices.
(*o*) Woe to him who purchases the pleasure of this world, and who does not honor his Lord.
(*p*) Woe to the bishop who does not chastise his parish,[8] and who collects their riches.
(*q*) Woe to him who serves [9] Mamon [10] int his world, and who despises [11] the world of God.
(*r*) Woe to him who beholds the brightness of this sun, and who does not bear in mind [12] the Sun of Righteousness.[13]

[1] Literally: his being that he may be dead.

[2] *LB* and *N*, on the other hand, substitute: *imeclaigid*, 'fears, dreads.'

[3] Literally: the.

[4] Literally: and to him not. Or should we read: *do-nach-muinter*, 'who does not believe'? cf. H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909–1913), II, 581, 582. But the reading of *H* which has *maith*, 'goodness,' is against such an interpretation.

[5] Literally: works with prayer.

[6] The scribe is here, of course, referring to the 'Last Judgment.' Since the reading *haithge* of *YBL* is grammatically impossible, I emend to *haigi*, analogous to *háig* in (*c*), which I take to be the Middle-Irish form of the deponential Old-Irish (*ad*)*agathar*.

[7] *N* substitutes: who does not heed.

[8] *LB* reads: company, people, congregation; whereas *N* has: flock.

[9] *LB* alone has: endures.

[10] *LB* and *N* substitute: world.

[11] Since this verb at the time of the composition of *N* was already felt to be an archaic word, the scribe has glossed it in the margin as: puts censure or abuse on. It is a Middle Irish formation from *dínsem*, 'contempt,' the verbal abstract to the root *di-ness-;* cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, II, 583, 584.

[12] On the basis of the readings in *H* and *N*, the form *cuimid* of *YBL* has been emended to *cuim(n)idh*. On the other hand, the forms in *Add* and *LB* point to the verb *condieig*, 'asks, demands'; cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, II, 607.

[13] The 'Sun of Righteousness' is glossed: the Lord Jesus Christ in R. Atkinson's edition of *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (Dublin, 1887), p. 266, ll. 8065, 8066.

(*s*) Woe to him who hates his neighbor, and who does not hate his enemy, the Devil.

(*t*) Woe to him for whom Christ suffered in order to save him, and who does not destroy his own body through his sin.

(*u*) Woe to him who raises [1] himself above each thing, and who does not practise humility.[2]

(*v*) Woe to him who praises the deeds of men,[3] and who does not bless the acts of God.

(*w*) Woe to him who flatters mankind,[4] and who calls upon himself [5] the wrath of God.

(*x*) Woe to him who travels over[6] the plain[7] of instruction, and who deviates into falsehood.

THE END.

[1] The negative *nacha* in *YBL* seems inconsistent with the second half of the sentence. The variant readings from *H* and *LB* point to the preverb *no-*, whereas *N* has entirely omitted the particle. Only *Add* has kept the negative as *na*, which, however, may be a bad spelling for *no-*. The evidence of the MSS themselves favors the substitution of the preverb *no-* for the negative *nacha*.

[2] *LB* alone adds: towards God.

[3] Literally: human.

[4] Literally: who flatters to men.

[5] *N* at *this* point reads: who does not fear.

[6] Is *toichles* a simplex made from *tóichell*, the verbal noun of *dofoichlid*, 'journeys through, travels over'? cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, II, 483.

[7] *Add.* substitutes 'place,' and *LB* has 'good-instruction,' but if the figure of speech in *YBL* is taken literally, the meaning is obvious.

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A BEATUS FRAGMENT AT SANTO DOMINGO DE SILOS

THE leaf of a manuscript of Beatus' *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, the recto and verso of which are presented here in reduced reproductions (Plates I, II), was examined and photographed by the writer in the library of Santo Domingo de Silos in August, 1927, through the courtesy of R. P. Hermenegildo Nebreda, sub-prior of the monastery. It is preserved in a volume of stray manuscript leaves of various dates, presumably salvaged from book bindings.[1]

The leaf contains the last sentences of the comment on the four horsemen, a miniature of the martyred souls under the altar, and the appropriate

[1] The later text which runs up the left margin of the verso indicates that the leaf was at one time used for wrapping a charter. It reads *Titulado del Prebilexio de Çirueña*. In a still later hand the *de* has been converted into *del* and *Rey Sancho* added. The date of the charter is given as 1074 (era 1112).

text *Incipit storia de animas occisorum in lib. iiii.*[1] The script would indicate a date not later than the end of the tenth century, and as this text is found in all of the six copies of this period mentioned by Neuss in his list of Beatus manuscripts [2] it is clear that this leaf is a fragment of a lost manuscript rather than a part of a known incomplete one. In five of these six manuscripts a miniature of the same subject is found.

The illustration of this leaf, which is framed by a border of oblong sections, each divided by a diagonal stripe, is in two registers, the upper somewhat larger than the lower. The upper register contains the altar, with a hanging ornament on either side, crudely drawn heads, and representations of birds. To the right of the picture running down the margin is the inscription *Animas interfectorum.* In the lower register are more heads and birds, with the caption *animas occisorum* in the lower right corner. The drawing is unskillful and clumsy.

In the earliest known complete manuscript, the Morgan Beatus of 894, the iconography of this scene is more complicated and the execution more accomplished.[3] In the upper register is the altar with the hanging lamps, a cowled figure in the centre below the altar, and a greater number of birds, with the caption *animas interfectorū.* Below are four groups of standing draped figures, with the inscription *ad hos date sunt stole albe ut requiescant.*

The 970 Beatus from Valcalvado, now in the University Library at Valladolid, has a smaller altar, but the composition is otherwise very much like the Morgan manuscript. The copy in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid,[4] also dated 970, shows a very dissimilar iconography. There are there horseshoe arches at the top of the miniature and there is no division into registers. In the upper left there is a seated figure, and on the right, the altar. Below, headless bodies are scattered about. The Gerona Beatus of 975 shows still another arrangement: in this a round arch is used. The altar, lamps, and birds are in the tympanum, in the middle register is the figure of Christ, and in the lower are the groups of standing figures. The late tenth or early eleventh century manuscript in the Cathedral Archives at Seo de Urgell shows a composition not unlike the Valladolid miniature.

I have been unable to find a similar illustration among the available photographs of *Codex 33* of the library of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, the only other Beatus of this period, but I am greatly indebted to Professor Henry A. Sanders of the American Academy in Rome for in-

[1] A note inserted in the collection refers to pages 300, 301 of Florez' publication of the *Commentary.*

[2] Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die Altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn: Schroeder, 1922), p. 63, n. 6.

[3] Fol. 109r.

[4] V.-1–4.

forming me that the text of the Silos leaf is found in this manuscript.[1] It is therefore obvious that this fragment is from a lost or unknown manuscript of the *Commentary*.

Study of the palaeography does not help notably in assigning a precise date to the Silos leaf. Dr E. A. Lowe, in his *Studia Palaeographica*,[2] from a study of the *ti* ligature in Spanish manuscripts attempts to secure a criterion for dating from the systematic use of the ligature ꝏ to represent the assibilated *ti*. By a neat coincidence the earliest dated example of a manuscript with the *ti* distinction which he cites is *Thompsonianus 97*, the title by which the Morgan Beatus was known while in the collection of Henry Yates Thompson in London. His conclusion is 'that a MS. without the distinction is in all probability older than 894 (as many MSS of the type of *Thompsonianus* 97 still ignore the distinction); that on the other hand a MS. with the *ti* distinction is hardly older than 894, and in most cases much younger.' [3]

In the Silos fragment there is no distinction between the manner of writing the assibilated and the unassibilated *ti*. However, in the manuscripts antedating 894 cited by Dr Lowe, in which there is no distinction, the *t* and the *i* are not ligatured, whereas in the Silos fragment in the great majority of cases the ligature ꝏ is used for all appearances of the letters, assibilated or unassibilated.

The following examples of the *ti* occur in the leaf. Recto: col. 1, l. 11 tesꝏmoniū; col. 2, l. 6 tesꝏmoniū, l. 9 veritaꝏs, l, 13 tesꝏmonio, l. 15 oraꝏones, l. 18 Uꝏque, l. 19 oraꝏones. Verso: col. 1, l. 4 abitantibus, l. 6 remunerationem, l. 7–8 dam-naꝏo, l. 20 Discuꝏendā, l. 21 locutio, l. 23 uesꝏtus, l. 28–29 locuꝏo-nis, l. 30 locuꝏonis, l. 31 senꝏmus; col. 2, l. 2–3 men-ꝏs, l. 9 eꝏā, l. 10–11 lo-cuꝏo, l. 17 opposiꝏone, l. 21 contemplatione, ueritaꝏs, l. 23 contemplaꝏonis, l. 24 audienꝏbus, uibenꝏbus, l. 27 alꝏonis, l. 30–31 contemplaꝏone. If Dr Lowe's rule that a manuscript without distinction between the forms of the assibilated and the unassibilated *ti* antedates 894 is valid, then the Silos fragment must clearly come from a manuscript older than the Morgan Beatus. Yet the fact that the ꝏ form of the ligature is not generally found in use before 894 casts a shadow of doubt on the conclusion. On completing my study of the *ti* ligature in this leaf, I sent it with photographs to Dr Lowe, who very kindly examined it and

[1] Professor Sanders also tells me that, although spaces were left for all the miniatures in *Codex* 33, a very large number of them were never painted in. This may well account for the absence of this miniature from the available reproductions. I wish to express my thanks to him for this very kind assistance.

[2] Kgl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Sitzungsberichte*, phil., hist. Kl., 1910, 12. Abhandlung, pp. 16 ff.

[3] *Studia Palaeographica*, p. 79.

made the following valuable comment, for which I wish to express my most sincere thanks:

> This manuscript is unique in its *ti*-usage, since it employs for both assibilated and unassimilated *ti* a form (ơ) which only came into use at the end of the ninth century and then for the distinct purpose of making a distinction between its two sounds, the older form being kept for the hard sound and the new form with the pendent *i* being reserved for the soft sound. In using this latter form to express both hard and soft sounds the scribe of this manuscript broke with precedent and struck out on a line of his own. My guess is that an inexperienced scribe was copying from a manuscript that made the distinction in the normal way, and not understanding the purpose of ơ used it indifferently; now and then, however, dropping into the older form of *ti*. The hand seems to me of the tenth century: certainly not earlier and hardly later.

So, although the script does not give an absolutely precise date, it is clear that this Silos fragment is from an unknown manuscript of an early period, probably of the tenth century, whose iconography places it in the family of the Morgan, Valladolid, and Seo de Urgell manuscripts.

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LES PROPHECIES DE MERLIN

Partly for the sake of the author of the *Prophécies de Merlin*, partly for my own, and partly for that of accuracy, I venture, at the risk of seeming captious, to make two corrections in Mr. J.S.P. Tatlock's suggestive review of my edition of the *Prophécies* (Speculum, III, 1928, 416). Professor Tatlock says that 'Miss Paton decides . . . that the work was produced by an author . . . of Ghibelline sympathies.' *Absit omen.* He abhorred Ghibellines and promptly turned over in his grave as Mr Tatlock wrote those words. From beginning to end of Part ii, I proclaimed that he was a Guelph. Witness the passages on page 390 of the Index under the heading '*Prophécies de Merlin*, Guelph partisanship.' In fact, on the supposition that he was a Ghibelline a large part of the argument of the book collapses. Professor Tatlock also says that the text in Part i is followed by 'selections [how chosen we are not told] from the *editio princeps* of 1498.' But at the conclusion of the description of 1498 (i, 46) I make the statement: 'Those portions of its contents which are important for the light that they throw upon the composition of the *Prophécies* are reprinted below merely for the convenience of the reader in following the argument in the chapter [ii, Cap. ix] that treats of them.'

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CHAUCER'S 'CORINNE'

A MINOR puzzle which invites one to sow cockles in Chaucer's clean corn is that line in *Anelida and Arcite*, 'First folow I Stace, and after him Corinne.' Statius is accounted for, but who or what is 'Corinne'? Professor E. F. Shannon argued that *Anelida* showed the influence of Ovid's *Heroides*, itself a series of complaints, and that Chaucer's reference might be explained by the fact that in the Middle Ages Ovid's *Amores* was frequently known under the title of *Corinna;* if in Chaucer's copy the *Heroides* followed *Corinna*, confusion of titles might result.[1]

Some such confusion is perhaps possible, though it seems unlikely that one who knew both the *Amores* and the *Heroides* could allude to one by the name of the other. Nor, in view of the inevitable topics developed in complaints of deserted women, do the parallels between the *Heroides* and *Anelida* go very far. There are borrowings from other authors than Ovid, and many parallels have been found with Machaut.[2] On the other hand Professor Tupper has urged that the reference is to the Theban poetess Corinna, that 'somewhere, somehow, Chaucer had found Corinna associated with Thebes and its legends.'[3]

This note does not pretend to offer a solution, but only a query and a possible clue. The clue, such as it is, occurs in Lydgate's *Troy-Book*, and I have not seen it mentioned in this connection.[4] Attempting to describe the grief which followed the death of Troilus, Lydgate launches on a long list of famous authors and characters associated with the expression of sorrow:

> Certis not Boys, þat had[de] swiche renoun,
> With drery wordis to bewepe and crye
> In compleynynge to philosophie,
> Þoruȝ his boke accusynge ay Fortune,
> Þat seld or nouȝt can in oon contune —
> She is so ful of transmutacioun.
> O *Stace* of Thebes, make no bost nor soun
> Of drerinesse for to write at al,
> Nouþer of deth nor festis funeral,
> Of makyng sorwe nor adversite;
> Late be þi wepynge, o þou Nyobe,
> ȝe suster also of Melleager,
> Þat custom han for to fle so fer,
> From ȝer to ȝere ȝoure broþer to compleyne;

[1] 'The Source of Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*,' *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XXVII (1912), 461 ff.

[2] M. Fabin, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIV (1919), 266 ff.

[3] *PMLA*. XXXVI (1921), 217.

[4] Ed. H. Bergen, iv, 3008 ff. (III, 652).

And þou þat weptist oute þin eyen tweyne,
Edippus, kyng of Thebes þe cyte,
Þou woful Mirre, and Calixtone,
Þat so wel can in rage 3ou bemene,
And Dido eke, of Cartage quene, —
Lat be 3oure dool and contricioun!
And Philis eke, for þi Demephoun,
And Echcho eke, þat now dost begynne
To crie & waille, & also þou *Corrynne*,
Þat whilom were in so gret affray
For deth only of þi popyngay,
As in his boke telleþ us Ovyde, —
Late al þis wo now be leide aside,
And make of hit no comparisoun
Unto þe wo þat was in Troye toun
For deth only of þis worþi kny3t!

I have not happened to meet any list exactly like this, but the presence in this one of both 'Stace' and 'Corrynne' is suggestive. Lydgate's catalogue has the earmarks of a traditional one, and of course somewhat similar catalogues are common. Could Chaucer have met the name of Corinna in some such list and simply taken it over as suitable authority for a complaint? Lydgate's reference is to *Amores* ii, 6, and Manitius (quoted by Mr Shannon) remarks that the second and third books of the *Amores* were little known in theMiddle Ages.[1] It has not, I think, been proved that Chaucer knew the *Amores*. If he encountered a reference less specific than Lydgate's to Corinna as associated with lamentation, it might have been enough; or, since this does not rule out Mr Tupper's conjecture, he might have taken it as an allusion to the poetess, if he knew her.

It has been observed that Anelida corresponds to the falcon, and Arcite to the tercelet, in the second part of the *Squire's Tale*. Ovid's elegy states briefly that the parrot and a turtle-dove lived together, and the faithful mate lives to lament the parrot. But, if Chaucer happened to know the elegy, further fancies on this point would recall the river at Monmouth and the river in Macedon.

[1] 'Anführungen aus Lib. II fehlen; überhaupt ist im Mittelalter kein Buch so wenig berücksichtigt worden wie Am. II (und III), ausser den Medic. faciei, aus welchem ich überhaupt kein Citat gefunden habe' (*Philologus*, Supplementband VII [1899], 736).

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REVIEWS

STEPHEN GASELEE, *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xiv + 250. $3.75.

THIS dainty little volume takes its place among the other Oxford books of verse as a prompt recognition of the present interest in mediaeval studies. Its readers will agree that Mr Gaselee, already a pioneer in this field in England, is a logical editor, whose scholarship and taste are unquestioned. The introduction gives in eight pages an excellent idea of some of the most recent literature of the subject, a brief resumé of the progress of mediaeval verse, and a statement of the standards that have been followed in determining the contents of this book and the text. There are 204 pages of text and 40 pages of notes, an index of first lines and an index of authors. The usual beautiful press work of the Oxford Press is in evidence, only such minor faults as the loss of an initial letter in *instar* (p. 203) and *cetra* (p. 213) having been noted.

Of the 111 poems (in some cases, selections from longer poems) 48 are by 38 known or reputed authors, and 63 are anonymous, among the latter, many of the most interesting — a depressing commentary on the volatile character of literary fame in the mediaeval period — or were the authors afraid or ashamed of their product? Only 33 of the poems are secular, the 78 religious selections including one mystery play. While the mass of religious poetry was indeed vastly preponderant in mediaeval Europe, the reviewer ventures to raise the question whether Mr Gaselee has really succeeded in giving us 'the most characteristic' poems. If, as the inclusion of a drama indicates, the selections were not necessarily restricted to lyric verse, why could not we have had some of Ekkehart's *Waltharius* epic, some characteristic verses from the *Speculum Stultorum*, a passage from the beast epics, a larger representation of the satiric poetry of England and France, and samples of Alain de Lille, of the political *Cambridge Songs*, and those of 'Walter Map,' and the curious secular poems of Venantius Fortunatus to Queen Radegunda, not to mention Avitus, Bede, Alcuin, Ermoldus Nigellus, Sedulius Scotus, and many others? Our thanks are due Mr Gaselee for giving us a number of interesting poems not easily accessible elsewhere. But will the unsophistocated reader, as he turns these pages, get a fair conspectus of mediaeval verse? Will he not conceive it to consist of hymns, disproportionately to the fact?

The crucial question, what is, and what is not, mediaeval, is always with us. In Mr Gaselee's delightful *Anthology of Medieval Latin*, published

three years ago, he begins with Petronius (A.D. 60) and comes down to Thomas Bossach (1916), having remarked in his introduction, 'to stop at the Renaissance or the Reformation seems to me as great a mistake as to observe the downward limit . . . of the average classical student.' With this sentiment the present writer heartily agrees, and regrets that in this later volume he has tried to interpret 'the word "medieval" strictly, and stop short before the great Latin poets of the Renaissance.' It may be that the Oxford University Press contemplates another Oxford book, of Renaissance Latin verse. Otherwise it is hard to miss in this collection Dante, Petrarch, the Italian pastoral and lyric poets, and many another whom the average reader will with difficulty distinguish as alien to this delectable company. As it is, Mr Gaselee has found it hard to abide inside those strictly 'medieval' limits; for the selections (which are chronologically arranged) begin with St Hilary of Poitiers, St Ambrose, and Prudentius, who represent the 4th century, under the Empire, and end with a number of poems of the 14th and 15th centuries, well down into the Renaissance epoch. There is ample material to add another hundred pages to this modest book, without making it at all bulky, and in them greatly broaden the conception of those thousand years which will be gained by the reader.

Mr Gaselee's notes are *multum in paruo*. Though apparently concise, they include most valuable biographical, literary, exegetical, and metrical information. There are more than 30 references to the *English Hymnal*, showing how large a proportion of the selections are originals of modern English hymns. The explanatory notes are so good that one often sighs for more, as for example in such a difficult poem as the *Altus Prosator*. It could be wished that a little fuller account of the great poem of Bernard of Morlaix were to be found on page 224, as few readers of the *Horua Nouissima* of our hymnals have any idea of the curious pit from which it was digged. The accusative absolute construction is first noted on page 24; but is not *ostensa vulnera* on page 13 an earlier example? (The same question could be asked, if this is considered a nominative absolute.) Superlatives are challenging; will the *Stabat Mater* and the *Dies Irae* admit that the *Veni creator spiritus* is 'the most famous of all Latin hymns' (p. 215)?

Mr Gaselee's critical judgment as to authorship and text is seldom to be questioned, and his metrical notes are very greatly to be commended. There are innumerable difficulties in mediaeval metric, and we cordially echo his wish here expressed for "a handbook of medieval Latin prosody and metre." But one can thread the metrical mazes of these selections if he will carefully attend to the metrical explanations given by the editor. Number 23 is ascribed to Paulus Diaconus as the probable author, and the metre is stated to be, 'Sapphics, quantitative.' Both statements may be questioned. Paulus Diaconus wrote quantitative verse; but how can one

tell that these Sapphics are quantitative? They scan even better, with fewer violations of rule, as accentual. Neff does not include this poem in his collection of the poems of Paulus Diaconus.

But it is a charming little book. *Haec studia . . . delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.* The reviewer has been happily reading them during his vacation among the mountains, and hopes that Mr Gaselee will continue to edit fascinating collections of mediaeval literature.

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CH. V. LANGLOIS, *La vie en France au moyen âge du XII^e^ au milieu du XIV^e^ siècle.* III, *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde d'après des Écrits Français à l'Usage des Laïcs.* Avec 12 planches hors texte d'après les monuments originaux du temps. Paris: Hachette, 1927. Pp. xxx + 395.

PROFESSOR LANGLOIS, in bringing out a second edition of the third volume of his series of volumes devoted to an exposition of the social life and popular culture of France in the Middle Ages, *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde d'après des Ecrits Français à l'Usage des Laïcs*, has done something more than correct and enlarge the first edition, and bring the bibliography up to date. He has omitted his study and analysis of Jean Corbechon's translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and has substituted for it studies and analyses of three earlier works, the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman verse translation of the *Epistola* of Presbyter John, and the thirteenth-century *Mappemonde* in verse of Pierre, and the prose translation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*, of Jofroi de Watreford. Further the addition of the dozen plates illustrative of the works themselves, or of their subjects are very acceptable and enlightening, but in this connection it may be asked why reference is not made to the chapter on 'Tendances encyclopédiques de l'art: le monde et la nature,' in E. Mâle's latest book, *L'art religieux du XII siècle en France* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1922), pp. 315–363.

The introduction upon the general type of literature has been much expanded in both size and scope. Since, as he states, the *Imago mundi* was the most important source of the vernacular works which form the subject of the book, it might have been well to say something more about the author than that he was '*un certain Honorius, dont on ne sait que le nom et la qualité d'ermite*' (p. xvii). The name 'Honorius solitarius,' or 'Inclusus,' is well vouched for (J. Kelle, 'Untersuchungen über den nicht nachweisbaren Honorius Augustodunensis ecclesiae presbiter et scholasticus und die ihm zugeschriebenen Werke,' *Sitzungsberichte d. Wien, Ak. d. Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl., CLII [1906], Abh. II, 16–17; cf. catalogue of the monastery

of Prüfening, *saec.* xiii, *Monumenta Boica*, XIII (1777), 138, 'Liber Honorii inclusi de imagine mundi'), and why has not Professor Langlois referred to the analogous case of Le Renclus de Moiliens, the author of the *Roman de Carité et Miserere*, which he has analyzed in another volume of this series, *La vie en France au moyen âge de la fin du XII^e^ au milieu du XIV^e^ siècle, d'après des moralistes du temps* (Paris, 1926), pp. 142 ff. A literary recluse like Honorius, we know not only his name, his nationality, and his place of retreat; scholarly research has identified the latter and even discovered his name Barthélemy, *op. cit.*, 142–143, while all such evidence is on hand in the case of a series of English literary recluses (Rotha M. Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* [London, 1914], pp. 167–182). Honorius' approximate date can also be ascertained. In one of the two manuscripts which contain the first redaction of the *Imago mundi* (R. Willmans, *M. G. H.* SS., X, 126, 127), is found evidence for the date of the completion of that work in that form. In MS. Cambridge, *Corpus Christi College 66*, in the chronological summary of the history of the world, which forms the third book, after the phrase (common to other manuscripts) in regard to the emperor, Henry V: 'Hic 5 anno regni sui accepit Mathildam, filiam Henrici regis Anglie, in coniugium anno ab incarnatione Domini m. c. xii *added.*' appears the statement: 'Quis autem post hunc regnum adepturus sit, posteritas uidebit' (R. Pauli and F. Liebermann, 'Englische Handschriften,' *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, V [1880], 643; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, Cambridge, 1912, I, 139; for its wrong ascription to an author 'Henricus' who dedicated it to another 'Henricus,' instead of to 'Christianus,' Kelle, *op. cit.*, 18–19). Further, the early date — before 1130 — when the *Elucidarium* was translated into Old English (M. Förster, 'Der Inhalt der altenglischen Handschrift Vespasianus D, XIV,' *Engl. Stud.*, LIV [1920], 63, 67) confirms the evidence afforded by the work itself, that it was the earliest work of Honorius, if indeed it is to be attributed to him (J. A. Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis* [1906], pp. 22–25). In any case the information afforded by the one manuscript of the *Imago* would seem to be sufficient evidence that the author lived at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.

Again, when it is only in twelfth-century library catalogues of Austrian monastic libraries, Göttweig (before 1150), Zwettl (after 1173), Prüfening (1158), St Peter's, Salzburg (*saec.* xiii) that one finds mention not only of the *Imago* and the *Elucidarium*, but also of other works attributed to Honorius (T. Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs*, I [1915] 11–12, 516; G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* [1885], pp. 140–143; 115, 160, 205, 208, 217, 223, 247), one is led to accept the conjecture that the author wrote his works in that country (Endres, *op. cit.*, pp. viii–x,

2–9); Kelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13). The chapters of the *Imago* (I, 31 and 36; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CLXXII, 130, B–C; 132–133) which describe Britain and the adjacent islands, and refer to the voyage of St Brandan, are no evidence of the author's English origin, as Duhem believed (*Système du monde* III [1915], 28; cf. Langlois, xvii, n. 3). The first chapter, contrary to that scholar's statement, who regarded it as an addition of Honorius, not found in Isidore, is in fact a combination, and it may be added, a confusion, of phrases and words in two passages of the chapter 'De insulis' in the *Etymologiae* (xiv, 6, 2–6, and 13), with the substitution of phrases from Pliny (*N. H.*, II, 186; IV, 94) in regard to the '*aestiuum solstitium*' of Thyle, and the '*mare congelatum*,' for those found in Isidore. In the second chapter in question the reference to the voyage of Brandan is not surprising in a work written in Austria *ca.* 1100, as we have a tenth-century manuscript of the *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani* (C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, [1910], I, xli, n. 2), and copies of the *Vita Sancti Brendani* are noted in the monastic library catalogues of Blaubeuern (1085–1101) and of Stavelot (1105; Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 174; T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* [1890], p. 287), which contained episodes of his voyage (Plummer, *loc. cit.*). A later redaction of this was the source of the account of the saint and his travels in the second redaction of the *Image du monde* (Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 139), of which the text has been published since the first edition of Langlois's work (Plummer, *op. cit.*, II, 270–292; cf. I, xli).

Further, if the address: 'Fratres Cantuariensis ecclesiae Honorio solitario,' of the introductory letter to the *Speculum ecclesiae*, found in two manuscripts of that work, indicate a connection between the author and Christ Church, Canterbury (Kelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–23; Endres, *op. cit.*, pp. ix–x), such a connection is not substantiated by the library catalogue of that foundation, compiled *ca.* 1170, which mentions as anonymous writings only the *Imago* and (*E*) *Lucidarius* (M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* [1903], p. 11, Nos 175, 181). The only other mention of any work of Honorius found in any English catalogue of the twelfth century is that of the *Imago*, in the catalogue of Whitby Abbey, compiled *ca.* 1180 (L. Charlton, *History of Whitby and of Whitby Abbey* [1779], p. 113), a fact which scarcely confirms the thesis that the author was English.

If Philippe de Thaon and his uncle Hunfrei, in the twelfth century, owed their name to the Normand village from which they came (p. 1), it is interesting to note that members of the same family lived in England in the next century, when the name had become that of a family. Mention is found in Canterbury in 1268 of 'Alanus filius Philippi Le [*sic*] Taun' (*Excerpta e rotulis finium in Turri Londinensi asseruatis Henrico Tertio Rege*, ed. C. Roberts, II [1836], 478), while an 'Alanus Taun' was in Northumberland in 1204 (*Rotulis de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi*

asseruatis tempore Regis Johanni, ed T. D. Hardy [1835], p. 211), and a Godfrey Taun is found in Middlesex, at an unknown date but maybe in the same century (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, II [1894], 77). Further, the reason for the connection between Hunfrei de Thaon and the royal seneschal Yun or Eudes is evident, when we know that the latter was the son of Hubert de Rie, who was possibly his predecessor in his office, a village in the same canton of Creully as Thaon. But why has Professor Langlois satisfied himself with Mall's identification of Yun with Eudes, and accepted the date of his burial in February, 1120, as that of his death (pp. 1–2), a mistake corrected by Mall, himself (*ed. cit.*, p. viii), when we know so much more now about the importance of his office and his own career, official and otherwise? (Cf. *e.g.*, L. W. V. Harcourt, *His Grace the Stewart and Trial of Peers* [1907], pp. 14, 20, 22, 23, 29–30, 34, 56–57; J. H. Round, *The King's Sergeant and Officers of State* [1911], pp. 321–324; H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta regum anglo-normannicorum, 1066–1154*, I [1913], xxiii, 146, *s.v.*; W. Farrer, 'An outline Itinerary of Henry I,' *Engl. Hist. Rev.* XXXIV [1919], 302–325, 380).

For the most part since the publication of the first edition of this book important articles have been published by G. C. Druce on the source and wide prevalence of the information concerning some of the animals described in Philippe's *Bestiaire*, which would have been worth noting: the panther (p. 17; *Archaeological Journal* LXVII [1910], 305–306), the hydra and crocodile (pp. 17, 18; *ibid.*, LVI, 315–325), the aptalon (p. 18; *ibid.*, LXVIII, 186–194), the ant and formica-leo (p. 19; *Antiquarian Journal* III [1923], 347–364), the elephant (pp. 20–21, *Arch. Journ.* LXXVI, 1–73), which includes a study of the mandragora (p. 21, *art. cit.*, pp. 46–58); the serra (p. 22; *Proc. of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2d Ser., XXXI [1919], 20–35) of the whale (22-23, *Arch. Journ.*, LXVI, 311, 333–335), and of the caladrius (p. 24; *Arch. Journ.*, LXIX, 381–416). Further, it would have been well to note either in the general introduction, or in that introductory to the section on Philippe, Druce's articles on 'The Mediaeval Bestiaries, and their Influence on Ecclesiastical Decorative Art' (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assn*, N. S., XXV [1919], 41–82; XXVI, 35–79), which treats the same subject in much fuller detail than does E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 321–340.

In his introduction to '*Les Merveilles du Prêtre Jean*,' the information upon travellers' tales (pp. 44, 45) Professor Langlois found in Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science* was bound to be meagre and incorrect, and he has failed to make use of the classical second chapter 'Ethnographische Utopien, Fabeln und Romance,' of Erwin Rhode's great work, *Der griechische Roman*, not to mention the subjects of later publication, as the satire in the form of a letter, found in the *Papyrus*

Anastasi, in which an Egyptian travelling in Syria makes merry over this literary genre. And it is unfortunate that he was acquainted with the carefully elaborated pedigree of the genre in the Occident, including the *Letter of Prester John*, due to F. Pfister (*Berl. philol. Wochenschrift* [1912], pp. 1129–33; 'Ein Brief an Hadrian über die Wunder Asiens,' *ibid.* [1914], pp. 925–928), which, however, omits mention of the Hebrew work, the apocryphal travels of Eldad Had-Dânî, of which the original epistolary form (E. Epstein, 'La Lettre d'Eldad sur les dix tribus, *Rev. des Et. Juives*, XXV [1892], 30–42), was written *ca.* 850 (H. Stocks, 'Ein Alexanderbrief in den *Acta Cyriaci et Julittae*,' *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XXX [1910], 8, n.). Not only was this work a source of information for the *Epistola Presbyteri Johanni:* its account of the independent Jewish state guarded by the river Sambattion inspired the Christian writer to make that state a tributary of Prester John (p. 62; cf. M. Landau, 'Ein hebräischer Reiseroman,' *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Litteraturgesch. und Renaissance-Litteratur*, N. F., IV [1891], 308–311; D. A. Müller, *Die Recensionen und Versionen des Eldad Had-Dânî*, in *Denkschr. d. Wien. Ak., phil.-hist.*, Kl., XLI [1892], Abhandl., I, 4–8).

In his analysis of the unpublished French version by Jofre de Watreford and Servais Copale of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*, Professor Langlois has done the good service of also analyzing those parts of the Latin original which have been omitted. The student of exempla literature will be disappointed in finding, as a general thing, only references to those introduced by the translators (pp. 83, n., 89), but this omission is remedied in part by preceding studies on the exempla found in the English translation (*Rom. Rev.*, I, 264; *Mod. Philol.*, IX, 325–341). But it is well to note that the only complete analogue for the version of one of the stories he does analyze (p. 91; for complete translation cf. R. Steele, *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum* [1898], pp. 200, 201), that of how Alexander enclosed the ten tribes of the Jews — confused with Gog and Magog — is found only in the Spanish *Libro de Alixandre*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio [1906], vv. 2077–2095. Further, as the translation of the *Physiognomica* of Aristotle is only mentioned (p. 118), it would have been well to note the publication *in extenso* of this part of the French work (L. Jordan, 'Physiognomische Abhandlungen, *Roman. Forsch.* XXIX [1910–11], 690–705), and point out that the name 'Phizonomie (*var.* Philozomie)' for Philemon, is found in no less than four French physiognomical works, *ibid.*, p. 682. But why is the satement made that the text of the second physiognomical work translated by Joffroi, 'est à peu près identique à celui qu'Aldebrandin de Sienne a eu sous les yeux pour rédiger les dernières pages de son *Régime du corps*' (p. 118, n. 1), when Joffroi has translated (pp. 118–121) the physiognomical section of the *Secreta Secretorum* (R. Foerster, *Scriptores physiognomici*, II, 192–221), the principal source of his work, while it was

pointed out correctly by the editors of Aldebrandin's work (*ed. cit.*, p. lxvii), that the latter's source — which he has abridged — was the physiognomical section of the *Almansor* of Raschi (Foerster, *op. cit.*, II, 163–179), the source of much of his information in the preceding part of his work (*ed. cit.*, LXIV–LXVI), which is found so often as a separate tractate (cf., e.g., H. Craig, *The Works of John Metham* [1916], p. xxx, n. 3).

Much could be written in regard to the sources of the *Mappemonde* of Pierre (pp. 122–134), and I have pointed out in detail the use made of it by a fourteenth-century plagiarist, Perot de Garbelai, in his *Diuisiones Mundi* in an article in the recently published volume of essays dedicated to Professor Alfred Jeanroy. It is to be noted that Pierre in translating the account of the wonderful beasts of India in the *Imago mundi* (I, 13) has preserved the name of the 'Eale,' in his description (pp. 129–130), which, for some reason, was omitted in its description in the *Image du monde* (p. 169; for the French text cf. G. Bertoni, 'Un manuscrit de *l'Image du monde*,' *Arch. Rom.* IV [1920], 389, 390; Druce, 'Notes on the History of the heraldic Jall or Yale,' *Arch. Journ.* LXVIII [1911], 184, 185) taken from the *Historia orientalis* (p. 182) of Jacques de Vitry, and Druce's and W. H. St John Hope's studies on this mythical animal (*Arch. Journ.*, LXVIII, 173–202), are worth citing. Later use of the 'Ceucrota' and 'Manticore' (pp. 129–130) has been noted by Sainéan (*Revue du Seizième Siècle*, III [1915], 251, 252).

In his introduction to the analysis of the *Image du monde* (pp. 152, 153) Professor Langlois accepts the authority of Prior in his edition of the prose version of the work (1913) to add to the sources mentioned in the first edition, Boethius, Orosius, Gervaise of Tilbury and Alexander Neckam. But no evidence is presented by Prior of an independent use of Orosius (*ed. cit.*, pp. 39, 42, 109–110) for information not found in the *Imago mundi*, or of the works of Boethius, if the author does refer to his works (*ibid.*, pp. 30, 29, n. 1, 34, 88, n. A, 183). That the same information on some subjects is found in both the *Image du monde* and in the *Otia imperialia* of Gervaise of Tilbury (*ibid.*, pp. 42, 48, 110–112, 121–122, 124, 130–131, 182, 184) is no proof that the former work was indebted to the latter. But Prior is no doubt correct in pointing out the indebtedness of the French work to the *Topographia Hibernica* of Giraldus Cambrensis (pp. 44, 132–134, 136, 184), which Professor Langlois has failed to note, as is the case with the use made of the *De philosophia mundi* of Guillaume de Conches, which is greater than is noted but not emphasized by Prior, who cites both it, as an anonymous work, and the edition of it published in the works of Bede, under the title of '*Elementorum Philosophiae*,' as a different work (pp. 46, 92, 101, 151–153, 156, 161, 165, 167, 169). Further, it is probable that Gossuin used the uncorrected heretical form of Guillaume's work, while it is probable that the

author of *Sidrac* (Langlois, p. 213) used the revised form of it, supposed to be purged of heresy, with the title *Dragmaticon*, or *Dialogus de substantiis physicis*, put in the form of a dialogue between a master and a pupil, as is the case of *Sidrac* (R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of Mediaeval Thought* [1884], pp. 124–130, 346–353; for a further reference to the corrected form of the book, P. Fournier, 'Un adversaire inconnu de St Bernard et de Pierre Lombard,' *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartres* XLVII [1886], 402), and compare two entries in the fifteenth-century catalogue of the library of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, James, *op. cit.*, pp. 332, 369, 332, '*philosophia Willi de Conthis de edicione secunda.*' The *Secunda philosophia*, which I thought once a source of Gossuin, is only a literal transcript of the *Dragmaticon* (*ibid.*, pp. 234, 235).

It is to be noted that Professor Langlois still clings for some unknown reason to the incorrect form of *Brunetto Latino*, instead of *Latini* (p. 335).

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Pierre Champion, *Louis XI;* I, *Le Dauphin;* II, *Le Roi.* (Bibliothèque du XV^e^ Siècle, XXXIII, XXXIV). Paper. Paris: Champion, 1927. Pp. 236 + 408.

This work is disappointing. Its author, leaving the Ecoles des Chartes in 1905 with a thesis that Flavy was in command at Compiègne when Joan was captured, and devoting himself almost exclusively to fifteenth-century France with few or no academic cares to distract, has become a veritable master there. His many works include so substantial and useful a bit as the *Vie de Charles d'Orléans* (*1394–1465*). Turning ultimately to a biography of Louis XI and having the space of two volumes at his disposal, might not a person so circumstanced try a closely knitted analytic survey of Louis's varied qualities, interests, achievements; pick out the lines therein that might seem essential and put those lines into clear view as the story developed; interpret in some effective fashion the king's vital relations with the France and Europe of the time? M. Champion does in fact no such thing.

Apparently what he has tried rather is a portrayal of Louis personally, of Louis the man, and this chiefly by grouping the data on one chronological track. The available data, mostly well-known, are very many and concern all the sorts of people, things, and affairs with which Louis came in contact. They are drawn skillfully from contemporary writers, especially Chastellain and Comynes, plus innumerable archive pieces; and are often very expressive and interesting. Those about Louis range say, from the Dauphin's notifying his father of the Dauphine Charlotte's second *grossesse*, to the joy and measures of the king on hearing of Charles of Burgundy's defeats at

Grandson, Morat, and Nancy. But the single chronological marshalling is so managed that the general result is a sort of succession of ensemble-pictures, pictures in which the traits are somehow made to blend rather than grow distinct and convincing. To many readers, furthermore, the impression would come frequently that the things told are told primarily because 'interesting in such connection.'

On the whole, then, this is a work adjusted less to scholars and their needs than to some more general public. A definitive biography of Louis XI, satisfactory for all: certainly it is far from that. The public appealed to will doubtless be considerably widened by the book's attractive make-up — good paper, fine printing, and numerous illustrations at once aptly selected and beautifully executed.

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ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. Cloth. Pp. xii + 371. $6.00.

THE solar myth is rising again, in spite of those who think that it fails to shed much light. Gilbert Murray among others has rediscovered it, and even finds something like it in the Hamlet story, which, however, he conservatively interprets in the form of the adventures of the vegetation-spirit. Miss Enid Welsford in a study of the Court Masque writes that 'Both the hairy and the leafy variety of wild man occur in the revels. He has possibly penetrated into Arthurian romance as "the Grene Knyghte," whose story looks like an account of an agricultural rite that has been misunderstood.'[1] Long ago Sir John Rhys offered a solar interpretation of Arthurian lore, but, according to Loomis, he did not 'work out the Celtic mythological system from the evidence of the Irish and Welsh legends themselves.' Ultimately 'he himself abandoned and led others to abandon the attempt to interpret the Matter of Britain as a faded mythology' (page 4). How much harm may be done by religion, to paraphrase Lucretius, has been discovered by scholars who have had the temerity to handle the myth, and who, as a rule, have had their fingers burned. Professor Cross, in reviewing Dr MacCulloch's volume on Celtic mythology, observes that his author 'deserves credit for the firmness with which he sets his face against all interpretations of Celtic mythology which are inspired by sun-myths, esoteric druidic cults, and elaborate allegories.'[2] But it immediately appears that even Dr MacCulloch has succumbed to a certain extent, suggesting that 'the myth of one god imprisoned by another on an

[1] *The Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 6 f., n. 3; and see E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, I, p. 186.

[2] *Amer. Journal of Theology*, XXIII (1919), 371.

island . . . may . . . resemble "traditions of Arthur in Avalon . . . or of Finn or Arthur sleeping in a hollow hill." '[1] Few investigators have failed to note details regarding Gawain, Merlin, and others, which point west to the Otherworld; and it is a matter for wonder that critics should stiffen so readily in opposition, so that 'it has been almost as much as one's reputation was worth to mention the sun in certain learned circles' (Loomis, page 39), as if the old myth could still cast its spell on the unwary.

Such an attitude makes Professor Loomis's task particularly difficult, but he is aware of that hardship. To guard against the fury likely to result from the fact that he cannot offer final truth, he feels compelled to ask 'that the main contentions of the book be upheld or condemned together — channels of transmission, nomenclature, mythological interpretation' (page viii). He willingly faces possible correction of detail, and he himself has offered some suggestions in that way when occasion has arisen.[2] Obviously, therefore, he presents his hypothesis for a candid examination, and not as a set of conclusions, already tested by many years of research, to dominate the field unless opposed with vigor.

To outline his theory briefly would be unfair. Much of its strength lies in the multitude of instances by which it is learnedly supported, and in which its outlines are made skilfully clear. Scholars, however, will hardly be much surprised to find here the important influence attributed to the story of the abduction of the flower maiden; much recent discussion has also made familiar the theory which relates the mysteries of the Grail to an initiation ceremony regarding the process of reproduction. The battle of the old sun-god with the new, his successor and even himself transformed, provides the central theme. Some of these ideas have appeared in different ways in the writings of Miss Schoepperle, Miss Weston, Professor Nitze, and others, and have already received some approval. The exact adaptation to the present context is new, however, and involves a high degree of originality; and it is doubtful whether the case can really be judged with reference to this particular book without emphasizing details at the expense of everything else.

Even so, the case against Loomis can be made sufficiently grave. In such a complicated network of theory, although he insists that 'if anyone were to compute mathematically the probability that a limited set of names in one language would correspond so closely to a limited set of names in another language through mere accident, the odds against it would be thousands to one' (page 150), the answer is easy that the chances are equally great against his having detected the exact correspondence of so large a

[1] *Amer. Journal of Theology*, XXIII (1919), 372.

[2] Cf. 'Gawain, Gwri, and Cuchulinn,' *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XLIII (1928), 384–396.

body of material; that if the development has been as intricate as he would suggest, almost certainly it has been far more intricate. Folklore elements shift about freely. The Otherworld in various forms serves as a background to Fame and Fortune, to the Green Knight and the Goddess of Love, and even to the Emperor of Constantinople. The circle is a symbol of the sun and the moon, of eternity and variability, of perfection and change. Green is the color of fairies and of hope. The father and son combat turns up almost whenever a father and son are available and the author wants to give his plot another twist. The flotsam and jetsam of old beliefs, undeniably mythological, float downstream and attach themselves to every available twig, pausing there for no apparent reason other than mere attachment. Now and then the configuration of the elements seems to show the pattern of an ancient story; but conclusions are precarious in the extreme. Added to this difficulty, Loomis assumes the right to see linguistic relationships in defiance of phonetic laws: 'What is phonetically impossible is factually probable,' says he (page 35, note), meaning, we infer, 'at times.' But, one is tempted to protest, you can prove anything in that way! Gregory might come from Gwri, except that in the case of the Pope it did not! Moreover, Loomis shows alarming independence of the dates of documents when later evidence confirms his views.[1] And in accepting the support of writers like Jane Harrison almost uncritically, regardless of their own credulity in matters of myth, he exposes himself to a share in the agnosticism which they have earned. Finally, by his argument, not only many plots but almost all the heroes of Arthurian lore, from Lancelot and Gawain to Merlin and Modred, derive from Curoi. Nay more, Curoi appears as the porter of the Otherworld, the Giant Herdsman, the white-footed stag, and even, in the *Mule sanz Frain*, as the mule itself! Here is translation indeed!

Ingenuity, perhaps, and, let me add, a thorough knowledge of Arthurian material, can scarcely go further. Yet the situation is not so funny if one looks carefully into the argument. Loomis knows only too well the risks that these extravagances involve for him all along the line. In fact, the tone of his book is marred by occasional defensive phrases or sometimes by a defensive manner, such as his comment that he does not 'believe that there is any scholar, however learned, who will claim to know more about Irish paganism of the fifth century than did St Patrick' (page 41). This is harsh.

[1] Cf. p. 77, regarding the beheading-game in the *Livre de Caradoc*, and pp. 274 ff., regarding Perceval's sister in the *Perlesvaus*. It is only fair to note, however, that he cites the *Perlesvaus* elsewhere as a document preserving early material. On his interpretation, cf. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XLIII (1928), 323 ff., where the baldness of the lady is explained with reference to Occasio or Fortuna. Remembering Fortuna's symbols of the wheel and cornucopia, we are led to theorize again about shifting symbolism.

The good Saint is not held in general high esteem just now! But the critic must note that a necessity of the present case is the extensive program; to establish the particular meaning of the stories in Old Irish, and then to relate Arthurian plots and characters, is a large order. Folklore may drift about casually; and yet the fact remains that in such matters we should receive as approximating truth the theory that covers the most ground with a fair degree of reasonableness. Loomis's explanation for the story of *Gawain and the Green Knight* answers more questions than that of any of his predecessors: why the Otherworld material is used; why the green figure, the waste city, the enchantress, the beheading-game (concluded at the end of a year) all appear together in one story; and why Gawain is so steadily the hero of an Otherworld exploit.[1] It is not merely a question of each detail, but of them all appearing together in just this way. To be sure, there are difficulties even here. The fact that the version of the beheading-game in the *Perlesvaus*, which really spoils the story, is represented as an 'indication that the logic of the myth was understood by the inventor of that version' (page 61), rouses skepticism. The original nucleus ought to survive with the greatest vitality. Similarly, when the father and son combat comes into the tale in a late document, Professor Loomis observes, 'It was only a question of time before the myth of Curoi's testing of Cuchulinn would be run into that mould' (page 77). We should have expected it almost at the start.[2]

But many objections to his proposition are trivial. His treatment of names is not careless; his evidence for transmission and relationship is rarely slight. Certain difficulties in the previous studies of Gareth, Merlin, and Modred, are cleared up by his suggestions. While we may assert that his method is not always satisfactory, and his generalizations not absolutely final, we are bound to remember that there has been much to find fault with in other similar studies, and yet in both cases no one can help feeling grateful for what they do offer. In the present volume there is a collection of material of great value in itself, apart even from the theories proposed. We must also admit that the book presents an interesting hypothesis, and presents it sometimes brilliantly. Even in the case of the metamorphosis of Curoi in the mule, we are obliged to recall that 'it is to

[1] I am interested to note the point emphasized that Glastonbury was connected with the Otherworld apart from the supposed exhumation of Arthur; see pp. 190 f. In *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XXXIII (1918), 629, n. 96, I had occasion to remark, 'How Glastonbury achieved such a reputation . . . is not entirely explained.' Chambers suggested that 'a poet's use of this conception for the realm of Melvas may perhaps have given a hint for the identification of Avallon with Glastonbury,' *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1927), p. 123. Cf. J. Armitage Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 7 ff.

[2] Cf. p. 82, 'Never would one suspect from this poem or *Bricriu's Feast* that Cuchulinn and Blathnat were celebrated lovers, and Curoi and Cuchulinn notorious enemies.'

the mule alone that the animals kneel before the talisman has been won, but afterwards, according to Paien, they kneel before Gawain as well as the mule' (page 116). That Gawain may represent the new sun in a forgotten myth does not destroy our pleasure in the allegory. He seemed destined to lose his head, but he triumphed to the discomfiture of his enemies. Incidentally one may wish that the Index of the book were several times as inclusive.

Howard R. Patch,
Smith College.

André Wilmart, ed., *L'Ancien Cantatorium de l'Eglise de Strasbourg: Manuscrit additionnel 23, 922 du Musée britannique. Avec un Mémoire de M. l'Abbé J. Walter, et trois Planches hors Texte*, Colmar: Editions 'Alsatia,' 1928.

As the editor of this volume reminds us, a fair proportion of the liturgical ceremonies peculiar to the Cathedral of Strassburg during the middle ages have been generally familiar to students since the eighteenth century, when Martène, in his *De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, published generous extracts from a Strassburg *Ordinarium* of the fourteenth century. In its liturgical content Martène's manuscript resembled that of the twelfth century now brought before us. From this latter manuscript, moreover, several scholars have, during recent years, published notable literary pieces, particularly an Easter play, an Epiphany play, and some verses proper to Strassburg. The striking nature of the printed excerpts from both manuscripts has not failed to arouse in mediaevalists a desire for a complete text of the earlier one — a desire satisfied at last by Dom Wilmart's admirable edition.

In the Editor's painstaking introduction we have for the first time a competent description of *MS. Additional 23, 922*, an account of its history, and an analysis of its liturgical content. The compiler of this manuscript volume — presumably one of the precentors of the Cathedral during the twelfth century — did not undertake to produce a typical or conventional choir-book, such as a *Graduale, Liber responsalis*, or *Processionale;* on the contrary, he followed an eclectic design of his own, filling his ninety leaves of parchment chiefly with selections from the choral parts of the Canonical Office, with the more important processions of the liturgical year, and with a few extra-liturgical dramatic pieces. As a designation for so individualistic a song-book the editor has happily chosen the word *Cantatorium.*

Since the most arresting compositions in the volume are the processions, and the closely related dramatic pieces, the editor has added greatly to the usefulness of his volume through persuading the Abbé Walter to contribute an essay entitled, 'Les Processions de la Cathédrale au Moyen Age.' This contribution is based chiefly upon extracts from the Strassburg *Ordinarium*

of the fourteenth century mentioned above as used by Martène, and now accessible as *MS. 81* in the municipal library at Sélestat. Since this liturgical book contains generous descriptions of ceremonial, it supplements most gratifyingly the meagre rubrics of the *Cantatorium*. For elucidating the processions the essayist provides a map showing the mediaeval location of the churches visited in these ceremonies. Several parts of his exposition would have been more readily intelligible if he had provided also a ground-plan of the Cathedral showing the position of certain chapels and monuments. One dares to hope that this archaeological aid will one day be included in a complete edition of the Sélestat manuscript.

The outstanding significance of the book under review, however, lies inevitably, not in the highly valuable commentary of the two contributors, but in the integrity of the printed text of the twelfth-century *Cantatorium*. In judging this I have had the advantage of using photographs of fourteen pages of the manuscript. Those familiar with Dom Wilmart's scholarship will experience no surprise over my report that I have observed no error in the reading or printing of words. The text appears to be flawless, and it is accompanied by appropriate annotation. The omission of the music is not a serious consideration. To the editor's literary purpose the melodies, however interesting to the specialist, are not essential. Innocuous also is the renouncing of Italic type for indicating expansions of abbreviations. In the printing of texts for other than palaeographical purposes that device would seem, in these days, to be an encumbrance and an extravagance. The reader who questions the competence of his editor, or who desires complete information, must inevitably resort to photography.

In one or two trifling details, however, Dom Wilmart's method may to some students, seem open to question. The retention of ordinary scribal errors in the body of the text, for example, is hardly a clear advantage. When one reads *sepulcrho* (ff. 38^{v}–39^{r}), with a reference to the foot-note '*Sic MS.*,' one wonders whether the demands of scholarship might not be more gracefully met by printing *sepulchro* in the text, and recording the scribal error in the foot-note. Since the text does not undertake to be thoroughly diplomatic (see p. xxi), the readers might be conciliated also by the use of modern punctuation. The supplying of periods occasionally missing at the ends of sentences in the manuscript would seem to open the way for a helpful use of commas within the sentences. The words for Christ and Jesus are printed in forms which are neither wholly agreeable to the eye nor quite complete palaeographically. *Xp̄c* is printed as *Xpc* (39^{r}); Xpicole as *Xp̄icole* (38^{v}; *ihm* as *Ihm* (38^{v}). Might not *Christus*, *Christicole*, and *Ihesum* appear in the text, with such editorial explanation as seems desirable? In one or two instances the text seems to show a slight literal inconsistency. Thus *e* for *ae* is found in the expansion *g(lorie)*, from fol. 38^{v},

and *œ* itself appears in *ins(ulœ)*, from fol. 5ᵛ; and the manuscript *u*, generally retained in the text, as in *inuocarem* (38ᵛ), is changed to *v* when *lauent* is printed *lavent* (38ᵛ).

Possibly these unimportant queries in regard to textual details are idle or inappropriate. Their very insignificance, in any case, is a tribute to Dom Wilmart's fine workmanship.

KARL YOUNG,
Yale University.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage.* Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 35. New York, The American Numismatic Society, 1928. Paper.

'THE attribution of Byzantine coins is, in the main, a simple affair because of the regular use on them of the imperial name — but, at one point, the assistance of the name deserts us and we are confronted by a number of issues of bronze which bear in their types no evidence as to the issuer. Considerations of style alone would assign them to the tenth and eleventh centuries, and, as it happens, we have the explicit testimony of a Byzantine historian to the effect that the series was begun by John I (A.D. 969–976).'

This abundant series, divided by Professor Bellinger into thirteen classes, is well-known to all students of Byzantine art, and in Byzantine coin-cabinets forms the background, so to speak, for the delicate gold and silver coinage of the tenth and eleventh centuries. As hitherto accepted, however, this series has been so uncertain in its sequence as to have no meaning, either in itself, or in its doubtful relation to the gold and silver.

The accepted sequence was due to Wroth: 'The only thoroughgoing attempt to assign these classes to the emperors who issued them was made by Warwick Wroth, who discusses the problem on pages 480–483 of the *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum.* This attempt was based on the evidence of restriking and on certain details of ornament as compared with those on the gold coins bearing emperors' names, rather than on style, as Mr Bellinger states. Style, in the ordinary sense of the word, is ignored by Wroth. Mr Bellinger's arrangement, which at last puts order in this important series, is based on the evidence of excavation, plus the evidence of restriking. Presented with caution and reserve, his case is wholly convincing as far as he asks us to accept it, and lays the foundation for a new and logical arrangement. There are still many doubtful points, some of which may be cleared up by future finds, but enough is certain already, thanks to Professor Bellinger, to show roughly the general development of the anonymous bronze coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The most valuable contribution of all is to give the series a beginning. Class I, of both Wroth and Bellinger, contains, according to Bellinger's anal-

ysis, fifty-one varieties. Worth's arrangement of these varieties is chaotic and has no logical beginning. Mr Bellinger's point of departure is so simple and convincing as to seem obvious, once pointed out, but, like the egg-trick of Columbus, '*il fallait le trouver*.' His solution is based on fabric, and he assigns the smaller coins to John I, since they resemble the coins of similar fabric struck by his predecessor, Nicephorus II, the next smaller ones to the first years of the next emperor, Basil II, and the large ones, assigned by Wroth to John I, to the later and prosperous years, A.D. 989–1025, of Basil II.

At the other end of the tenth–eleventh-century bronze series, Mr Bellinger assigns the handsome coin with the Virgin *orans* on the reverse to Michael VII, 1071–1078, by a brilliant but sound series of deductions and inferences. This coin, which Wroth gave to Constantine IX, 1042–1055, is of a style which makes its correct attribution a matter of importance to students of the larger aspects of Byzantine art, as well as to numismats. The anonymous bronze struck between the reigns of Basil II, 976–1059, and Michael VII, 1071-1078, is presented in a tentative arrangement, which future finds, or even further analysis of extant collections, may confirm or modify. For the period following Michael VII, Mr Bellinger renders the valuable service of showing conclusively that the 'crusader's coins' of Schlumberger were struck in Constantinople, almost certainly by Alexius I, about A.D. 1100.

When the time comes for a publication of Byzantine coins considered as objects of art, the value of Mr Bellinger's discoveries will be more generally appreciated. In the meantime his monograph will be welcomed by all Byzantine numismats, to whom it will be indispensable until some more comprehensive work brings up to date the still valuable manuals of Wroth and Sabatier. The results of Mr Bellinger's long and difficult investigations are presented in a clear but condensed text, and published in a neat and compact form in the Numismatic Society's monograph, which includes statistics, tables of ornament, and three plates of reproductions. The difficulty of reproducing this type of Byzantine bronze, with its peculiar varieties of patina, so different from those of Roman bronze, is well-known. The American Numismatic Society has made an interesting experiment in photographing the coins by a new process, which has given excellent results.

HAYFORD PEIRCE,
Bangor, Maine.

C. H. Grandgent, *From Latin to Italian*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. Cloth. Pp. viii + 191. $3.00.

It would be difficult to find a more appropriate title for this book, which treats of the historical changes of sounds, forms, and syntax from spoken Latin to modern standard Tuscan Italian, but which necessarily, in so doing, rubs elbows throughout with Latin (that is, Classic Latin) and Italian (old, new, and dialectal). This is the third in what might be considered a series, the other two being the same author's *Old Provençal* (Heath, 1904) and *Introduction to Vuglar Latin* (Heath, 1907), and was doubtless the most difficult to write. Indeed, the author states that it is the result of thirty years' thought and has been reconstructed many times. Three quarters of the work are given to phonology and the remainder to morphology, though the former naturally anticipates the latter basically. Syntax is not entirely neglected, and forms a really important part of the book, without being treated under a separate heading.

Mr Grandgent rightly pays special tribute to Meyer-Lübke, but he himself has at least one great quality in which the German scholar was at fault, and that is clarity of thought and clarity of expression. His introduction, in which he outlines the general history of Italian, is, like that in his work on Vulgar Latin, a little masterpiece of clearness and accuracy.

In the body of the work, the same quality of clearness and of striving to reduce facts to orderliness is maintained and if the reader is not sufficiently impressed with the results, let him try a little investigating in the *selva oscura* of Italian phonology and he will soon appreciate the writer's difficulties. There is a pleasant paragraph, written in a mood which philologists seldom find to sweeten their speculations, asserting: 'The changes that a word suffers do not come all at once, but, for the most part, so gradually that its identity maintains itself in the consciousness of speakers and hearers. Moreover, both the older and the newer forms are always current simultaneously; or some speakers change their fashions quicker than others. In fact, every community contains linguistic radicals and conservatives, the latter being, in the main, the possessors of vested interests due to superior acquisition — in other words, the more educated and authoritative people, who like to hold fast to the tradition of their elders There is eternal strife between thrift and elegance; there is strife everlasting between ease of utterance and ease of comprehension. Members of both classes are quite irrational in their preferences; one and the same speaker will be a whig toward one class of words, a tory toward another. Hence we find, in the practice of every individual, examples of both proclivities. The one constant feature of linguistic change would seem to be inconsistency.' This statement is made in reference to the inconsistencies in the development

of medial consonants, but may well apply to other phenomena, also; because all resources must be used to explain some cases, and even so, the investigator occasionally finds himself compelled to venture a rather thin suggestion or frankly to admit himself beaten. Meyer-Lübke's derivation of *anche* from *an* + *que* seems to me of this tenuous sort. Some of our failures are due to our ignorance of many facts of Vulgar Latin. If we only had a few phonograph records! But no, everything is against us: directly that a person seizes a pen or a pencil, or rather a stylus or a nail, he tries to be as educated as possible, and neither writes nor spells as he speaks in his unguarded moments, so that what Vulgar Latin we have must be treated with great caution. Hence we must merely assume that many persons said *digitum* with long *i* in the first syllable, to produce Italian *dito*, whereas the French word demands a short *i* and *aqua* was pronounced with double *k* to produce Italian *acqua*, but with only one to give French *éve* and *eaue* (*eau*).

In some cases, on the other hand, a choice of explanations is possible: '*illāc*, *illīc* accented their last syllable, perhaps in conformity with *hāc*, *hīc*, perhaps in memory of their original forms *illáce*, *illíce*.' It seems to me that *both* reasons had a bearing, just as I believe that the use of the nominative form for the plural of nouns got its principal impulse from the second declension and that this arose in the following way. Since final *m* and final *s* were already weak, even in Classic Latin, and ultimately died out in spoken Latin, as far as Italian is concerned, the plural of a type like *campus* would be *campi*, *camporo* (*-u*), *campi*, *campo*, *campi*. The form *campo* could not serve as a plural, since it conflicted with the singular; all the other forms but one are *campi*, so that its choice was inevitable and *campi*, then, comes not only from Classic *campi*, but also from the dative-ablative form. I think that Professor Grandgent holds the same view, but he does not seem to stress as much as I should the additional influence of the *campis* form.

Under the discussion of initial consonants there seems to be no mention of *b* to *p*, like *palla*, *panca*. Could not the disregard of close and open *e* and *o* in poetry, originating with the Sicilian School, as explained on page 21, have a bearing on some of the present inconsistencies in the use of these vowels, weakening the speaker's general morale, so to speak? Could the form *sanza* have been a Sienese idiosyncrasy? I am not convinced by all the explanations, and indeed some are given or quoted by Mr Grandgent as a *pis aller*, no doubt; one can only suggest and let stand till a satisfying cause is found, if ever. Such to me is the attempt to explain the accent of *Pésaro* (*Pisaurum*, — is this a Gaulish word? Gaulish place-names in France had peculiar accent). The forms *ebbi*, *seppi*, explained as analogical (page 22), do not quite satisfy; yet this may be my own ignorance, — Mr Grandgent mentions the rarity of *i*-umlaut in Italian, but I have always

hoped that this might be a case of umlaut. The explanation of open *o* in *giovane* (page 30) and the query as to *scoglio* from *scopulus* (page 98) and *cicala* from *cicada* should be connected with the corresponding French words. Would not *verga* have influenced *vergato* (from *variegato*, — page 41)? The statement concerning the penult vowel (page 56) is very interesting to students of French philology. 'The vulgar tendency to suppress the vowel goes back, in the main, to the Latin period and lasts only into the very first stage of Italian; it is generally confined, moreover, to a vowel in one of several specific consonant settings. The cultivated taste was inclined to keep all the vowels that had been dropped. Both types of pronunciation are represented in the stock of the present standard language. The *Appendix Probi* shows the tendency to drop the penult vowel, already evident also in Classic Latin, but in Gallo-Latin the dropping of the penult vowel became absolute, — every one was clipped. I should not call *giglio* (*lilium*), *gioglio* (*lolium*), and *luglio* (*Julius*) 'unexplained': are they not assimilation of syllable, the last choosing the *l*, the other two the palatal sound? Why can not *sarto* (page 76) be merely a random nominative from *sartor*, like *suora* (*suoro*) from *soror?* The protraction (doubling) of the consonant in words like *abbaco*, *cattedra*, *collera*, *accademia*, etc., is suggested as due originally to an instant's hesitation before proceeding with an unfamiliar sequence of syllables, — a very keen and interesting explanation. The query 'why *tempia* < *tempora* (temples)?' suggests *templum*, *tempio* and the two English senses of 'temple.' Although *bibbia* (page 98) ought to be a learned word, its form seems to make it a popular word. *Fuoro* (page 153) would seem to be *fuerunt*, like *furo*(*n*), the memory of the *e* kept by the *o*. Or was it at first just a fusion of two spellings, *furo* and *foro?*

The final impression of this work is one of admiration and satisfaction that all this complicated material is at last down on paper in one place and so excellently arranged, with Mr Grandgent's long and thorough familiarity with things Italian and linguistic generally behind it. The book is invaluable for students of language, in particular for students of Italian, Latin, and Vulgar Latin. For the young and ardent, there are plenty of knotty points upon which to work, and test their genius. At the end there is an Index rerum and an Index verborum.

Edward Bunker Schlatter,
University of Wisconsin.

Harry J. Baylis, *Minucius Felix and his Place among the Early Fathers of the Latin Church.* London: Soc. Promot. Christ. Knowl., 1928. 15*s*.

This learned and exhaustive work of 373 pages sets out to settle a very important and vexed question, viz., whether the 'Octavius' of Minucius Felix is anterior to Tertullian or subsequent to that writer. In order, if

possible, to approach this book with no *a priori* bias the reviewer first read the 'Octavius' in the original Latin and then let Dr Baylis work his will on him! In the first place it is due to Dr Baylis to say that his book is a real contribution to learning and a credit to British scholarship. It is also consoling to realize that minds of the calibre of Dr Baylis are now devoting themselves to the serious study of a Latinity once apt to be despised (or to be inadequately done) by classical scholars. Not only in Germany but also in Sweden, America, and in this country works of a really scholarly nature on the Latin and Greek Fathers are being produced, of which this book is an outstanding example. Dr Baylis claims to have proved that the 'Octavius' is much earlier than used to be supposed — in fact, that it was the pioneer. He dates it about A.D. 160, and not in the third century. In arriving at his very definite pronouncement in favor of an early date Dr Baylis throws overboard such weighty authorities as Jerome himself and, among moderns, nearly all including Harnack. This revolutionary result he reaches on all sorts of grounds, historical, linguistic, and 'circumstantial.'

And yet the reviewer is not convinced! On pp. 266 ff. Dr Baylis summarizes Dessau's arguments as to the probable identity of the Caecilius of the dialogue with the Caecilius of Cirta mentioned in the inscriptions on the triumphal arch discovered in 1880, and remains unconvinced. But I must candidly admit they have the opposite effect on me! To my mind the conclusion is irresistible that Dr Salmon, Dessau, Monceaux, and Boissier are right and Dr Baylis wrong as to date. The coincidences are so many and so striking that the most reasonable hypothesis seems to me to be that the Caecilius of the 'Octavius' and the Caecilius of the inscriptions are the same person. Dr Baylis is entitled to his opinion and has made out a strong case, but not strong enough to overthrow the more conservative view. The 'Octavius' is in some respects a queer piece of apologetic, for, in spite of the fact that its arguments convinced and converted the pagan pleader, it contains hardly any direct references to the cardinal Christian doctrines, e.g., the Incarnation and the Christian Sacraments. Dr Baylis' explanation of this phenomenon is very convincing and almost certainly correct, viz., that the tractate was designed to appeal on grounds of pure reason, without any Christian presuppositions, to cultured minds trained in philosophy and prepared to weigh evidence from whatever source it emanated. Dr Baylis' book is well planned and carried out and there is a welcome absence of misprints. No student of ecclesiastical Latin can fail to profit by its perusal.

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MARGARET SCHLAUCH, *Medieval Narrative: a Book of Translations*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1928. Cloth. Pp. vi + 456. $2.50.

MODERN English translations of mediaeval literature have, practically speaking, only skimmed off the richest cream, leaving an ample residuum still to be exhibited to the general reader and the young student, and in the space at her disposal Miss Schlauch has succeeded in offering a great variety of texts, in the main hitherto accessible only to the reader familiar with Mediaeval Dutch, French, German, Icelandic, and Latin. The pieces selected are either charming and interesting for their story and style or important — and consequently interesting — for the more distinguished literary works directly or indirectly growing out of them. The translations, in verse and prose, are well executed and often with genuine artistry.

Closest perhaps to the interests of the readers of SPECULUM are the Latin texts lying behind the famous cycles of romance centring around the Fall of Troy and the Legendary History of Alexander the Great. These are respectively represented by translations of Dares Phrygius's *De Excidio Troiae* (Dictys Cretensis and Guido delle Colonne should some day be translated), and the *Natiuitas et Victoriae Alexandri Magni* of the Neapolitan Archpresbyter Leo. Julius Valerius' *Res Gestae Alexandri Magni* or one of the expanded versions of Leo, perhaps recension J [1] or J [2] of the *Historia de Preliis*, already edited, might well have competed for the place occupied by Leo's primitive text.

To the finest representatives of the Nibelungen cycle, which may now be read in English, a translation of the delightfully popular *Hürnen Seyfried* is a welcome addition. Apropos of Germanic heroic tradition the hope may perhaps be expressed that the untranslated documents of the Hilde-Gudrun saga, ranging from the courtly *Kûdrun* to the Shetland ballad, *Hildinakvadet*, will be translated before long — unless, in the case of *Kûdrun*, Miss E. P. Nichols's version in the original metre (Boston, 1889) can be touched up a bit and reprinted.

Thanks to Robert Williams (*Y Seint Greal*), Sebastian Evans, Miss Jessie Weston, and most recently Mr W. W. Comfort, the Grail legend is not at all badly represented in English; Miss Schlauch now adds selections from two fundamental works, Robert de Boron's *Joseph* and the *Grand Saint Graal*. So, too, generous selections from Béroul's *Tristan*, the *Folie Tristan* (from the Bern MS.), and the Icelandic *Tristramskvæði* (all three in the original metres), supplement in an important way Mr R. S. Loomis's translation of Thomas, Miss Weston's of Gottfried von Strassburg, and Hilaire Belloc's translation of Bédier's composite, *Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut*.

The 'matter of France' is ordinarily known to English readers only

through its most magnificent representative, the *Chanson de Roland*, besides which we have, of course, Robert Williams's translation of the Welsh *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, the outlines in Thomas Bulfinch's *Legends of Charlemagne*, and most recently (1927) Miss M. M. Sherwood's *The Merry Pilgrimage*, a slightly adapted translation of the inimitable *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. Miss Schlauch translates the *Pèlerinage* anew, and further includes, with the help of Mr A. J. Barnouw, the less well-known but hightly artistic Middle-Dutch semi-miracle story, *Karel ende Elegast*.

In addition to the cycles of romances Miss Schlauch has enriched her anthology with Hartmann von Aue's *Der Arme Heinrich* and has reprinted by the courtesy of Mr H. deW. Fuller, the latter's very beautiful metrical rendering of the Dutch miracle of the Virgin, *Beatrice*. There are also the lives of SS Margaret, George, and Eustachius from the *Legenda Aurea;* but since the Caxton version of the *Legenda* is conveniently available in the Temple Classics, would not the Apocalypse of the Pseudo-Methodius or the Letter of Prester John have been rather more useful, especially the former, when one recalls the just words of Ernst Sackur, editor of the full Latin redaction: '*die Methodiusschrift hat einen so universellen Einfluss gehabt wie kaum eine andere des Mittelalters, vom Kanon und den Kirchenvätern abgesehen*'? Five French fabliaux which conclude the volume will be especially welcome to students who know only Chaucer's brilliant and highly literary treatments of this picturesque genre.

On the grounds of their being 'unmediaeval,' the reviewer is opposed — very likely perversely so — to the inclusion of the Icelandic *Friðþjófssaga* and the *Gunnlaugssaga Ormstungu*. The realism so characteristic of the Icelandic personal and genealogical sagas, runs obviously counter to the strongly traditional technique of mediaeval secular narrative in the European zone, itself richly represented in Iceland. More typically European and consequently better fitting to the frame of Miss Schlauch's book would perhaps have been the Preface and selections from the *þiðrekssaga af Bern* (of which a complete translation is in active preparation) or the Preface and such 'lays' in the *Strengleikar* as are not preserved elsewhere. Both documents illustrate in a striking manner the literary and cultural relations of Norway (not Iceland) with the rest of Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The only serious weakness in the volume under review lies in the notices prefixed to the various pieces; these tend to fall between two stools, neither being remarkable as aesthetic appraisals nor, on the whole, furnishing the readers for whom the work is primarily intended with really adequate orientation in the complicated literary relations often involved. Except for the Tristan pieces, the bibliographies are, generally speaking, non-existent. Carefully chosen references to the best literary histories or

monographs should be included in a second printing, and a number of the summaries should be rewritten (not necessarily lengthened).

But these are trifling points, and students and teachers of mediaeval literary and cultural history alike will extend a hearty welcome to Miss Schlauch's attractive and useful volume.

F. P. Magoun, Jr,
Cambridge, Mass.

(1) Sister Agnes Clare Way: *The Language and Style of the Letters of St Basil.* (2) Sister Mary Raphael Arts, *The Syntax of the Confessions of St Augustine.* (3) Martin R. P. McGuire, *S. Ambrosii De Nabuthae,* a Commentary with an introduction and translation. The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies: Vols. 13–15, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1927.

The first two books, like others of the series, are most excellent and useful compilations of material, but somewhat uncritical and lacking in general principles. If the writers conceive their duty to be simply to compile and classify, there is of course no objection, but as a whole these studies are so good that one cannot help wishing for better. I note in passing that nowhere is there given any indication of price, and should like to express a hope that the series may soon extend to some of the Christian poets, whose work has been strangely neglected.

(1) So far as I have tested it Sister Way's study is remarkably accurate and well ordered. It will be seen that, as might be expected of the friend and schoolmate of Libanius, Basil is a moderate atticist, so that we need not look for any startling phenomena (his position with regard to classicism is much the same as that of his admirer Ambrose). Perhaps the most interesting point is the appearance of Pontic features (pp. 11, 25), surviving locally at the present day.

I note a few minor details. Quotations should be weeded out of the examples, e.g., p. 12, l. 2 f. (= I Cor. 10, 13); cf. p. 11, xviii, 96 E. Not all the adverbs on p. 16 are from participles. γινέσθωσαν (p. 17) is classified as aorist. The note (p. 37) on μήποτε (from μή, *num*) is obscure. ἐνεξορύσσω (p. 44) is impossible: read ἐξορύσσω (dittography after -εν). κλαυσίδειπνος . . . (p. 45): this looks like a quotation from Comedy. For παρετηρησάμην p. 139 (cf. *avoir garde*), should we read παρητησάμην? The information about διανήχομαι, ἑστάμαι seems inaccurate. Some of the references are cryptic to the ordinary reader: what are Boiss. MSS (*passim*), and Bast MSS (p. 47)? What are Anc. 4, Chal. 1565c, Gregent, 588A, Constans. 2.6 (p. 106)?

(2) Sister Arts sums up her results in the remark that apart from biblical influence we find little in Augustine's syntax at variance with Silver Latin usage; he has little or nothing of 'Vulgar Latin' in its strict sense.

This is true enough, yet does not one feel in reading Augustine that here is something new in Latin, as far removed from the contorted Asianism and κακοζηλία of Tacitus, Apuleius and Tertullian — with all their merits — as from the standards of Cicero? Did not Augustine as truly create a new literary Latin, with vitality enough to last a thousand years, as Cicero created the much more artificial Latin which began to fall to pieces a generation after his death? It seems to me that Augustine is essentially less classical than either Jerome or Ambrose, who were both, in comparison, artificial stylists. Hence the superb power of his Latin, which, drawing strength from every available source, has its foundations in the true genius and natural development of the language. The weakness of the statistical method of study is that fundamental principles are apt to get obscured.

I note some details which seem misleading in the first half of the book. The remarks on *anhelo* (pp. 8, 11) are, at first sight, contradictory; that on *praebere* (p. 11) is put too strongly. *Agnosticam* (p. 13) is a rather humorous misprint. The note on *misereri* (p. 18) seems wrong; Justinian here and page 19 should apparently be Justin. *Sui* (10. 8, p. 19) may be partitive, depending on *quod*. The examples on page 19 f. from 4.15, 6.1, 9.8 are doubtful. And what *is* the locative of *una domus* (p. 21)? The examples on page 27 are quasi-personal, hence *a*. Gildersleeve-Lodge 249 hardly supports the statement on page 30. *Pro* in 1.7, and 6.2 (p. 31) seems to mean 'in consideration of,' in 3.12 'on behalf of.' *Prae* in 5.12 and 8.1 (p. 32) means 'in comparison with' (who is Porphyry?). *Usque ad* is Ciceronian (p. 33). The not uncommon use of *ipse* = *idem* (p. 51) needs study — a good example is Claudian, *Ep.* 2.2. Is Vellius (p. 53) Velleius? *Quisquam* in 8.10, etc. (p. 56) is quasi-negative. The indicative for deliberative first person (p. 74) is normal for Classical Latin, e.g., Cicero. Some uses are omitted, e.g., of *cuiuscemodi*, and *memini* with *perfect* infinitive, of personal reminiscence.

(3) In McGuire's book it would be ungrateful to complain that the introduction and notes are perhaps too full, but it is a pity so much valuable information should be scattered over a multitude of short notes. The cross references and index are useful, but the notes on 50 (9) and 51 (1) might have been combined: so, too, that on 64 (17 and 21). But the more comprehensive notes, e.g., on 4 (1) are most valuable, not least for their copious references to modern research — it is gratifying to find the merits of the school of Löfstedt and Salonius fully recognised. The collections in the introduction on Vocabulary and Syntax are good, but the long list of imitations adds little of importance to those of Ihm and Schenkl.

There seems little to find fault with. One could have wished for more help on sense and subject-matter (the notes are mainly linguistic). In § 1, n. 8, we expect a note on the use of the dative. In § 2 the use of *poculum*

='drink' is surely more noteworthy than that of *potus* in the same sense. The common mediaeval use *nescit includere* deserves a note. In § 3, *ad fin.*, what is the meaning of the whole? Is the translation right? Why nothing on the growth of the tiresome and unciceronian hyperbaton *perpetua . . . sollicitudine?* Is *perdis alienam gratiam*, etc., rightly translated? In § 4, n. 5, we miss a reference to Juv. 10, 106. In § 5 ult. *querella* is ablative. In § 10 the special use of *possidere* and *occupare* (of land) is missed, and note 3 does not apply here. In § 11 *naturae dispendia* must be 'consumption of Nature.' In § 64 ult. *mentis* goes with *incessum* (*ascensor* is unclassical). In § 67 *dedisti* (for *dederis*) needs a note. § 68 *init.* needs more explanation.

§ 71 *init.*, *et* ('even'), a rare use, is not listed in Intr., page 41. The translation would sometimes be clearer if less literal. What is 'hereditary piety' (§ 13), 'faith reconciles gifts' (§ 67)?

The following misprints are important: § 20 *verberantur* (*-atur*); § 21 *gratiae* (*-a*); page 76 ult., *eum* (*cum*); § 52 ult., *refriget* (*-eret*); page 93 middle, 'he made *me*'; § 67 *vestro . . . potestatis* (*vestra . . . , potestis*); page 132, n. 1, read *exaestuare;* page 138, n. 15, read *amethystum;* page 174, l. 7, *ais* (*ait*), and lower down, Stob. *Ecl.*; p. 175, n. 10, read 'introduce.'

In the text I suggest the following conjectures: § 11 *ad fin.*, *ager* for *aer;* § 57 *reddidisse* <*se*>, and lower down add *dicit* after *si qui haec;* § 58 *ad fin.* for *peteris* possibly *petieris;* § 69 *ad fin.*, *redactus* <*est*>.

To the mediaeval student the book will be especially valuable for the light it throws on mediaeval Latin usage.

W. B. Sedgwick.

Alexius Hoffmann, O. S. B., *Liturgical Dictionary* (Popular Liturgical Library, Series III, No. 1), Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1928. Pp. iv + 187. $2.25.

Any living language necessarily has two classes of books written about it, the historical and the practical. Schwan-Behrens' *Altfranzösische Grammatik* and Hugo's *How to Speak French in Three Months* concern the same language, but a person using one is hardly likely to find the other of great value, so different are their respective aims. So it is with liturgiology, the language of the Sacraments. The manuscript publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society would be of slight use to a parochial Master of Ceremonies, while Fortescue's *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* would have little value for the historian. Many practical liturgical manuals are available, but of the other class far too few books have been written. The possibilities of the broader study of liturgiology, relating it to archaeology, architecture, music, and the minor arts, have hardly been explored, and it seems certain that many things of considerable consequence will come to light as a result of this correlation.

The announcement of Dom Hoffmann's *Liturgical Dictionary* raised hopes which the work hardly fulfills, for the preface states that 'the aim of the compiler of the present volume is to supply his clerical brethren and students in ecclesiastical seminaries with a handy lexicon explanatory of the terms used in the liturgical books of the Catholic Church.' Considering the labor involved in the compilation of the dictionary, a broader outlook would have been eminently desirable, although the book will doubtless achieve admirably the purpose which its author intended for it. It must be noted, however, that 'the liturgical books of the Catholic Church' whose terms it explains are only those in actual use at the present day, for there is no mention of such characteristic terms of the Mozarabic liturgy as *Ad accedentes*, *Sacrificium*, or *Laudes*.

The dictionary contains words not commonly found in classical dictionaries, which occur in the Roman Missal, Breviary, Martyrology, Ritual, Pontifical and Ceremonial of Bishops, the names of a considerable number of saints, and many place-names. The opening phrases of the hymns of the Roman Breviary are included, forming a convenient index.

Certain parts of the work will doubtless prove useful to mediaevalists in general: it is convenient to have in such a handy volume lists of the names and dates of the Popes and of many saints, while the place names will serve as an ecclesiastical *Orbis Latinus*, although the Latin names of many American cities are of doubtful value. Under *G* alone one finds too much of North America: *Galvesopolis* (Galveston), *Grandormium* (Grand Rapids), and *Great-Ormensis* (Great Falls, Montana), while under other letters one finds even more. Although we are all too familiar with the improper use of that commodity in altar candlesticks, it is difficult to conceive of *lux electrica* (p. 61) as a proper liturgical term, and other words such as *hemorrhoissa*, suffering from a hemorrhage (p. 80), *horripilatio*, bristling of the hair in horror (p. 81), *larus*, a mew (bird), sea-mew (p. 96), and *sarabalum*, wide Persian trousers (p. 158), seem hardly to the point.

There are a few inconsistencies in typography that could have been avoided by more careful proof-reading and a few errors in the text that further verification would have corrected. For example, Aragón is not, in the modern geographical distribution, a province of Spain (p. 14), and Jaca is not spelled *Xaca* (p. 89) nor Granada *Grenada* (p. 76).

It is always easy to point out flaws in the work of someone else, but it seems certain that Dom Hoffmann's dictionary will be adequate and satisfactory for its stated purpose. It is to be regretted, however, that the historical scope of the work is not sufficiently broad to allow it to be of more general service to students of the Middle Ages.

Walter Muir Whitehill, Jr,
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Olga Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, ed., *Государственная Публичная Библиотека в Ленинграде. Сер. IV: Occidentalia. Analecta Medii Aeui — Средневековье в рукописях.* Fasc. I, Leningrad, 1925. Pp. 93 + 2 Plates. Paper. 1 r. 50k; Fasc. II, Leningrad, 1927. Pp. iv + 192. Paper. 2 r. 50k.

Thanks to the efforts of Mme Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, aided by her students, an adequate description of mediaeval Western manuscripts now in the State Public Library in Leningrad is at last being published. In the preface to fasc.I of the newly established *Analecta Medii Aeui* a general account of what may be called the library clauses of the Russo-Polish Treaty of Riga (1921) is given, together with a statement of plans for describing *occidentalia* in the Leningrad Library.[1]

Fasc.I contains four studies: 'In the Tradition of the Poetry of the Goliards' and 'A Satire on the Margins of a Mediaeval MS.' (see Pl.I) are by the editress of the series. 'Two Early Mediaeval Charters from the Archives of Inda' really deals with three documents, (1) two diplomata of Otho III (20 August 985, see Pl. II, A), (2) a Carolingian will (21 March 866, see Pl.I, B; text, pp. 75, 76), all inedited and discovered by the author of the study, V. V. Bakhtin. 'Portolanos of the Sixteenth Century' by G. A. Stern concludes the fascicule.

Fasc.II is more ambitious. It is a considerably larger volume, with preface and table of contents in French as well as Russian, while each article is preceeded by a brief but compendious résumé in French. The (French) titles of the articles follow: O. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, 'Quelques inaperçus. Sur la voie d'un catalogue'; W. Bakhtin, Contributions à l'histoire de l'écriture de Corbie'; G. Walter, 'Notice sur le contenu des parties médicales du Ms. F.v.VI. 3'; A. Stefanovich, 'Une poésie historique du XII^{e} siècle et les déstinées du Ms. Q.v.IV.3'; W. Lublinsky, 'Le Semideus de Caton Sacco'; S. Uschakov, 'Le recueil des poésies italiennes du XV^{e} siècle' (includes specimens); V. Schischmarev, 'Quelques traces de la "librairie" du roi René dans le fonds manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Publique.'

To the editress of the Leningrad *Analecta*, already known to the readers of Speculum through her recent study of the Leningrad Bede, are due hearty congratulations and warm wishes for success in a useful and important enterprise, carried on, in its initial stages at least, under uncommon difficulties.

[1] See also O. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, 'La Bibliothèque Publique de Léningrad: Dix Ans Après,' *Revue des Bibliothèques*, XXXVII (1927), 277–281.

F. P. Magoun, Jr,
Cambridge, Mass.

Milivoje M. Bašić, ed., *Из Старе Српске Књижевности*, 3d rev. ed., Belgrade: Geza Kohn, 1926. Pp. xvi + 352. Paper. 50 Dinars.

The first edition of Professor Bašić's anthology of Old-Serbian literature appeared in 1911; in 1922 a second and enlarged edition was called for (compte-rendu in *Echos d'Orient*, XXX, 1927, 210–212); and four years later a third and slightly enlarged edition was issued in response to a growing interest in the significant corpus of mediaeval literature represented in the volume.

Mr Bašić's excellent and very practical handbook is intended primarily for use in the upper forms of the Jugoslav secondary schools with a view to arousing interest in the early national literature; the period covered by the selections (often regrettably short) extends from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries, the period usually included in the designation 'Old-Serbian' literature (defined in the introductiory note). The bulk of the material belongs, however, to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The texts are uniformily printed in the Cyrillic alphabet with modernized orthography; allusions and archaic words explained in footnotes. Each selection is prefaced by a brief notice, including a not always altogether adequate bibliography. A very short account of the Old-Serbian literary language (pp. 345–347), followed by a page of corrigenda (p. 348) and the table of contents, closes the book.

The round hundred items which compose the volume are grouped under the following headings: Poetry, I (secular), II (religious); Prose, I (romances and tales), II (stories of persons in the apocryphal books of the Old and New Testament, and lives of foreign and native saints); III (A. biographies, B. panegyrics); IV (historical works); V (itineraries); and finally, VI, an appendix of miscellaneous texts, better distributed perhaps through the book proper. In the present brief notice it will probably be most useful to remind Western mediaevalists of the existence in Old-Serbian of many literary traditions widespread and well known in Western Europe. Under 'Romances and Tales' (pp. 21 ff.) one meets, for example, the Troy story,[1] the legendary history of Alexander the Great, the *Physiologus* (lion, eagle, turtle-dove), *Barlaam and Josaphat*, and miracles of the Virgin, including the famous tale of the 'Maiden without Hands' (cf. A. Aarne–S. Thompson, *Types of the Folktale*, Helsingfors, 1928, Mt 706, where a specific reference to P. Popović's classic study cited here by Bašić might well be included). In Prose II, A, the ubiquitous *Visio Pauli* (pp. 100–102) and in II, B, excerpts from the lives of SS George, Paul,

[1] For all study of the Balkan versions of this matter notice must henceforth be taken of N. Cartojan, 'Legendele Troadei in Literatura Veche Românească,' Rumanian Academy, *Memoriile Secțiunii Literare*, Ser. iii, Vol. III (1925), Mem. 3 (also printed separately), an exhaustive and up-to-date study of this subject, not cited by Bašić.

Alexis, and Mary the Egyptian (pp. 110–127) will be familiar to all mediaevalists. In Prose IV, D (miscellaneous writings), item 10 (pp. 289–292) is given a specimen of Kosovo material from an early eighteenth-century MS.; the literary tradition of the Battle of Kosovo (1389), preserved in Serbian chronicles and popular poems, though heart and soul Serb, is now well known in the West to Homeric scholars and to students of Germanic heroic poetry through the emphasis given the subject not many years ago by H. M. Chadwick (*The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 313–319).

In its new garb Professor Bašić's anthology will be warmly received and will prove an admirable introductory manual, linguistically as well as materially, for students who wish to initiate themselves into the mediaeval literature of Jugoslavia.

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Miloš Weingart, *Byzantské Kroniky v Literatuře Církevněslovanské. Přehled a rozbor filologický* 2 vols. in 3 parts. Bratislava, 1922–1923. Pp. 246, pp. 577.

It seemed inexcusable that so valuable and original a contribution as is Professor Weingart's work on *The Byzantine Chronicles in the Church-Slavonic Literature* has not hitherto been called to the attention of historical students in America. The present review, although belated, aims to remedy this omission.

Weingart's scholarly work, published by the recently founded Komenský University of Bratislava in Czechoslovakia, comprises the results of his researches carried on since 1910; the author, Professor Miloš Weingart of the Komenský University, is one of the most eminent Slavists of the younger generation. The work consists of two volumes, of which the second comprises two parts. The first volume is devoted to the historical introduction to, and philological treatment of, the various Byzantine chronicles which have been translated into the Church-Slavonic. It gathers together for the first time the results of the study of many Slavists who had contributed to the field but whose monographs have hitherto been scattered in various inaccessible publications written in a half dozen languages, not to mention a considerable amount of original research of the author. The chronicles comprised in the work are as follows: John Malalas, George Syncellus, patriarch Nicephoros, Simeon the Logothete, John Zonaras, the so-called *Paralipomenon* of Zonaras, Constantine Manasses, and a few others. The collation of the text of all the known MSS is carried out with the minutest and the most painstaking care. In many instances where the Slavic translation differs from the Greek text or the Slavic texts differ among themselves, the part in question is reprinted side by side for purposes of comparison. The author ably acquits himself of the task of solving when, where

and by whom the Slavic translations were made, and whether the original of a redaction of the Greek text was used by the translator.

The intrinsic value of the work may be seen from the fact that many MSS of the Slavic translations either supplement an incomplete Greek text or correct corrupt passages of it. With the help of these Slavic translations, it will therefore be possible to edit the Greek texts in an improved form. Such case is represented by the Slavic MSS of Malalas.[1] The critical value of the Slavic text of Simeon the Logothete may be judged from the fact that through it, it has become clear that the published text ascribed to Simeon [2] is not his chronicle at all, but an anonymous work; Simeon's *Chronicle* has not been hitherto published.[3] The Slavic translation of Manasses' *Chronicle* was made from a different Greek version than the one now extant so that it has the value of another Greek redaction of the work.[4] Besides, the glosses of the Slavic MSS are of themselves of considerable historical value.[5] It is thus evident that in the future a critical determination of the correct Greek text of the Byzantine chronicles under consideration cannot be undertaken without a careful comparison with the various Slavic versions; hence, Weingart's scholarly treatment of the subject becomes of considerable importance.

The second volume of the work is devoted entirely to a detailed and exhaustive critique of the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, called Hamartolos, which has exercised a most important influence upon the Church-Slavonic literature. More than half of the first part of the volume is devoted to an exhaustive study of the so-called 'Bulgarian' edition of the Slavic translation of the *Chronicle*, known under the title of *Временник;* especially valuable is the study devoted to the relation of the *Временник* to the Russian *Повесть временных лет* and other early chronicles.

The second part of the second volume comprises the *Летовник*, or the so-called Siberian redaction of George's *Chronicle*, of which there are 14 MSS Weingart's conclusion coincides with Shestakov in affirming that the 'Serbian' redaction was translated from the original text of George; hence, it is a most valuable aid to the restoration of the original Greek text, for there is only one MS. of this work extant which in places suffered textual corruption.[6] Besides, since the original text of George's work stops with about the year 775, while the *Летовник* continues till 843, this Slavic text is the only one which preserves (of course, in translation) the original text of that portion of the *Chronicle*. As for the place where the Slavic translation originated, Weingart denied the usual designation of a

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, 50.
[2] Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CIX, 663–822, is the latest edition.
[3] *Op. cit.*, I, 67, 81. [4] *Op. cit.*, I, 181. [5] *Op. cit.*, I, 220 ff.
[6] Vol. II, part 2, pp. 312 ff.

Serbian origin to be correct and on philological grounds pronounced it to be Bulgarian; as far as time was concerned, he placed it to the period not later than the eighties of the fourteenth century. A valuable supplement to the work is a reprint of a part of Šafařík's MS. of this work, as well as an extended critique of the second volume of Istrin's *Chronicle of George Hamartolos in its old Slavic-Russian translation.*[1]

In conclusion, the intrinsic value of the work of Professor Weingart is truly great; it would be greatly desirable to have the work translated so that its conclusions could be made accessible to a larger number of students.

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W. J. Gruffydd, *Math Vab Mathonwy, An Inquiry into the Origins and Development of the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi, with the Text and a Translation*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xvii + 392.

The *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, which form the first four tales in Lady Guest's famous collection of Welsh legend, provoke a variety of reactions. To the ultra-modernist or the man of fact they seem childish, pointless, unworthy of serious attention. To the romantic, on the other hand, the very lack of apparent reason, adventures as inconsequential as those of *Alice in Wonderland*, the damsels made of flowers or transformed into mice, the vanishing castles, the talking birds, possess an authentic glamor. For the scholar the *Four Branches* stand among the most baffling literary problems of the Middle Ages. Sir John Rhŷs tried his hand at elucidating their mythology.[2] Anwyl worked out certain problems of their local origin.[3] M. Loth has translated them and accumulated a most useful body of illustrative notes.[4] Ivor John and J. A. MacCulloch have given us sound general impressions of their nature.[5] Miss O'Rahilly has pointed out their Irish analogues.[6] The most illuminating work upon them, however, has been that of Professor Gruffydd in his articles, contributed to the *Trans-*

[1] В. М. Истрин, *Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славянорусском переводе.* Том II. а) *Греческий текст 'Продолжения Амартола'; в) Исследование.* Петроград, 1922. Стр. xxi + 454.

[2] *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, London, 1887.

[3] *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, I (1897), 277; II (1898), 124.

[4] Joseph Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, 2 vols., 2d ed., Paris, 1913.

[5] I. B. John, *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, London, 1901. J. A. MacCulloch, in *Mythology of All Races*, III (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1918), 92.

[6] Cecile O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales, Their Historical and Literary Relations* (London, New York: Longman's, 1924), p. 103.

actions of the Cymmrodorion Society and the *Revue Celtique:*[1] and now he has followed these preliminary studies with a thorough study of one of the Branches, *Math.*

Mr Gruffydd's work is a remarkable achievement; for it can be said that the author has not only found a possible explanation of almost every feature in this most tangled narrative, but has even made so good a case for most of his points that they may be regarded as secure. The tale is a mosaic made up of fragments of British and Irish myth, assorted folklore patterns, and typical Celtic place-name stories. With a sure instinct born of his Celtic blood, his intimate knowledge of the literature of Wales and Ireland, his wide acquaintance with folklore, his poetic imagination controlled by a scholar's conscience, Mr Gruffydd picks out, identifies, accounts for nearly every detail. It is a great triumph for erudition touched with imagination.

The chief discovery is the ultimate dependence of *Math* upon the Irish myth of Balor and Lug for its main outline (pp. 65–112). Significant is the fact that this myth, surviving most clearly in folktales taken down in the nineteenth century, must have supplied the framework for a story composed as early as the twelfth century. It is a variant of the widespread formula of the King and His Prophesied Death (pp. 8, 366),[2] of which the Perseus and Oedipus stories furnish familiar examples. The plot of the famous Irish story may be reconstructed as follows. Balor, learning of a prophecy that he would be slain by his daughter's son, to be named Lug Lamfada, with a particular spear, on Lug's wedding night, sought to prevent this consummation. First he imprisoned his daughter, but a certain Cian gained access to her, and she bore a son. Balor then tried to have his grandson drowned, but in vain. When he learned of his failure, he put successively three *geasa* on the boy: never to receive a name except from himself, never to bear arms, and never to wed earthly wife (pp. 102–106). But Lug circumvented all these barriers and finally fulfilled his destiny by slaying Balor in the manner prescribed. Now the Welsh tale is remarkable in that it preserves practically every essential feature of this outline in the right order, but every feature has been recast several times, and all the original cohesion and rationale has been lost. Math is at pains to preserve the virginity of a damsel, but no reason is offered and the damsel is not his daughter. The damsel is ravished by stratagem, but nothing is said of her son. Instead, the woman who takes her place gives birth to a son, Dylan, and he promptly goes to the sea and, instead of drowning, swims like a fish. But

[1] *Transactions of the Honorable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (London, 1912–13), Vol. XIV; *Revue Celtique*, XXXIII, (1912), 452.

[2] Cf. H. Lessmann, *Die Kyros-sage in Europa;* E. S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894–96.

it is not he who becomes the hero of the story but one who develops from the caul or placenta which Dylan's mother lets fall at the time of his birth. This caul develops into a second child, and upon him are sworn successively the three *geasa* that were sworn upon Lug: but it is his mother who swears them, and she obviously has no motive. The way in which she is induced to name him Lleu Llaw Gyffes is obviously reminiscent of the way in which Balor was induced to name his grandson Lug Lamfada. Finally, it is not Lleu's grandfather who is slain by a special spear, but Lleu's rival, Gronwy. Except that the order remains intact, the elements could hardly have been juggled more drastically.

Mr Gruffydd shows how in the course of years there have been grafted upon this trunk many subsidiary themes. Seldom has the chance association of ideas in the author's mind been accepted so completely as a working principle. An accidental similarity in name or theme justified to one redactor or another the introduction and elaboration of totally foreign elements. Thus we find interwoven the story of Balor and his unfaithful wife (pp. 271–295);[1] the death of Pryderi, the original hero of the *Four Branches* (pp. 328–330); place-name incidents connected with the driving of Pryderi's swine and with the adventures of Lleu (pp. 335–342); a Welsh legend explaining how the owl came to be called Blodeuwedd, 'Flower-Face' (pp. 252–262); the Irish myth of the betrayal of Curoi by his wife Blathnat, 'Little Flower' (pp. 265–269); the tradition of Lleu as shoemaker (pp. 237–240); the ancient intelligence test of the contradictory conditions to be met (pp. 301–313); and numerous others. The *Four Branches*, then, are conclusively demonstrated to be what Matthew Arnold divined: a structure composed of the shattered fragments of ancient tradition. The 'realistic' school of literary interpretation, which would have us believe that mediaeval texts owe little to century-old tradition but are in the main, like modern novels, the original products of the author's imagination, can hardly claim that the *Four Branches* is an example of their theory. One can only remark that, if it is, the author must have been deranged.

Whether the stages in the growth of *Math* which Mr Gruffydd outlines at the close of his book are as definitely settled as are the ingredients, is doubtful, and Mr Gruffydd himself claims only that they are probable. Some of the name-associations strike me as fortuitous; for example, Balor, Benlli, and Bellerus seem to have far too little in common (pp. 179–186). But the supposition that Beli once took the place of Balor in the Welsh

[1] In this connection Mr Gruffydd pays a deserved tribute to G. L. Kittredge's study of the theme in *Arthur and Gorlagon*. It is interesting to note that he concurs in an opinion of mine that *Arthur and Gorlagon* was not Welsh but Continental; cf. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIII (1924), 591.

version because of a similarity in sound seems quite plausible (p. 185). I am unconvinced by the theory that the Irish name Blathnat became in Welsh Blodened and then, through scribal error, Blodeued or Blodeuedd (pp. 264 ff.). Mr Gruffydd himself proves the existence of an independent Welsh legend of Blodeuwedd: and it seems entirely natural that it should have fused with the Irish story of a heroine whose name also contained the element 'flower,' and that the name Blodeuwedd degenerated into Blodeuedd. Mr Gruffydd's ingenious suggestion that Lleu's epithet 'Llaw Gyffes' had something to do with a hypothetical Irish word *lamhcomhes*, 'dexterous-handed,' from verb *midithir*, meaning originally 'hit the mark,' presents several difficulties (p. 63).[1] With great diffidence I suggest what seems to me a more plausible explanation of the name Lleu Llaw Gyffes. Apparently the original Irish story of Lug's naming involved a comparison of skill between the boy and his father, as does *Math*, and the point turned, as in the modern Irish version, on the Irish word *lugu*, 'the smaller.' This play on words very easily carried over into Welsh, for the cognates of Lug and *lugu* were Lleu and *llei*.[2] Mr Gruffydd is, of course, right in asserting that Lleu's feat was to outdo his father by hitting (*medru*) the right size of shoe for Arianrhod when his father had failed to hit it. ('Na vedreis,' Gwydion says.) A stupid redactor, who thought it necessary to provide a target, introduced the wren! Probably the word applied to Lleu's hand, *cyffes*, which in later Welsh is applied only to eloquence and poetry, had once a wider application and meant 'skilful.' If we posit these points, then Arianrhod's speech needs only the change of *lleu* to *llei* to make perfect sense of the whole scene: '*Ys llaw gyffes y medrwys y llei ef*,' 'It is a skilful hand with which the smaller hit it [the right size].' Thereupon, Gwydion, who has succeeded in his ruse, declares that now his son has a good name; 'Lleu Llaw Gyffes is he henceforth.' Though granting Mr Gruffydd's contention that *llei* and *lleu* did not represent the same sound (p. 61), I do not see how the fact bars out the possibility of a play on the two words, since the Irish permitted a play on *lugu* and Lug, and Lleu itself, as Mr Gruffydd points out, gave way to the quite different sound Llew (pp. 60 f.).

Besides raising these questions, which in no way involve the solidity of Mr Gruffydd's main points and his method, I must offer definite objection on two minor points. On pp. 81 ff. he asserts that the story of Balor and Lug passed through four stages, of which the first three are: 1. Mythology; 2. Mythology become history, represented by the *Book of Invasions* and the *Fate of the Children of Turenn;* 3. Mythological history become folklore,

[1] The difficulties are that *midithir* never occurs in Irish with the prefix *con*, and that the verbal noun *comess*, even if it existed, would scarcely be performing the function of an adjective, 'unerring.'

[2] Cf. *Cymmrodor*, XXVIII (1918), 239; J. Strachan, *Introduction to Early Welsh* (1909), p. 28; Gruffydd, *Math*, pp. 236, 61.

represented by modern folktales of Balor's doom and death. It seems to me that the folktales do not derive from stage 2 but from stage 1. The pseudo-historic versions have left no trace on the folktales, or on the Welsh *Math*, but on the contrary we have the most primitive pattern of story. It seems to me just as mistaken to trace *Math* to the pseudo-historic account of the feud between Balor and Lug as to trace the wanderings of Bran and his company to Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the wanderings of Brennius. Another mistaken judgment of the author's is the identification of Layamon's Argante with Arianrhod (pp. 190–192). Bruce proved that the name Morgan underwent deformation into Urganda,[1] and the *Didot Perceval*, which was drawing upon the same source as Layamon at this point,[2] leaves no doubt that Morgain(t) is the original of Argante.[3]

Mr Gruffydd's study is a momentous one because of its larger implications. It vindicates completely the use which Nutt, Kittredge, and Brown have made of modern Irish folklore as representing genuine traditions of the Old- and Middle-Irish periods (p. 64, n.).[4] It proves once more that Irish myth and legend permeate the *Four Branches*. It makes the vital suggestion that the *Four Branches* were developed by Goidels living in Western Wales. It establishes the composite and adulterate nature of the traditions embodied in the *Four Branches*, and makes it impossible to regard them as anything but fragmentary and corrupt.

Mr Gruffydd announces that this book is the beginning of a rounded study of the Welsh origins of Arthurian romance, and there could be no more auspicious beginning. It establishes not only the author's learning but also his extraordinary acumen in handling the most difficult problems in Celtic literature. More than that, this study of the *Four Branches*, by proving the Goidelic origin of much of the material and by proving its chaotic condition, renders the whole Celtic position regarding the origin and transmission of Arthurian romance far more plausible. In the first place, here demonstrably in Western Wales a mingling of Goidelic and Brythonic myth and legend took place: and such a mingling alone can account for the intrusion of the minutest details of the Beheading Test and other Irish stories into the *Matière de Bretagne*.[5] In the second place,

[1] *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI (1911), 65 ff.

[2] J. L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval* (1909), II, 325. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[4] Cf. A. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* (London, 1888), p. 158; [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (Boston, 1903), pp. 95 ff., 163–238, 266.

[5] G. L. Kittredge, *Study of Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 25 ff.; G. H. Maynadier, *Wife of Bath's Tale* (Grimm Library No. 13, London, 1900); R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, pp. 15, 16, 21 f., 68 ff., 86, 88, 99, 100–102, 120, 125, 158–176, 178–182, 215–224, 252–258, 283 f., 296–299, 326 ff., 339–341; A. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 137 f.; G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt* (Frankfurt, London, 1913), II, 413 ff., 430 f.; *Vassar Medieval Studies*, p. 19; *Romanic Review*, IX (1918), 21 ff.

here is an explanation ready to one's hand why the French romances pretending to British origin do not more closely and continuously parallel the extant Welsh legends of the *Four Branches:* the *Four Branches* are in an advanced stage of confusion. Under the circumstances any sustained correspondence between the French romances, supposing them to be of British origin, and the *Four Branches*, which together with a few triads, a few old poems, and a few references in later poems afford us all the knowledge we have of Welsh tradition, is not to be expected. In fact, such correspondences as I have been able to point out in my *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* are of precisely the incomplete nature that the circumstances demand. Now when we observe the actual infiltration of traditions and persons found in the *Four Branches* into the Welsh Arthurian cycle, when we note that Teyrnon, Gwri Gwallt Euryn, and Manawydan are named among Arthur's warriors in *Kilhwch and Olwen*, and that Pwyll and Pryderi are connected in a poem at least as ancient as the *Four Branches* with an expedition of Arthur's to Annwn (the Other World), then indeed we may feel that the way has been cleared to a logical, systematic interpretation of the metamorphosis of Irish and Welsh tradition into the Continental cycle of the Round Table. This feeling is confirmed when we discover other figures from the *Four Branches* reappearing in Continental Arthurian romance: Gilvaethwy son of Don stares us in the face as Giflet fis Do; Bran is most easily recognizable as Bron, the Fisher King, but also can be detected in Brangor and Brandus des Illes, Brien, and so forth; likewise there is reason to believe that Llew, Arianrhod, Rhiannon, Blodeuwedd, Nissyen, Manawydan, Pryderi, Gwri, and Beli are linked with Lyon, Lunete, Niniane, Floree, Nasciens, Mangon, Priure, Pierre, or Perceval, Guirres or Gurehes, and Pelles.[1]

We know that Irish mythological material percolated through Dyfed and Gwynedd and thence into the Welsh Arthur legend; we know that thus we can account for the long-recognized Irish elements in French and English romances of the Round Table; we know that lack of elaborate parallelism between these romances and the *Four Branches* is the inevitable consequence of the treatment which the latter underwent. Mr Gruffydd's study, therefore, has not only made intelligible the growth of one of the most tangled legends in the world's literature, but also sheds a brilliant light upon the obscure roots of the forest of mediaeval romance.

[1] On the Arthurian derivatives of Bran, Pryderi, and Nissyen see a forthcoming article by the present reviewer in *Modern Language Review*, 1929. I hope to deal with the others elsewhere.

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†LOUIS JOHN PAETOW

At the moment of going to press, the Editors of SPECULUM have learned of the sad death on December 22, 1928, in Berkeley, California, of LOUIS JOHN PAETOW, Second Vice-President and Fellow of the ACADEMY.

MOZARABIC MELODICS: A CORRECTION

SPECULUM, III (1928), 218 ff., 'Mozarabic Melodics': the letterpress under Plates I and II should be transposed, i.e., Plate I represents the *Missal*, Plate II the *Liber Ordinum*.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

W. O. Ault, ed., *Court Rolls of the Abbey of Ramsey and the Honor of Clare* (Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and edited Texts IX), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. lvi + 319. $3.50.

Patrick J. Barry, *Die Zustände im Wiener Schottenkloster vor der Reform des Jahres 1418*, Aichrach: Lothar Schütte, 1927. Paper. Pp. 106.

P. C. J. A. Boeles, *Friesland tot de Elfde Eeuw, Zijn oudste Beshaving en Geschiedenis*, The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1927. Paper. Pp. xii + 295. Gld. 6.

J. L. Connolly, *John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic*, Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1928. Paper. Pp. xiii + 408.

Myles Dillon, *Nominal Predicates in Irish*, Bonn diss., Halle: Karras, Kröber, und Nietschmann, 1928. Paper. Pp. 86.

Heinrich Fincke, ed., in Verbindung mit J. Hollnsteiner und H. Heimpel, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, 4ter (Schluss-) Band, Münster i. W.: Regensbergsche Buchhandlung, 1928. Pp. ciii + 1024. Paper, RM. 48. Cloth, RM. xx 58.

Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, 1. Band: Die Lateinischen Pergamenthandschriften, Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1928. Paper. Pp. xxiv + 634.

Siegfried Frey, *Das Oeffentlich-rechtliche Schiedsgericht in Oberitalien im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert*, Zürich diss., Lucerne: E. Haag, 1928. Paper. Pp. xviii + 178.

Alexius Hoffman, transl., *The Life and Miracles of St Benedict* [with Introduction, notes, and index] (by Pope Gregory the Great), Collegeville, Minn.: St John's University Press, 1925. Cloth. Pp. xiii + 94.

Philip Kates, *The Two Swords: A Study of the Union of Church and State* (Benedictine His. torical Monographs III), Washington, D. C.: St Anselm's Priory, 1928. Cloth. Pp. 48-

M. Komroff, ed., *Tales of the Monks from the Gesta Romanorum*, New York: The Dial Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xiii + 320. $3.50.

Ezio Levi, *L'Unità del Mondo Latino*, Rome: Treves, 1926. Paper. Pp. 54. Lire 4.

C. C. Mierow, transl., *The Two Cities by Otto of Freising, A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xv + 523. $10.00.

Nellie Neilson, ed., *The Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington, Kent*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. Cloth, Pp. xi + 255. $7.00.

J. F. Mountford and P. K. Baillie Reynolds, edd., *One Hundred Post-Classical Latin Unseens*, Aberystwyth, Wales: S. V. Galloway, n.d. Cloth. Pp. x + 69. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Miguel Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba, y su Historia Crítica de las Ideas Religiosas,* Tomo II, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1928. Paper. Pp. 398.

M. Pappenheim, *Die Siebenhardenbeliebung vom 17. Juni 1426,* Flensburg, Kunstgewerbemuseum, 1926. Paper. Pp. iii + 76.

Julián Ribera y Tarragó, *Disertaciones y Opúsculos . . .* con una Introducción de Miguel Asín Palacios, 2 vols. Madrid: E. Maestre, 1928. Pp. cxvi + 637; viii + 796. 30 Pesetas.

Chalfant Robinson, *The Case of King Louis The Eleventh of France, and Other Essays in Mediaeval History,* Princeton: University Press, 1928. Cloth. $2.00.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

POOR-RELIEF IN THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLDS OF THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

By HILDA JOHNSTONE

MODERN economists when writing the history of the charitable agencies which preceded the modern system of poor relief, have laid little stress upon the contribution to the problem of poverty made by the organized activities of the great households.[1] This is not surprising; for it is only of recent years that the rich material surviving for the study of such establishments has been explored for other than antiquarian reasons. The reaction of household organization upon general political and administrative history has begun to be emphasized of late; its connections with economic and social problems still await full investigation. The present paper confines itself to royal households and to a single century. Even within such narrow limits, however, it is hoped to show that what Mr Sidney Webb calls the 'sporadic almsgiving' of the great layman [2] was so systematic and so extensive that it deserves a prominent place in the history of charitable origins, and even throws a certain illumination upon the general social problems of mediaeval England.

[1] Chap. V, in vol. II, of the late Sir William Ashley's *English Economic History*, is still the *locus classicus* for the history of early poor relief, though published in 1893. He devotes some 22 pages to relief dispensed by parish clergy, the monasteries, hospitals, gilds and fraternities, but only 4 pages to private charity, of which a scant paragraph is given to the household almsgiving of great prelates and nobles. The introductory chapter on Poor Relief prior to 1597 in Mr and Mrs Sidney Webb's *History of the English Poor Law* (London: Longmans, 1927), follows Ashley's categories closely, but adds municipalities to the relieving agencies, and omits all discussion of relief dispensed by a private household.

[2] In his introduction to *Some Early Tracts on Poor Relief*, ed., F. R. Salter (London: Methuen, 1926).

Our starting-point must be with two ideas with regard to almsgiving which seem to have rooted themselves firmly in the mind of the ordinary man of position in the thirteenth century, as distinct from the professional theologian. One was, that, because he had property, he must as a matter of course make charity a charge upon it; the other, that charity must accompany and underline his contrition for sin. Both these ideas, of course, had their basis in the official doctrines of the Church; but both represent the Church's teaching reduced to its simplest terms, stripped of safeguards, and capable of injudicious application. Both might become unduly subjective, so that the needs of the beneficiary were kept less in mind than the gesture of the benefactor. Modern economists have had much to say in criticism of the indiscriminate character of mediaeval poor-relief, and its actual encouragement of the very evil it was nominally seeking to heal. Some mediaeval theologians were well aware of this danger, but were unable to control the enthusiasm of an age which had, as M. Sabatier once said, '*toutes les vertus, sauf la mesure.*'[1] Everyone who was anyone in the thirteenth century, from the king downwards, considered almsgiving as much part of daily ceremonial as sleeping or eating. Henry III coupled almsgiving with work upon St Edward's shrine at Westminster as two activities which no man could hinder 'without indecency' ('*sine indignacione*').[2] The chronicler, Roger of Wendover, put into the mouth of the same king a speech ranking charity with the elementary necessities of existence; 'All the revenues in my treasury are barely sufficient for my mere food, clothing, and accustomed alms.'[3] So long as this remained the accepted view, charity might indeed be copious, but it was likely also to be formal and indiscriminate. The second

[1] Cardinal Franz Ehrle in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Reform der Armenpflege*, Freiburg i. Br., 1881, devoted his first chapter to a refutation of the view that the Church taught *Kritiklosigkeit* in charity, quoting the Fathers and others to the contrary. Particularly relevant for our purpose are the views of Godfrey de Fontibus, who taught at Paris about 1280: '*Omnino qui eleemosynam dat non indigenti, non solum non meretur, set et demeretur.*' In the *Verbum abbreuiatum* of Peter Cantor, written in the late twelfth century, also referred to by Ehrle, there are two interesting chapters, '*Contra eos qui dant non indigentibus*' and '*Contra dantes histrionibus*' (*Patr. Lat.*, CCV, 147–152, 153–156).

[2] *Close Rolls*, 1237–42, 514–5.

[3] *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series, No. 95), III, 30.

conception, by which a man sought his own moral relief by the physical relieving of others, had more subtle dangers. Pressed to a logical conclusion, it might have driven observers into reckoning a man's charity in inverse proportion to his virtue. At any rate, both ideas played a great part in influencing the actions of the thirteenth-century magnate.

One caution is necessary. *Elemosina*, as used at this time, was a term of wide scope, and some of its implications had nothing to do with relief to the poor. As used in the royal accounts, for example, it covered oblations in church or at famous shrines,[1] grants to the mendicant orders,[2] contributions to the repair or buildings of churches,[3] maintenance of scholars at the universities,[4] gifts to those asking the royal touch in sickness,[5] and even outlay so little eleemosynary, to our way of thinking, as the salary of a clerk copying out letters.[6] Yet even when all these items have been subtracted, there remains a substantial residuum of what may properly be called poor relief, in the shape of gifts of food, clothing, and money.

We may begin our investigation with the households of the three kings, John, Henry III, and Edward I, whose reigns cover the thirteenth century. The royal household is a natural starting-point, for the obligations of a reigning sovereign were conspicuous, his resources large, and the records of his expenditure likely to be kept with some care at the time, and to remain for the edification of future ages.[7] The accounts show us throughout the century much charitable activity, partly undertaken by customary obligation, partly on the

[1] Not in England only. In 1306 an oblation was sent to the shrine of the Three Kings at Cologne (P.R.O. Exchequer K.R. Accounts, 369/11 f. 30v°). These accounts will henceforth be cited under their official reference, E 101).

[2] On this see below, p. 154.

[3] The *custus et mise* of the construction of Vale Royal and Meynam abbeys swelled Edward I's almsgiving totals enormously in 1283–84. In the same year £36:13:4 was paid to the bishop of St David's for work in the cathedral 'which the king personally ordered to be done when he was there' (E 101/351/15).

[4] A man at Oxford in 1284 received an allowance of one shilling a week (E 101/351/15, m. 3).

[5] Edward I's rolls are full of payments to *infirmi benedicti*.

[6] E 101/11, fo. 29 v°.

[7] Though as the household was itinerant continually, its records had no fixed place of deposit, and are scattered widely both in private and public custody.

initiative of each individual king. The first thing to be noted is that under the name of *elemosina statuta* a fixed sum was charged upon the household revenues. We meet this first in King John's Misae roll for 1209–10,[1] as a daily distribution to the poor of three shillings, reckoned by his accountants in blocks of anything from 30 to 80 days at a time. Strangely enough, the term does not occur at all in the only other Misae roll extant for his reign, or in the earliest (1224–27) of those accounts of the wardrobe, or administrative office of the household, which were enrolled at the exchequer in the reign of his son Henry III. We need not doubt, however, that the payment continued, for in the enrolled accounts from 1234 to 1237 it reappeared in a new phrase of the accountants. They now described their return as referring to 'the expenses of the lord king together with the fixed and forensic alms.'[2] For Edward I's reign we have not only wardrobe accounts enrolled in exchequer records but also many of the original accounts drawn up by the wardrobe clerks themselves, and upon these entries of sums devoted to *elemosina statuta* constantly appeared. No longer, however, was there a daily distribution of money; instead, varying numbers of poor people were given a meal *de elemosina statuta* at irregular intervals.[3] The important point is that the obligation steadily continued, though it was fulfilled in a new and perhaps wiser way.

Elemosina statuta, however, was only a nucleus. Even King John

[1] These are rolls of expenses of the king and his household of a type in use under Richard I, John, and the first year of Henry III, but not later. The roll for 1209–10 was printed by the Record Commission in *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis* and that for 1212–13 in Henry Cole's *Documents illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1844).

[2] *Pipe Roll* no. 79, m. 11d and 20, m. 2. Thomas Madox, *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* (2d ed., 1769), 350 translates this as 'settled and foreign alms,' and explains how the Keepers of the Wardrobe received an allowance for money thus spent when presenting their accounts at the Exchequer. This is analogous to the *elemosina constituta* which was allowed to sheriffs and others without their having to sue out a particular writ or warrant. But *elemosina constituta* has nothing to do with household almsgiving.

[3] A *rotulus de oblationibus et elemosina data diversis pauperibus* for 1276–77, and a *rotulus elemosine* for 1283–84 are instructive in this connection. The first enters the *elemosina statuta* of the king for fourteen days for those journeying with him at 8*s*., a great comedown from John's 3*s*. a day. On the other hand, at 1½*d*. a head 3*s*. would have fed only 24 poor, whereas these rolls show Edward constantly feeding as many as 50 at one time *de elemosina statuta*, and that on several successive days.

supplemented it largely, though his motives, frankly set out by the accountant in each instance, show that the compensatory aspect of almsgiving was what he chiefly dealt in. Given a king who in the end gorged himself to death on peaches and new ale, it is not surprising to learn that earlier in life he had found the Friday fast intolerable. For a succession of as many as seven Fridays, each marked by two good meat meals, John would atone by feeding 100 poor for each occasion, and when he neglected Good Friday itself the total leapt to 1000. In all, some 3500 poor had reason to bless their king's self-indulgence during a single year, and in addition others profited by a tariff designed to fit the misdeeds of John's friends and relatives, falling as low as a meal to 20 when Thomas Basset ate meat on a Wednesday. Neglect of feast-days to go hunting or hawking was similarly penalised. On Holy Innocents' Day, 1212, when John caught 7 cranes, he fed 50 poor for each of them. The usual fare was bread, meat and beer, in which case the cost was 1¼*d.* per head; if meat was allowed instead of fish, that cost another farthing each. The only alms, other than the *elemosina statuta*, which cannot be connected with some royal lapse, were those of the Maundy on Holy Thursday. In 1213, a penny was given on that day to each of 13 poor people, while another twelve shillings was spent upon the same in some way unspecified. In 1210, the relevant entry on the Misae roll is partly illegible, but enough remains to show that thirteen persons received gifts of clothing, girdles, and knives. So far as the evidence of these household records goes, therefore, John's personal almsgiving seems to have been almost entirely on the principle of a debit and credit account with Heaven. The patent and close rolls, though they make frequent mention of the royal almoner, add no details of further charitable activities.[1]

With Henry III's long reign, covering more than half a century, a new chapter opens in the history of almsgiving. This was partly owing to the king's personality. Henry's temperament was pious, impressionable, and impulsive, while his docility in religious matters was increased by his abiding sense of gratitude to those ecclesiastical

[1] Brother Roger the almoner appears, for example, as a royal envoy in August, 1215, and July, 1216 (*Rot. Litt. Pat.* 153, 190), and acknowledges the receipt of various *regalia* in 1205 (*ibid.* 54).

forces which had brought him as a child safely through civil war and foreign invasion, leading him, as his advisers made him say in over-rhetorical fashion, 'from weeping to laughter, from darkness to light, from the straitness of cradles to the spaciousness of kingdoms.' [1] It was not Henry's way to count the cost when fulfilling either desires or duties, and in almsgiving as in all other respects his reign was marked by lavish and uncalculating expenditure. The greatest change in eleemosynary activity, however, was due to forces external to himself. Soon after his accession a new factor came into play with the arrival in England of the mendicant friars. The Dominican mission landed in 1221, the Franciscan in 1224, in 1247 the Carmelite hermits obtained from Innocent IV approval of a new rule which permitted them to live in common, and by 1249 the arrival of the first Augustinian friars completed the list of the famous 'Four Orders.' All alike embraced poverty, all sought their main, though in a few exceptional cases not their sole, support in the alms of the faithful. Here then were *pauperes* with a new dignity of appeal. *Christus in eis adoretur*, said St Benedict of all guests seeking hospitality, but especially of the poor and pilgrims; but it must often have been difficult, even for the eye of faith, so to view the ordinary clamorous beggar. It was easier when the suppliant had become such by voluntary sacrifice. 'Truly if Abraham says, "I am dust and ashes," Francis will answer "*Minor sum*"; if David says, "I am poor and needy, nay more, I am a worm and no man," Francis will answer, "*Minor sum.*" ' First of English kings, Henry III had to face his charitable responsibilities to this new type, and his records show what an example of generosity he set to his successors. Besides entries on the Close rolls describing his gifts to the friars, we have in a household roll [2] daily particulars of what was spent *in pascendo fratres* from October, 1259, to October, 1260. The astonishing thing is that although for six months of the period Henry was in France, engaged in the last formalities and festivities connected with the treaty of Paris, and after his return was never resident in a single place for very long together, he seems to have been able to collect

[1] W. W. Shirley, *Royal Letters of Henry III* (London; Rolls Series, 1862), I, 6.
[2] E101/394/27.

daily at his table at least a hundred friars, and often many more. At Westminster on All Saints' day there were 390; when he stayed with Archbishop Boniface at Canterbury 220; on his journeys 150, perhaps travelling with him, were fed at Dover, Wissant, Boulogne, Montreuil, Saint Riquier, Amiens, Breteuil, Beauvais, Beaumont, Saint Denis and Paris; in June at Westminster for six successive days 200 received a meal, while the same or larger totals were reached at Merton and Windsor. The most startling height was reached on Tuesday, 12 October 1260,[1] when the roll states that 5016 were fed. In some instances an etc. follows the word *fratres*, so that the total may include many mendicants in the more usual sense, but in any case it is clear that the friars caused a large additional drain upon the king's resources. The last thing they would have wished themselves, however, was that this should cause other poor to suffer,[2] and there is not the slightest sign of any restriction of Henry's existing bounties.

Henry's lavishness to the poor, indeed, is enough to take away the breath both of posterity and of those whose business it was to carry out his wishes. A letter written from France in June, 1242, states that it was the king's custom daily to feed 500 poor, and that while he is away on campaign his almoner must see to it that 350 of these are fed daily in England, 'and so from day to day till the lord king shall have returned.'[3] This regular weekly total of 3500, however, pales into insignificance beside the huge numbers mentioned in connection with anniversaries and festivals. In 1243, for example, Edward of Westminster was bidden to borrow money where he could to feed 10,000 poor for the soul of 'the queen who was the wife of St. Edward,' and a writ of *liberate* shortly afterwards directed the Exchequer to pay him forty-one pounds and one mark so expended.[4] At one penny per head this exactly corresponds with

[1] This date is described as 'on the vigil of Blessed Edward.' As 13 October was the feast of the translation, made in 1269, it may be that the roll was not written up till after that date.

[2] *Cf. Speculum Perfectionis*, ed. P. Sabatier, (Manchester: University Press, 1928), p. 37. *Dicebat beatus Franciscus ista verba frequenter fratribus suis: 'Non fui latro de eleemosynis acquirendo eas vel utendo eis ultra necessitatem. Semper minus accepi quam me contingeret, ne alii pauperes defraudarentur portione sua, quia contrarium facere furtum esset.'*

[3] *Close Rolls* 1237–42, p. 497; cf. *ibid.*, 1242–47, p. 281. A hundred more were fed daily for the queen and the royal children (*ibid.*, 1247–51, p. 34).

[4] *Ibid.*, 1242–47, p. 145, and Liberate roll E401/17, m. 1d.

the number, and we need not be surprised if Henry's harassed officials had found it necessary to drop to that rate from the penny half-penny or penny farthing customary for John's less extensive charities. There is no reason to doubt that the 15,000 who were to be fed *in atrio beati Pauli* a little later also duly received their meal, though as this time Henry charged the cost on the revenues of a vacant bishopric the sum cannot be checked.[1] Still harder to deal with must have been the cases where the king's directions were quite vague. 'Fill the great hall at Westminster'; 'feed in the great hall at Westminster as many as it will hold'; 'feed as many poor as can get into the hall in the upper bailey at Windsor.'[2] The distributor must calculate supplies as best he could, and must somehow manage not only to keep count of the applicants so as to send in his bill afterwards, but also to maintain some kind of order among them. It is easy to imagine the sort of scenes with which he might have to cope. Once at least we can trace an effort to simplify the problem and make sure that relief went to those who most needed it, for when in January, 1244, 6000 poor arrived at Westminster to receive their dole, the children were put into the queen's chamber, the aged and infirm into the greater and lesser halls, and the rest into the king's chamber.[3] If such arrangements were usual, in other cases they have not left their mark, and imagination pictures as the ordinary thing a horrible scramble in which the sick and the feeble took their chance among the jostlings of the greedy and the idle, or even of the leprous. This last and worst possibility is suggested by the fact that when William of Beauchamp acted as hereditary almoner at Queen Eleanor's coronation in 1236, his powers included 'jurisdiction over the quarrels and faults of the poor and the lepers, to this point, that if one leper strikes another with a knife, he may adjudge him to be burnt.'[4]

Of course alms were not given solely in the shape of food. When Christmas, Easter, or other great feasts of the Church drew near, many hundreds of ells of cloth, many hundred pairs of shoes were bought in readiness for distribution to the poor, and from the fact

[1] *Close Rolls* 1242–47, p. 152.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 199, 331, 399, 434, 446, 448, 491, 493 and *Close Rolls* 1247–51, p. 18.

[3] *Ibid.* 1242–47, p. 150.

[4] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, II, 759.

that in some cases the cloth was to be given to the king's tailor it seems as if it was made up into garments. The queen and the royal family followed suit in this matter just as they did with regard to food.[1] It seems, indeed, that in Henry III's reign a man without means of livelihood had many chances to secure the bare necessities of existence, especially if he lived in some centre constantly visited by the king. Westminster in particular, with the stream of charity from abbey and palace, and the extraordinary bounties which accompanied special ceremonies in the great church,[2] must have attracted the destitute from all parts. When, on a cold November morning in 1272, the crowds gathered between palace and abbey to watch their king in death making for the last time the journey he had made in life so often and so gladly, to 'that most noble church . . . which he had built from the foundations with sumptuous and incomparable toil,' there must have been among the sightseers, and the idle, and the self-interested, some at any rate who came there to mourn with tears and simplicity a gentle, generous old man to whom they owed personal gratitude.

With the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and the reign of Edward I, fresh changes began. Edward was as good a man as his father, and in some ways very like him; but partly because he had to face problems of Henry's creation, and partly because of a natural force of character, his policy was far bolder, more thorough, and more businesslike than that of his father. He is remembered as an innovator in warfare, in politics, in administration. Even in the religious field, where conservatism might be expected to be greatest, he assumed a certain independence. Can we trace this same characteristic in his attitude to poor relief? Did he use new methods? If he did, were they any improvement on those of his father? The answer must be deferred till we have considered various facts.

The first point to be noticed is the presence of a far richer body

[1] References too numerous to detail are scattered all over the Close and Liberate rolls. The queen's contribution was 150 tunics, with 21 for her children.

[2] It was the custom at a coronation, for example, to give away to the poor part of the carpet which was spread beneath the king's feet from the hall or chamber where he assumed the regalia to the pulpit in the church. The portion inside the church went to the sacrist, that outside to the poor (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, II, 759).

of material than was available for the first two reigns of the century. Besides the enrolments of the chancery [1] and the exchequer we have now a number of complete accounts of the wardrobe, in which almsgiving appears first among the summaries of expenditure, under the *titulus de elemosina*.[2] Still more useful, since that *titulus* included oblations as well as poor relief, are six original alms rolls. Three of these, drawn up by the almoner Henry of Blunsdon, run consecutively for the years 1299–1300, 1300–01, 1301–02,[3] and are confined exclusively to the feeding of the poor. Such rolls provided the material in the *titulus de elemosina* for the first section, which was added up separately by itself. They are the safest basis which can be sought for general conclusions on Edward's methods. What do they show?

The total sums expended on meals to the poor in these three years were successively £655:3:8¼, £627:5:3, and £687:5:9. As the receipts in the first year totalled £58,155:16:2, this expenditure represented little more than one per cent of income, and was relatively small. Yet even at the highest rate of 1½*d.* for each person, every pound would feed 160 poor, and an annual expenditure of between £600 and £700 would represent an annual gift of between 96,000 and 114,000 meals, no small contribution to the problem of poverty. The returns show us that every week Edward fed 666 poor by customary obligation (*de custuma antiqua*). This seems to have been an amalgam of three separate benefactions, 13 being fed daily in honor of the Apostles, 10 daily in honor of St James, while the

[1] Nearly all of them accessible in print in calendar form. The Liberate rolls, very useful for our present purpose, are an exception to this.

[2] After 1290 the responsibilities of the king and the wardrobe increased so enormously that both payments and presentation of accounts to the exchequer got into arrears. The latest wardrobe accounts of Edward I were not passed till the days of his grandson. We cannot count, therefore, upon the completeness or correctness of the entries. T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England* (Manchester, 1920), II, 126–130, discusses this, and says of the great book of 484 pages for 1305–06 that it could 'hardly have satisfied the most perfunctory auditor.'

[3] E101/357/29, 359/15, 361/21. For 1299–1300 we have in the Record Office this original roll, and duplicates of the complete wardrobe book in the British Museum (*Add. MS. 35291*) and the library of the Society of Antiquaries (printed in 1787 as *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatoris garderobae*). It is an interesting example of the way in which wardrobe records got scattered.

remaining 505 were distributed among the different days and allotted to the honour of different saints and anniversaries. Besides this, which amounted in twelve months to 34,632 meals, the almoner provided at the king's bidding (*per preceptum regis*) 60,380 meals in the first year, 65,770 in the second, and 54,250 in the third.[1]

An analysis of the almsgiving done at the king's personal command, even granting that his command would be swayed by the conventions of his age, has a special interest. It should be noticed that the penitential element, so conspicuous in John's time, by Edward's has almost disappeared. Probably this is due less to the grandson's scrupulousness in contrast with the grandfather's self-indulgence than to the fact that in the interval between the two reigns there came about a change of emphasis in the interpretation of the doctrine of penance. The teaching of the Mendicant Orders, full of God's abundant graciousness, had as it were shifted the balance, and the element of satisfaction, gauged by the priest through the *clavis scientiae*, sank into the background behind the element of contrition.[2] Very occasionally, however, when Edward failed to hear mass or enter his chapel, the poor were fed in expiation.[3] A notable factor in Edward's bounties was filial piety or fatherly pride. On 21 November he commemorated Henry III, by a meal to 100 poor in 1277, and to 140 in 1300 and the two years following. On St Mark's day, 1300, he supplemented a meal given to 500 poor in honour of the evangelist by another to no less than 1700 because his son Edward that day entered upon his seventeenth year.[4] The great bulk of his benefactions, however, were connected with the commemoration of saints or the celebration of the Church's seasons.[5] The Virgin was honored on the feasts of the Conception, Purification, Annunciation,

[1] This does not include meals given *in communi participatione* to 5000 poor on the feast of the Translation of St Edward, All Souls' Day, and All Saints' Day.

[2] I gratefully acknowledge the light thrown on this point by Father George Lacombe in comment on this paper when it was read to the International Congress of Historians at Oslo.

[3] Naturally such occasions became more frequent as the king's age increased and his health declined. In 1305–06 he atoned for 19 such absences by a total of 2220 meals.

[4] He had given a similar meal to 1400 poor when Edward entered upon his fourteenth year (*Add. MS. 7965*, fol. 3). On the day of the boy's birth, 25 April 1284, £9 had been distributed as alms among the poor at Carnarvon, and £10 when on 1 May he was baptised (E 101/351/15).

[5] The allocation, with a very few trifling exceptions, was identical in these three years.

and Assumption by a meal to 1300 poor, while 1000 were fed on her Nativity. On Christmas Day, Epiphany, and the feast of the Circumcision 1000 received a meal, and the same total was reached at Easter by feeding 700 on the Sunday and 100 on each of the 3 following days. Thirteen saints were each commemorated by a meal to 1000, often with a second meal in honour of translation. On thirty occasions 700 were fed, and once only, for the Four Crowned Martyrs on 8 November, did the total fall as low as 30. In all 58,630 meals were given in this way, distributed among 125 anniversaries.

The symmetry of Edward's charity in these three years, however, must not mislead us into easy generalizations about the reign as a whole. Such particulars as we have for 1276–77, 1283–84, 1288–89, and part of 1293,[1] show totals far less impressive. They never rise above 500, and to that height only rarely, as in honour of St Thomas the Apostle in 1283, the Invention of Holy Cross in 1289, and St David in 1293. The numbers fed even on such great feasts as Easter or Christmas were no more than 200 to 400, while on smaller occasions 100 or 140 was a common number. In 1293, for example, on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin only 120 poor were fed as against 1300 in the three years we first considered. On the other hand, the totals in the year 1296–97 are more startling than those in any of the three years first considered, for Edward gave *per preceptum* no less than 85,340 meals.[2] It might seem natural that Edward's charitable activities should widen as his age and his resources increased, while the number of anniversaries to be commemorated also multiplied,[3] but the details given in the wardrobe book extant for his last complete regnal year, 1305–06,[4] show once again a shrinkage.

[1] E 101/350/23, 351/15, 352/18, 353/16. The last, identical in form with the rolls for 1299–1300 and the next two years, is a fragment covering only 14 weeks. The first three, though they are alms rolls, do not seem to be almoner's rolls, but the summary made by the wardrobe clerks of meals to the poor, oblations, distributions by the wayside, and other miscellaneous charitable expenditure.

[2] Brit. Mus., *Add MS. 7965*, fos. 2–5. This is a wardrobe book, beginning with the *titulus de elemosina*.

[3] For example, Hemingburgh tells us that after the death of the queen in 1290 Edward made a special distribution of alms every Wednesday for twelve months, and thereafter assigned a fixed sum to Westminster abbey for an annual distribution on the anniversary of his loss (*Flores Hist., ed. cit.*, II, 22).

[4] E 101/369/11.

The expenditure under the heading of alms amounted in round figures to £902, of which £559 were *elemosina per garderobam* and the remaining £343 had been spent by the almoner on meals to the poor, either *de custuma* or *per preceptum regis*. The customary 666 were still fed weekly as usual, but by command the king did not once feed a larger number than 140 at a time, and the total for the year was only 14,930 meals. This is not to be wondered at, after all, if we reflect that by this time Edward had become, as he said in a letter to the pope, 'wearied with many vexations,' and that a grievous weight of arrears burdened his treasury as a result of the great campaigning years.

In its general course, therefore, royal almsgiving under Edward I followed accustomed channels, but with a more limited flow. If it was Henry III's habit to feed 500 persons daily as a regular thing,[2] that alone would amount in twelve months to 182,000 meals, without reckoning the huge distributions on special occasions, the size of which is often incalculable, because of the vagueness of the order given. Edward I in his most lavish years, when 34,632 meals were given by custom and 85,340 more by royal command, reached a total of only 119,972. Moreover, side by side with this restriction of outlay went a more systematic method of accounting. There were no longer vague and general orders to feed an unspecified number of persons and recover the cost afterwards; and whereas in the earlier years of the reign alms and oblations were entered in a common account by the wardrobe clerks, it soon became the custom to require the almoner to return separately, with full details of date, numbers, and cost, the particulars of the meals provided. The modern observer may be grateful for a device which makes easy his study of poor relief in particular as distinct from charity in general; the contemporary auditor probably felt similar gratitude for different reasons. As a whole, Edward's treatment of his elemosynary responsibilities is exactly of the sort we should expect from his

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls* 1302–07, p. 348.

[2] *Quos singulis diebus rex pascere consuevit* is the phrase used in June, 1242 (*Close Rolls*, 1237–42, p. 497), but we must not read too much into this mention of custom. The *custuma antiqua*, for example, by which Edward says he was responsible for 666 poor each week, cannot be traced in either of the two reigns immediately preceding.

doings in other fields. It shows a sense of duty, a sense of proportion, discipline, restraint, and businesslike methods.

Taking the three reigns together, what conclusions are we to draw? John's niggardliness, Henry's lavishness, Edward's *uia media*, are different ways of treating a recognized obligation, denied by none of the three. It follows from this that their charity is in the subjective sense very personal, but in the objective sense usually quite impersonal.[1] They must not, for their souls' health, neglect the duty of dispensing charity; but they need not speculate about the nature of its recipients or its effects upon them. Neither hygienic nor economic scruples troubled them. Among the crowds who thronged hall or courtyard when doles were to be given foul and clean, old and young, sick and whole, struggled side by side, and the undeserving, if hale and hearty, may well have stood a better chance of securing relief than those who needed it most. One fact is very hard to understand. How did a court continually on the move, travelling about a scantily populated country in which towns were rare, and the biggest of them only a square mile in area, make sure of an unvarying supply of 666 applicants weekly? A few suggestions may be made. The custom of sending harbingers ahead to prepare for the royal train would give warning in good time of its approach, and the news might bring in from all the surrounding countryside not only the needy or the greedy but also country folk who did not lack the necessities of existence but could not resist the chance of securing a free meal and gaping at the great. Again, a number of hangers-on may have thought it worth their while to follow the court about, though they must have known that they could not be sure of a distribution on every day of the week. Finally, it is possible that the 10 and the 13 who were daily pensioners were actual residents in the household.

As the century went on, it obviously became necessary for the almoner to give his whole time to his charitable work, and there

[1] Except when some little accident or incident drew the king's personal notice. Cf. for example the half-mark given to John of Marlborough 'because his horse died' or to a poor man *qui fere erat oppressus* (E 101/350/23), and the 12*s.* in alms bestowed on a man whose horse, hired by the king, was blown off Rochester bridge into the Medway (*Liber Quotid.*, p. 28).

grew up the office and organization described in the Household Ordinance of York in 1318.[1] Up to 1255 the royal almoner was always a Templar, an arrangement which had great advantages, for his order had long experience in financial matters, and had storage places which could hold such almonry requisites as herrings quite as safely as money.[2] During Henry III's reign, however, it became desirable that the court should have its own almonries at places at which it was often in residence, and we can trace the building or repair of such at Marlborough, Westminster, Kempton, Winchester, Windsor, Nottingham and Havering.[3] It is not surprising to find that the royal almoners also concerned themselves with the royal hospitals, and were kept busy about the leper house at Ospringe in Kent and the Hospital of St John outside the east gate at Oxford. In 1255 a secular clerk was appointed almoner, the first of a succession during the rest of the period. Perhaps the most substantial and conspicuous of these was Henry Blunsdon, who was a canon of Salisbury and archdeacon of Dorset, a landowner in at least four counties, a man of sufficient substance to lend money to Edward I and of sufficient kindliness to do the same for Edward's son when in disgrace with his father.[4] The almoner ranked among the household chaplains with a wage of 7½*d.* a day, equivalent to that of the under-chaplains, but with commons and robes corresponding to those of the chief chaplain. He had a clerk to help him, and a personal servant, while a hackney was assigned to carry the stores. The boy who groomed it got a suit of clothes once a year, but had to feed himself out of the alms.[5]

Royal almsgiving, then, by the end of the thirteenth century, was a regular part of household activity and substantial in amount.

[1] Printed as Appendix I to his *Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914), by T. F. Tout, who calls it 'little more than a detailed codification of the sounder customs of the previous generation' (Cf. *Chapters, cit. supra.*, II, 246).

[2] In 1247 sixty lasts of herrings were to be 'placed at the New Temple for alms (*Close Rolls* 1247–51, p. 10).

[3] *Close Rolls* 1227–31, p. 480; 1231–34, pp. 114, 119, 347; 1234–37, pp. 96–7, 409, 442, 501; 1237–42, p. 224.

[4] *Exchequer Miscellanea* 5/2, m. 4.

[5] *Fleta*, written in the opinion of Professor Tout between 1290 and 1293, in a chapter *de officio elemosinarii* gives an interesting summary of the almoner's duties (ed. Selden, 1647, p. 81).

Moreover, the example of the reigning sovereign was followed by members of his family, who had their own almoners. Henry III's queen, Eleanor of Provence, had a household of considerable importance, and among its expenses summarized on the Pipe rolls the feeding of the poor is always included, though as it is reckoned in with other items ranging from the pantry to the stable we cannot say what proportion of the total outlay it represented.[1] Edward I's queens Eleanor of Castile and Margaret of France were in this respect less independent, but their religious obligations were still individual, so that their alms and their almoners make separate appearance in the *elemosina* section of their husband's accounts.[2] In a similar way, alms were paid on behalf of the royal children out of the family budget, but were specifically assigned to the children as donors. They were not always, of course, in the company of their parents, and in such cases their own accountants were responsible. A good example is that of Edward's delicate little second son Henry, who lived to the age of six only, but was the nominal head of a household numbering 30 or 40 persons, and who laid out on alms a sum of about £7 annually, even when on visits where all everyday expenses were met by his hosts.[3] Edward of Carnarvon, the only son by Edward I's first marriage who lived to manhood, had from an early age a separate establishment, which assumed special importance when in 1301 he was created the first English prince of Wales. We have the names of his almoners, the record of the daily distribution of money as he travelled, and a *titulus de elemosina* in the annual statement of his expenses. The general lines correspond with those followed in his father's household, but as no separate alms rolls of his household have survived, we know little of details. He can be seen, however, in 1303, assuming respon-

[1] In the enrolled accounts for 1264–69 (E 372/113, m. 1) a sum *pauperibus pascendis* forms part of a total of £6928:14:1 spent on the household offices, and a sum of £102:2:6 was allotted *in oblacionibus festiuis et elemosinis diurnis per viam.*

[2] Cf. for example the particulars given in the king's accounts for 1299–1300 (*Liber Quotid.*, p. 45) of the expenses of Hugh the queen's almoner in buying casks and buckets for his office, distributing alms by the wayside, and making gifts at the queen's bidding to monks, friars, hermits and others.

[3] Cf. H. Johnstone, 'The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, son of Edward I,' in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* VII (1923), 384–420.

sibility on a more modest scale for those celebrations of his own birthday which had been inaugurated so magnificently by his father, for on St Mark's day a meal was given at Byland to 300 poor *de priuata elemosina et speciali precepto principis*.[1] The doings of the prince's half-brothers, Thomas and Edmund, fall outside our present scope, since one was born in 1300 and the other in 1301, but it may be said in passing that they ran on lines exactly similar, and that an almoner was from the first among their household staff.[2]

The contribution of the royal family to the problem of poverty in the thirteenth century, by gifts of food, clothing, and money, was evidently substantial and worthy of serious consideration. It would be interesting if we could trace a similar process at work in the households of private persons, and so picture to ourselves not merely one central stream of benevolence, but a series of smaller channels carrying relief and refreshment to every part of England. That such an imitative process did exist seems highly probable, not only on the ground of universal spiritual obligations, or of the fact that in every other part of household organization the great families can be seen treading a path parallel with that of the king, but also because later on the accounts of private households have survived in sufficient quantity to show at work an organization which certainly did not spring suddenly into existence at a later date. So far as the thirteenth century goes, however, it is difficult to find in the central archives much material to help us with regard to the charity of the heads of private households who are not ecclesiastics. For example, the elaborate roll of the household of the earl and countess of Warenne for 1284–85, preserved in the Public Record Office,[3] though a gold-mine of information for the historian of farriery, has nothing to tell the historian of poor relief. It does not follow from that that the earl and countess neglected charitable duties, but merely that the record has escaped us. Luckily, however, we have two detailed accounts, for the years 1295–96 and 1296–97, of Joan de Munchensi, granddaughter of William Marshal earl of Pembroke,

[1] E 101/363/18, fo. 2v°.

[2] Cf. E 101/360/28, which is the account of their household, 1300–03.

[3] E 101/505/17.

and wife of his foreign successor, William de Valence, Edward I's half-brother.[1] Though Joan was by this time an old lady, and in 1926 was widowed, she travelled a good deal with the help of her great coach and three horses, and on every journey she fed the poor in just the same fashion as the king, though of course on a much smaller scale. Up to May, 1296, when her husband died, the usual number fed was daily 7, rising occasionally to 10 or 14, but only once so high as 20. After William's death, however, and throughout the next year, 20 was her minimum, 25 and 27 were quite often fed, and on one occasion no less than 61 were entertained, together with *multi extranei* and *plures uicini*.[2] This, however, was in her own castle and favourite residence at Goodrich, so that the exceptional numbers are explicable. A note on one of the accounts, after she and her husband had breakfasted together at Hertford, states that after he left "seven poor and the lady remained," which seems to suggest that her pensioners were travelling about with her. Small sums varying from a halfpenny to three pence were given by the wayside as she moved about the country, and gifts are recorded to the Carmelites, the friars preacher of Ireland, the Minorites of Carmarthen, and prisoners. In fact, her record is like a royal account of the same kind looked at through the wrong end of a telescope. Without pressing too far inference from a single piece of evidence, it may at least be said that Joan's doings exactly confirm our impression that almsgiving and the relief of the poor formed a part of the regular routine of a private thirteenth-century household, just as it did in that of the king.[3]

There, for the time being, the question must be left. A systematic search would probably produce other accounts of thirteenth-century private households, while abundant material exists for carry-

[1] E 101/505, 25, 26, and 27; the last two, though listed separately, are the component parts of a single roll.

[2] E 101/505/26, m. 7.

[3] Across the Channel we have a parallel in the accounts of John of Blois, second son of Hugh, count of Saint Pol. In 1327 and 1329 John fed groups of poor varying in number from 8 to 25 (G. Hagemans, *Vie Domestique d'un Seigneur Chatelain du Moyen Age* (Verviers, 1888).

ing on the study of royal almsgiving through the next century. Both these quests I hope to make, and thus to obtain more substantial basis for general conclusions and comparison with other sources of poor relief in the middle ages. In the meantime, it would seem that household charity is entitled to a more important place than sometimes has been conceded to it, as a factor in meeting the problems of mediaeval poverty.

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MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY EXCAVATIONS AT CLUNY

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II

Preliminary Restoration Drawings of the Abbey Church

THE drawings presented herewith are based on excavations and measurements made at the site of the abbey church of Cluny in 1927 and 1928, supplemented by a careful study of the literary and graphic material listed below:

I. The *Description Historique et Chronologique de la Ville Abbaye et Banlieu de Cluny depuis leur Fondation jusqu'à l'heureuse Revolution de 1789* by Philibert Bouché, dated 1792 and annotated during the demolition.[1] This unpublished manuscript, now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (bound; *fonds franç. nouv. acquis. 4336*), is a primary source; it is accurate but for an occasional slip.

II. The description of the church is given by Mabillon in the *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, V (1740), 235, to which an inexpert but useful engraving is annexed.

III. The drawing by the Jesuit architect Etienne Martellange, dated September 22, 1617, now in the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale. This drawing has a professional touch, but there are in it such blunders as the omission of a bay from the narthex and a stage from the western towers.

IV. Louis Prevost's general view of the abbey (about 1670). This work gives a useful view of the conventual structures from the east, but for the study of the church it is almost valueless.

V. Five of a series of seven views engraved for the *Voyage Pittoresque de la France*, vol. II (1787), numbered 20, 54, 55, 56, from drawings by the Dijonnais artist Lallemand. These are contradic-

[1] See H. Omont, *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits Français. Nouv. Acquis. Franç.*, II (Paris, 1900), 167. Excerpts in Virey, as noted p. 169 below.

tory in certain places and of doubtful accuracy in others, but are nevertheless valuable. Many of their obvious errors are easy to correct.

VI. The le Maître engraving of Garnerey's drawing of the Great Portal (early ninteeenth century) — very bad work, but indispensable because there is nothing better.

VII. The balcony over the west portal of the church of Semur-en-Brionnais, as reproduced in N. Thioller's *L'Art Roman à Charlieu et en Brionnais* (1892), plate 41. The balcony is an evident copy of the corbel which supported the Chapel of St Michel at Cluny. This chapel was reflected more or less directly in other churches with Cluniac connections, notably St Benoît-sur-Loire, Vézelay, Saulieu, Autun, Romainmoûtier, and Payerne; there are related chambers in old Scandinavian churches, as Professor Roosval kindly informs the writer.

All of the graphic material will be found reproduced in F. L. Bruel's *Cluni* (1910; the album of the *Millénaire*) and SPECULUM III (July, 1928), 401–404. In addition, nearly one thousand photographs, postcards, and drawings of Cluny and related churches were consulted in the course of the study. Further study and criticism will doubtless suggest minor rectifications, and therefore the drawings are published as preliminary restorations, but they are in the main trustworthy. There is enough exact information to establish the main lines beyond question and much of the rest by analogy, though inconsistencies and omissions in the source material were troublesome in the working out of details. The most debatable point is the quadrant shape given to the arches of the flying buttresses on the basis of the drawings of Mabillon and Martellange; Lallemand represents the openings as semicircular. J. Virey in his valuable *Architecture romane dans l'ancien Diocèse de Mâcon* (1892), which contains a long description of Cluny with many excerpts from Philibert Bouché, decides in favor of the semicircular form. Works of consolidation seem, however, to have been carried out in the upper part of the church after 1747, and it may be that the buttresses had been modified when Lallemand drew them. The older drawings, and the

occurrence of the quadrant form in drawings of the abbeys of Cîteaux and Clairvaux incline the present writer toward the typical flying buttress form.

These supports, added to the nave of Cluny after the collapse of 1125 and completed by 1135 or more probably by 1130, were in any case *the first great range of buttresses appearing boldly above the aisle roofs of a church*, and it is probable that their use in the great Burgundian abbey churches had something to do with making the fortune of the flying buttress in the Ile de France. It is worth noting that the Gothic sculptured portal is of Burgundian inspiration, and it is fair also to recall that the Gothic builders did not achieve their fully developed monumental interior until they turned from the Norman alternate system to the majestic procession of uniform bays, as exemplified particularly at Cluny.

Harvard University.

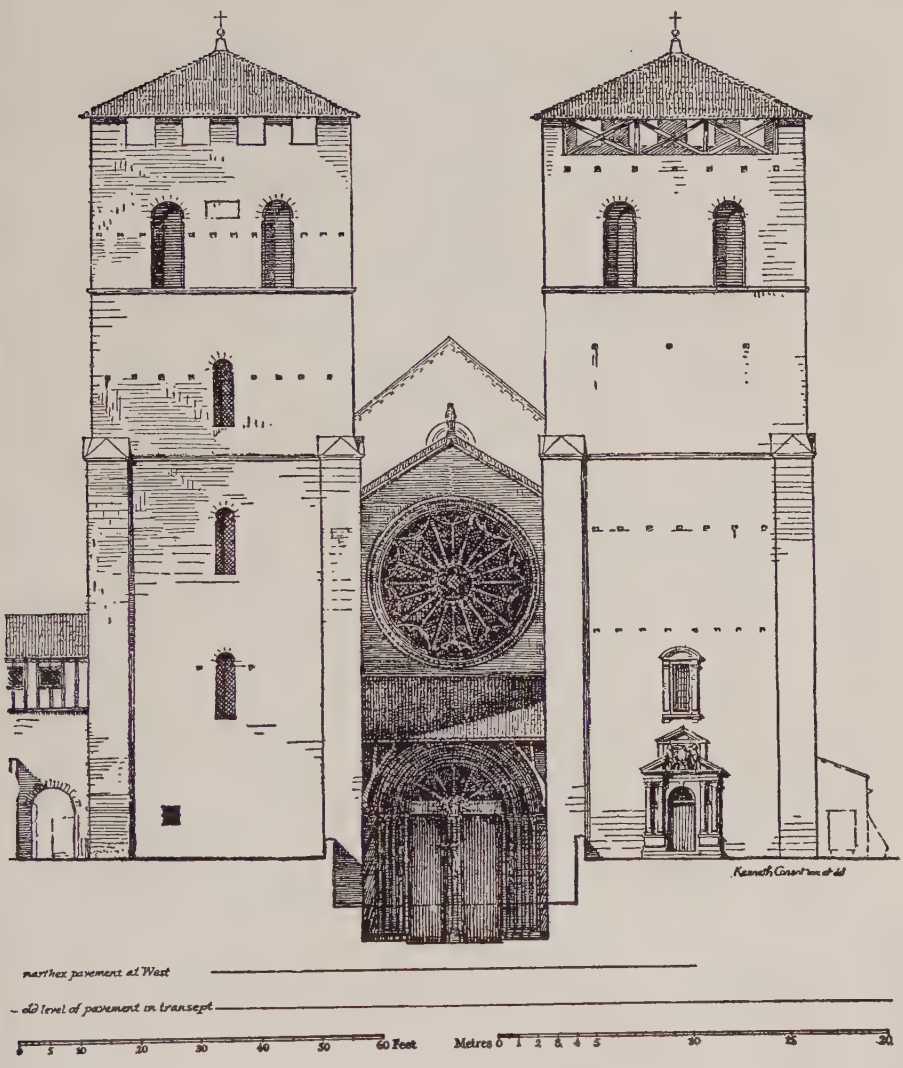

FIGURE 1

WEST FRONT OF NARTHEX

The bridge forming a communication between the church and the Abbot's palace appears at the left; entrance into the narthex was provided by way of the Abbot's stairway [SPECULUM IV (January 1929), 8, 9]. The towers date from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries; the narthex was dedicated in 1220, its portal recut about 1450; except for this west wall the narthex was Romanesque in style. The Renaissance portal of the Tower of Justice was added by Richelieu and decorated with his coat of arms.

FIGURE 2

LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF NARTHEX, GREAT PORTAL, CHAPEL OF ST MICHEL, AND TWO BAYS OF NAVE

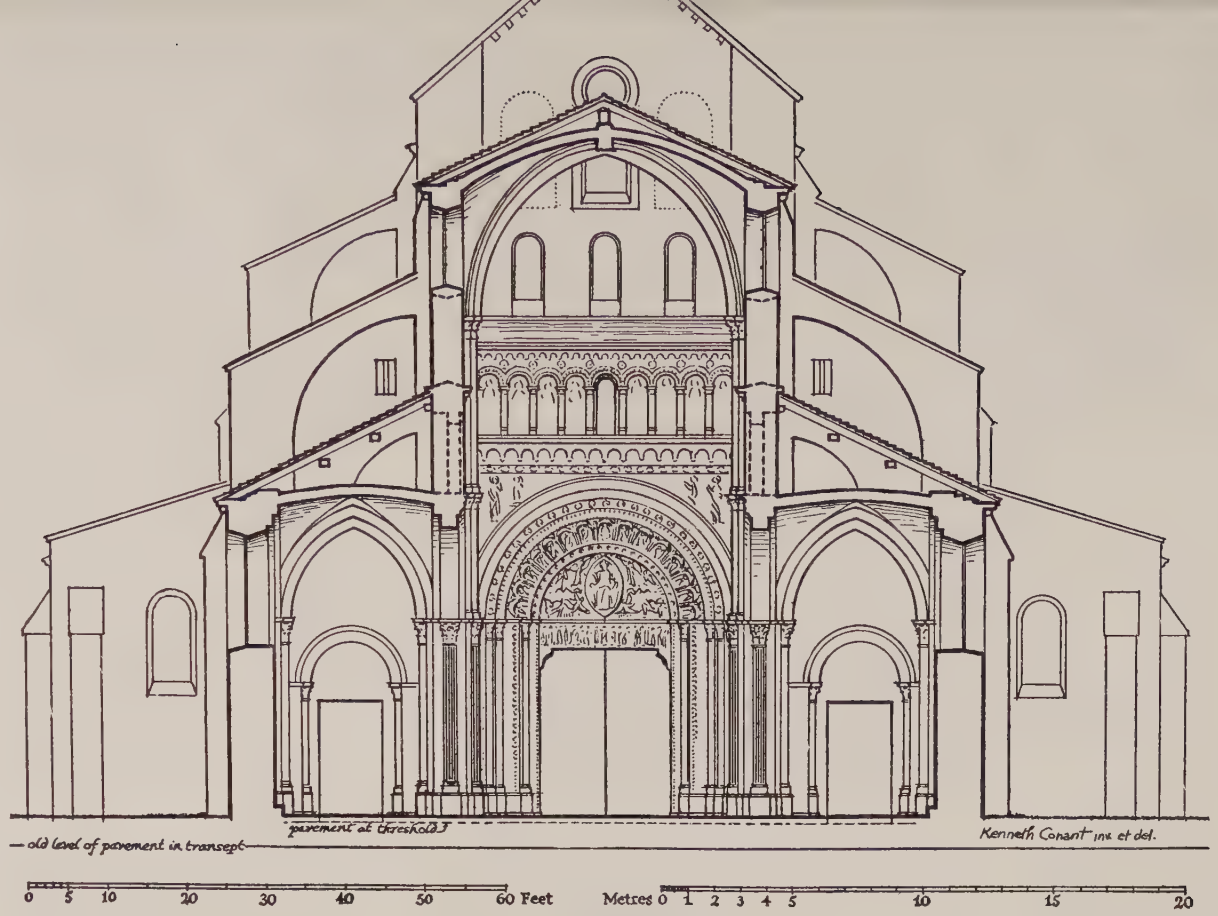
— old level of pavement in transept
pavement at threshold
Kenneth Conant ink et del.
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 Feet
Metres 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20

FIGURE 3

TRANSVERSE SECTION OF NARTHEX, LOOKING EAST

Height of upper part of original façade subject to revision.

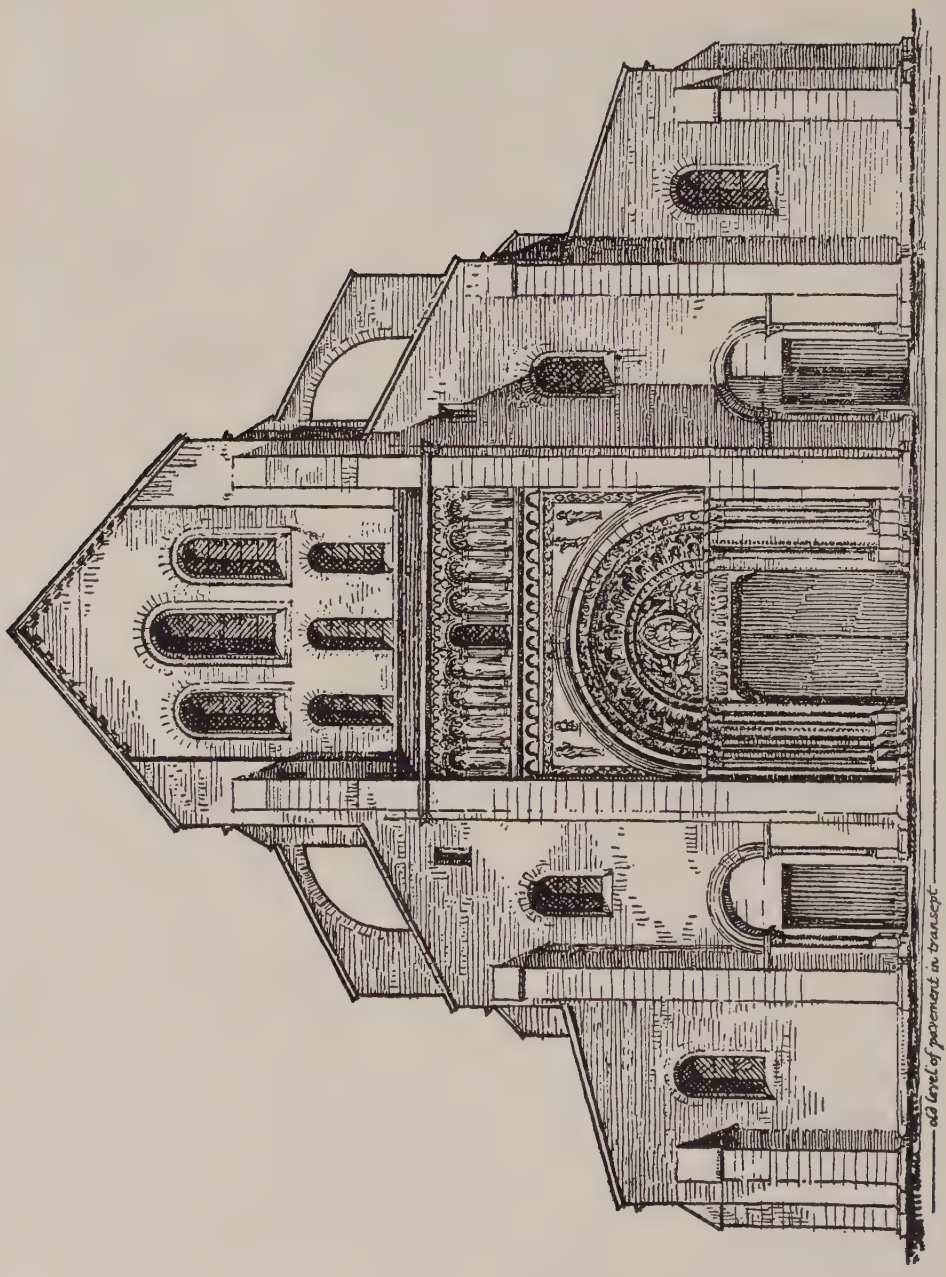

FIGURE 4

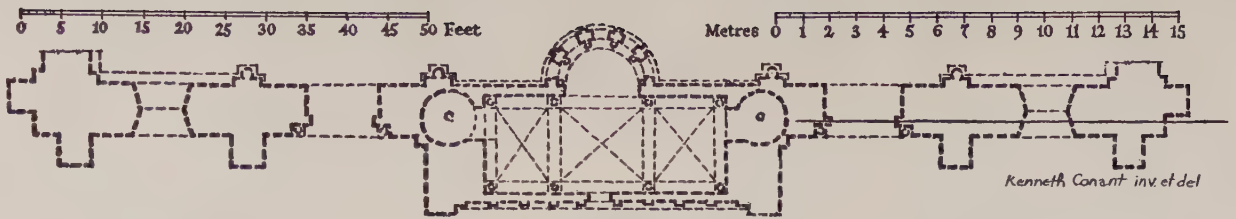

FIGURE 5

PRELIMINARY RESTORATION OF THE ORIGINAL FAÇADE OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF CLUNY

The flying buttresses added between 1125 and 1130 are shown. These buttresses may have been pierced by semicircular openings (see text). Compare with SPECULUM IV (January, 1929), 10, 12, 13. Minor rectifications have been introduced. The plan is taken through the Chapel of St Michel (see also Figures 2 and 6). The chapel, though entirely destroyed, is restored on the basis of notes and dimensions given by Philibert Bouché and in harmony with the Chapel of St Gabriel [see *Bulletin Monumental*, LXXXVII (1928), nos. 1–2]. The height of the main gable is subject to revision.

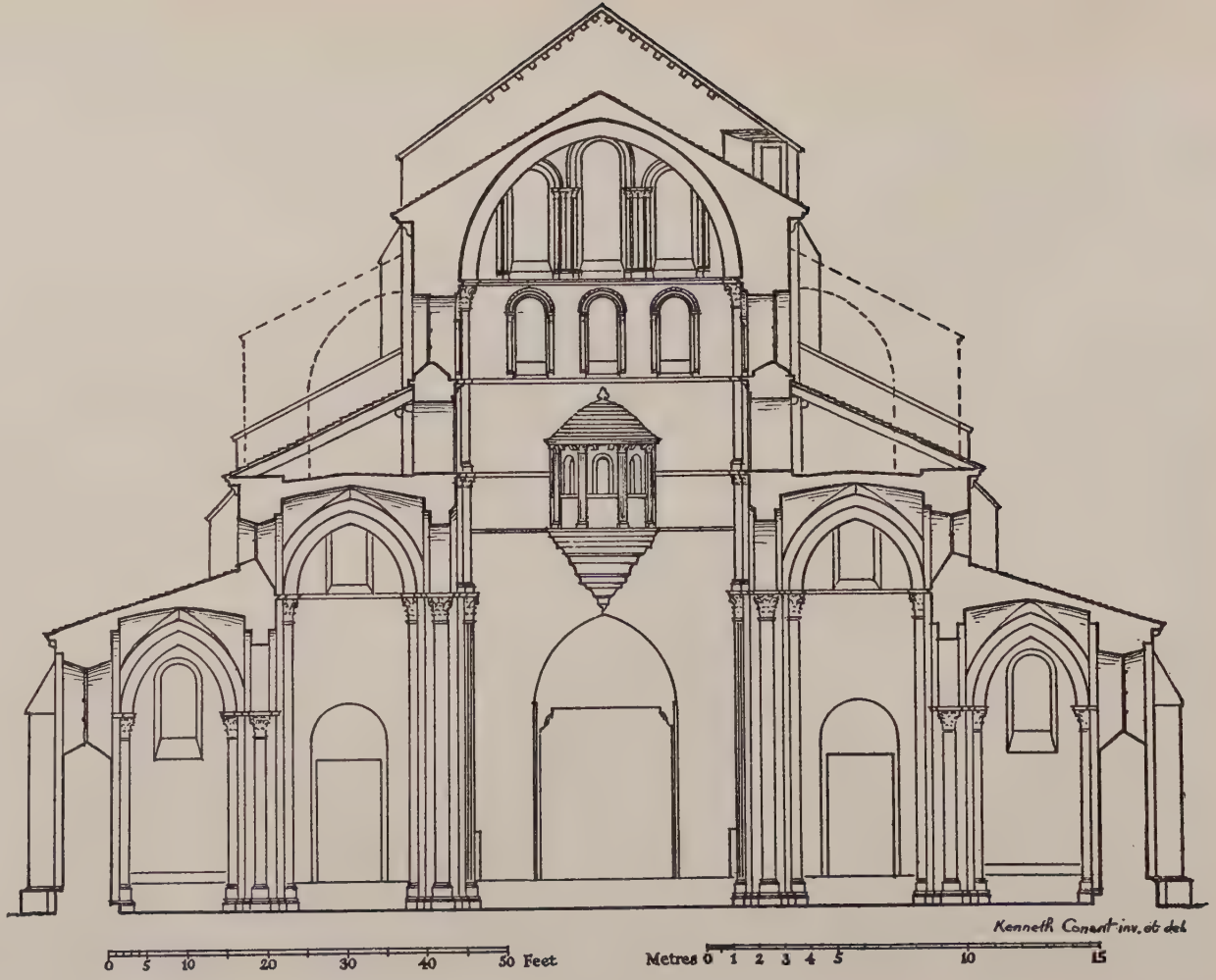

FIGURE 6

TRANSVERSE SECTION OF NAVE OF CHURCH PROPER, SHOWING THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF ST MICHEL

YAROSLAV THE WISE IN NORSE TRADITION

By SAMUEL HAZZARD CROSS

YAROSLAV the Wise (*ca.* 982–1054), son of St Vladimir, stands with his father and Vladimir Monomakh among the early historical princes of Kiev most conspicuous for their energy and intellect.[1] Apart from his original ancestry as a member of the fourth generation after Rurik, he possessed more than the usual admixture of Scandinavian blood, since his mother was Ragnheiðr, daughter of Rǫgnvaldr (Rogvolod), prince of Polotzk. Rǫgnvaldr's

[1] The basic native source for this period of Russian history is the so-called *Nestorian Chronicle*, now conventionally termed the *Primary Chronicle* (*Начальная Летопись*, *Urchronik*), in view of the uncertainty of Nestor's authorship, or cited as the *Повесть временных лет* (*Povest vremennykh let*—'Tale of Bygone Years,') from the words with which it begins. Practically all extant Russian chronicle texts, irrespective of their date and origin, include a generally uniform account of the period extending from the traditional origins of Rus, about the middle of the ninth century, as far as the second decade of the twelfth. The most primitive text is preserved in two outstanding versions, each of which represents a somewhat diverse type of textual tradition: the Laurentian, named for the copyist who prepared it at Suzdal in 1377, and the Hypatian, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century, and in all likelihood copied at Pskov from a south-Russian original, but named for the monastery at Kostroma in which it was discovered. References in the present study are mainly to E. F. Karsky's edition of the Laurentian text: *Лаврентьевская Летопись*, вып. 1, *Повесть временных лет*, 2d ed., Leningrad, 1926 (cited as L^2); and to A. A. Shakhmatov's edition of the Hypatian: *Ипатьевская Летопись*, вып. I, 3d ed., Leningrad, 1923 (cited as H^3). Modern investigators are by no means in agreement as to authorship and composition of this monument. Despite the traditional attribution to Nestor, comparison with his known works militates seriously against its acceptance. The most competent Russian scholars (A. A. Shakhmatov and V. M. Istrin) have regarded the *Povest* in its present form as the product of evolution from earlier but entirely hypothetical annalistic texts. The principal objection to this view lies in the consideration that, since practically no old Russian text of importance has been lost, it is extraordinary that all annalistic texts prior to 1116, if they existed, should have uniformly disappeared. To avoid digressing too far on controversial ground, we are better advised to accept Professor A. Brückner's view (regardless of its conflict with Russian theory), that 'die Chronik bleibt trotz aller Widersprüche und des losen Zusammenhanges an ihrem Ende ein einheitliches Werk, gehört im wesentlichen einer einzigen Redaktion an, ist um 1110 geschrieben' (*Arch. Slav. Phil.* XXI [1927], 49). An objective analysis of the *Povest* and its sources amply confirms Professor Brückner's opinion as to its unity, though my own conviction is that its compilation progressed somewhat slowly, and therefore spread over a fairly long period of years, from about 1080 to its close. The only readily available translation (now somewhat antiquated, especially in its annotations) is that of L. Léger, *La Chronique dite de Nestor*, Paris, 1884. Other translations are: L. Paris, *La Chronique de Nestor*, Paris, 1834, K. Erben, *Nestorův Letopis*, Prague, 1867; C. W. Smith, *Nestors Russiske Kronike oversat og forklaret*, Copenhagen, 1869; and Bielowski (Polish), in *Mon. Poloniae Hist.*, Vol. I, Lemberg, 1864.

direct migration from Scandinavia is, in fact, specifically mentioned in the *Primary Chronicle*.[1] Yaroslav's youth lay precisely in the period of advancing Byzantine influence in Kiev subsequent to Vladimir's conversion in 988, and his intellectual development was obviously a product of his father's insistence upon the compulsory education of youths of noble birth.[2] The princess Ragnheiðr was unceremoniously put away by Vladimir upon his marriage of policy with the Greek princess Anna (988), so that her death is barely mentioned in the *Chronicle* as having occurred in A.D. 1000.[3] Whether for this reason or for some other unknown cause, Yaroslav's relations with his father never appear to have been excessively cordial. About 985, he was appointed to the relatively unimportant principate of Rostov, and succeeded to that of Novgorod only after the death of his older half-brother Vysheslav.[4] Rendering to Kiev an annual tribute of 2000 *grivni*, Yaroslav remained at that post until 1014, when he suddenly refused further payment. Vladimir immediately began preparations for a punitive expedition, the despatch of which Yaroslav must have foreseen, since he took hasty steps to procure Scandinavian reinforcements.[5] The movement of this expedition from Kiev was delayed by a raid by the nomad Pechenegs. Vladimir's health was already precarious, and he died suddenly at Berestovoye, near Kiev, on July 15, 1015, before the attack upon

[1] L², 76: 'Бѣ бо Рогволодъ пришелъ изъ за морья, имяше власть свою въ Полотьскѣ.'

[2] L², 118, 119.

[3] Later chronicles preserve the tradition that, when Vladimir, upon his marriage to Anna, suggested to Ragnheiðr that she should now become the wife of some Russian noble, she indignantly refused, and upon being herself baptized, she ended her days as a nun with the Christian name of Anastasia. So the *Chronicle* of Tver, in *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*, XV, 112.

[4] His transfer from Rostov directly to Novgorod, the second most important apanage, was due to the fact that Svyatopolk, the half-brother next in line, was momentarily in serious disfavor with Vladimir in consequence of involving himself with his father-in-law, Bolesław Chrobry of Poland, in an intrigue for the introduction of Roman Catholicism into Russia. While the Russian sources make no mention of this event, Thietmar of Merseburg reports that Svyatopolk, his wife, and Bolesław's ecclesiastical emissary were at least temporarily imprisoned. Cf. *Thietmari Chronicon*, ed. Fr. Kurze, Hannover, 1889, p. 236: 'Quem [Reinbernum presulem] praedictus rex [Wlodemirus] audiens filium suimet ortatu Bolizlavi tacito reluctaturum sibi, cepit cum eodem et uxore et in singulari custodia claudit.'

[5] L², 130: 'Хотящю Володимеру ити на Ярослава, Ярославъ же посълавъ за море приведе Варягы бояся отьца своего.'

Novgorod could be further prosecuted. His death let loose a period of fratricidal strife, the more bitter because of his numerous male issue by five marriages and various temporary connections. Yaroslav's half-brother Svyatopolk, born to Vladimir by a Czechish mother, happened to be in Kiev at the time, though he was nominally prince of Turov, a small city on the Pripet just east of the modern Russian frontier. He profited by the occasion to seize the throne of Kiev, seeking to consolidate his position by causing the assassination of three other half-brothers, Boris, Gleb, and Svyatoslav.

The *Primary Chronicle* attributes to Svyatopolk the intention of thus eliminating all of Vladimir's other sons.[1] He also depended on the support of his father-in-law, the king of Poland, with the same tragic results which, since time immemorial, have inevitably attended every Polish intervention in Russian affairs. Yaroslav meanwhile was embarrassed by the unruly attitude of the Varangian allies whom he had engaged in anticipation of his late father's impending attack. Their conduct finally became so provocative that the population of Novgorod removed them by a wholesale massacre. Yaroslav had scarcely had time to visit retribution on the ringleaders of this anti-Varangian uprising when he received from his sister Predslava a report of the situation at Kiev and notice of the projects of Svyatopolk. He therefore hastily made peace with his subjects in Novgorod, and after collecting another force of 1000 Scandinavians, set out for Kiev.

The receipt of information concerning his advance enabled Svyatopolk to enlist the Pechenegs as his allies. Yaroslav's initial offensive was successful notwithstanding, so that Svyatopolk was driven to cover in Poland. Two years later (1018), accompanied by Bolesław and Polish soldiery, the fugitive prince once more set out for Kiev. Yaroslav sought vainly to halt his advance at the Bug, but was defeated and forced to flee to Novgorod with only four retainers. His discouragement was so profound at this point that he at one moment contemplated voluntary exile in Scandinavia,

[1] L^2, 139: 'Нача помышляти яко избью всю братью свою и приму власть Русьскую единъ.'

from which he was deterred only by the resolute action of the *posadnik* of Novgorod, a distant relative, who destroyed his boats and reminded him of his duty. Yaroslav then levied heavy taxes to finance a serious expedition.

Svyatopolk was not disposed to keep faith even with his father-in-law, whom he alienated by countenancing a massacre of the Poles. Bolesław thereupon withdrew to Poland, but indemnified himself on the way homeward by seizing Volhynia, which remained in Polish possession until his death. Now that Svyatopolk had lost his chief ally, Yaroslav was thus enabled to expel him from Kiev. In 1019, however, again with Pecheneg assistance, Svyatopolk made a final attempt to recapture the southern capital, but, according to Russian tradition, perished miserable and insane in a mad flight westward after a disastrous battle at the river Alta. Yaroslav's authority was not yet absolute, since he was obliged to retake Novgorod from his nephew Bryachislav in 1021, and it was not until five years more had elapsed that he arrived at a feasible understanding with his brother Mstislav, whose death in 1036 left him undisputed ruler of all Rus except the Polotzk district in the northwest.

Yaroslav was regarded with particular affection by the compiler of the *Primary Chronicle*, for the reason that in 1051 he appointed as metropolitan the presbyter Hilarion, who had excavated the first cell on the site of the celebrated Crypt Monastery, in which the *Chronicle* itself was prepared. His princely career was an active and fruitful one. Beside consolidating the domain of Kiev, he extended his territory northward at the expense of the Finnish tribes, among whom he founded Dorpat, calling it Yuryev (Georgetown) from his own baptismal name. He reconquered and colonized Volhynia, conciliated Poland by marital alliances and by military assistance against the Mazovians, and entrusted his son Vladimir (died 1052) with an unsuccessful campaign against Byzantium.

The establishment of the metropolitanate during Yaroslav's reign (1037) and the resulting intensified contact with the Greek capital produced an important intellectual advance in Kiev which was encouraged by the prince's example and influence. He was well-read, possessed a considerable library, and personally assembled a

body of scribes who not only reproduced Russian manuscripts but also executed new translations from Greek into Old Russian.[1] As the *Chronicle* remarks, his father Vladimir plowed and harrowed the soil when he enlightened Rus by conversion, while Yaroslav sowed the hearts of the faithful with the written word, so that later generations might reap the harvest through the blessings of book-learning.[2] It is, in fact, during the reign of Yaroslav that the dominance of Byzantine intellectual influence was definitely established, and the character of early Russian learned literature and ecclesiastical art thus prescribed.

Yaroslav's personal relationships with western ruling houses actually recall the system of dynastic intermarriages characterizing pre-war Europe. He was himself married to Ingigerðr, daughter of Olaf Eiriksson, king of Sweden. Ingigerðr was likewise half-Slavic through her mother Ástríðr, princess of the Obodriti, a Slavic tribe which in the eleventh century inhabited the coast of the Gulf of Lübeck.[3] In 1042, he endeavored to arrange a marriage between one of his daughters and Henry III of Germany, but met with a curt refusal.[4] The daughter to whom this offer referred was Anna; her sister Elizabeth was given in marriage to Harald Harðráði during the winter of 1042–43. A more favorable opportunity for the establishment of a western connection presented itself in 1051, when Henry I of France, upon the death of his first wife Mathildis (sister of Henry III of Germany), sent to Russia Bishop Gautier of Meaux to ask for Anna's hand.[5] A third daughter, Anastasia, became the

[1] L², 151, 152.

[2] L², 152.

[3] Cf. Adam of Bremen ed. B. Schmeidler (Hannover: Hahn, 1917) II, 39: 'Olaph Rex Sueonum christianissimus erat, filiamque Sclavorum Estrid nomine de Obodritis accepit uxorem. Ex qua genitus est filius Iacobus et filia Ingrad, quam rex sanctus Gerzlef [= *Yaroslav*] de Ruzzia duxit in coniugium.'

[4] Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1894), p. 58: 'Ibi [Goslariam] inter diuersarum prouinciarum legatos legati Ruscorum tristes redierunt, quia de filia regis sui, quam regi Henrico nupturam sperauerant, certum repudium reportabant.'

[5] Cf. *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1876), p. 161: 'Qui post Mahildis Reginae inhumationem accepit aliam coniugem, uidelicet filiam Iuriscloht (*sic*) Regis Russorum Annam.' And more circumstantially in *Chroniques de St Denis*, *ibid.*, p. 409: 'Li Rois qui ne voloit estre sanz fame envoia Gautiers l'Evesque de Miaux au Roi de Russie, et li manda que il li envoiast une soue fille qui avait nom Anne; et cil qui mult en fut liez le fit volontiers. Et quant ele fut venue, li Rois manda ses Barons et l'espousa sollempnement: et la Dame qui

wife of King Andrew of Hungary,[1] while Yaroslav's sister Maria was married about 1042 [2] to Kazimir I of Poland (ruled 1040–58). Two Norse sources both report that Gyða, daughter of Harald of England, married Yaroslav's son Vladimir.[3] In view of certain chronological considerations, it appears more likely that the English princess was married to Yaroslav's grandson Vladimir Monomakh,[4] who was born in 1053. Finally, Yaroslav's son Vsevolod, father of Vladimir Monomakh, was married to a Greek princess regarding whose family connections we are in complete ignorance,[5] while two

sainte vie menoit, pensoit plus aux choses esperituex qui à venir sont que ele ne faisoit aux temporex, en esperance que ele an receust le loier en la vie pardurable. Une église fonda en la cite de Senlis en l'onor de S. Vincent. Benaourousement et glorieusement vesqui le Rois avec li lon tens, et engendra en li iii valanz fiuz, Philippe, Robert, et Hue, qui puis fu apelez Hues li Granz.'

[1] Karamzin (*История Государства Российского*, II, note 13) cites an authority for this statement J. Thuroczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Vol. XLII. This passage, however, cannot be Karamzin's source for the name Anastasia, since it confines itself to the remark: 'Duxit [rex Andreas] autem sibi uxorem filiam regis Ruthenorum' (in J. Bongars, *Rerum Hungaricarum Scriptores Varii*, Frankfurt a/M, 1600, p. 48). Cf. the German translation (*Der Ungern Chronica*, Vienna, 1534), p. 22b: 'König Andreas nam zu einer haussfrawen die tochter des hertzogen von Reussen.' Owing to Karamzin's general dependence on M. M. Shcherbatov (*История Российская*, 1st ed., 1770, reprint, Leningrad, 1901; cf. P. Milyukov, *Главныя Течения Русск. Истор. Мысли*, 3d ed., Leningrad: [Averyanov], 1913, pp. 139 ff.), it is probable that he is citing Thuroczy merely as a gesture, and obtained this material from Shcherbatov, who mentions Anastasia (reprint Leningrad, 1901, I, 438, 439). He was also familiar with Dlugosz, and therefore doubtless knew the passage (J. Dlugosz: *Historiae Polonicae Libri xii*, Leipzig, 1711, I, 236): 'Accepit praefatus Andreas rex principis Russiae filiam nomine Anastasiam ex qua nati sunt ei duo filii.' I have been unable to find the name Anastasia in any Russian chronicle text available to me. It would appear that Dlugosz is the source from which the name passed into Lomonosov's *Кратκий Русский Летописец* (ed. Smirdin, Leningrad, 1850, III, 55).

[2] L², 154.

[3] *Fagrskinna*, ed. P. A. Munch and C. R. Unger (Oslo, 1847), p. 144: 'Gyðu dóttur Haralds konungs fékk Valdimarr konungr, sunr Jarizleifs konungs í Hólmgarði ok Ingigerðar dóttur Ólafs konungs svaenska.' Cf. *Morkinskinna*, ed. C. R. Unger (Oslo, 1867), p. 169.

[4] Cf. Saxo Grammaticus, ed. A. Holder (Strassburg, 1886), p. 370: 'Cuius filii duo confestim in Daniam cum sorore migrarunt. Quos Sueno paterni eorum meriti oblitus consanguinee pietatis more excepit, puellamque Rutenorum regi Waldemaro, qui et ipse Iaroslauus a suis est appellatus, nuptum dedit.' This passage contains at least one error in regard to the baptismal name of Vladimir. We do not know the baptismal name of Yaroslav's son Vladimir, but in all probability it would have been one bearing some ecclesiastical significance, as in the case of Vladimir Monomakh (Basil), Yaroslav (George), Izyaslav (Demetrius), and Svyatopolk (Michael). Saxo nowhere shows any accurate knowledge of Russian events. Since Yaroslav's son Vladimir died at Novgorod in 1052 (L², 160), he cannot have well contracted any marriage after 1066.

[5] L², 160, 'У Вьсеволода родися сынъ и нарече имя ему Володимеръ отъ цѣсарицѣ Грькынѣ.'

other sons (probably Vyacheslav and Igor) married noble German ladies.[1]

It will be noted that very little of this information as to Yaroslav's western connections is obtained from Russian sources. In fact, the only mention of Ingigerðr in the *Primary Chronicle* refers to her death in 1050, with the simple words '*Преставися жена Ярославля княгыни*' ('The princess, Yaroslav's consort, passed away'). So much the more interesting, therefore, are the additional data supplied by the Norse sagas.[2] According to the *Heimskringla*, Ingigerðr had been at first betrothed to Olaf Haraldsson of Norway (St Olaf), and her marriage to the Norwegian king was intended as a means of reconciling her father with the former.[3] Olaf of Sweden had originally opposed the match, to which he consented only under

[1] Cf. Albert von Staden, *Chronicon*, in J. Schilter, *Scriptores Rer. Germ.* (Strassburg, 1702), I, 260, 261; *Annalista Saxo*, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.* VI, 693, 737; Karamzin, *loc. cit.*, note 17. The identity of these wives is uncertain. Cf. T. Ediger: *Russlands älteste Beziehungen zu Deutschland, Frankreich, u. der römischen Kurie* (Halle, 1911), pp. 45 ff.

[2] The major portion of the Norse texts in any way relating to early Russian history was published some seventy-five years ago by C. C. Rafn in two monumental but cumbersome volumes entitled *Antiquités Russes d'après les Monuments Historiques des Islandais et des Anciens Scandinaves* (Copenhagen, vol. I, 1850, vol. II, 1852), with French or Latin translation and French commentary. No great attention has ever been paid to these sources since then by any Russian historian, since the Russian historical fraternity, during the entire nineteenth century, was engaged in fighting out the Varangian controversy, by which interest was concentrated almost exclusively upon Russo-Scandinavian relations during the ninth and tenth centuries only. The Scandinavian connections of Yaroslav are briefly mentioned by Karamzin (*op. cit.*, vol. II, chap. i); S. M. Solovyov, *История Россиu* (4th ed., Moscow, 1888), I, 227, 228, deals in some detail with Yaroslav's trans-Baltic relationships, but in the main other historians have borrowed Karamzin's material without comment.

Among the Icelandic texts of special interest for the reign of Yaroslav, the oldest is the *Ágrip af Noregs Konungasögum*, dating from the close of the twelfth century (cf. E. Mogk, *Norweg.-Isländ Lit.*, in Paul's *Grdr.*, II, i, 810; F. Jónsson, *Oldnor. og Oldisland. Litt. Hist.*, Copenhagen, 1923, II, 611–620), and contemporaneous with the Latin *Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium*, written in Norway by Theodric the Monk (cf. Mogk, *op. cit.*, p. 808: Jónsson, *op. cit.* II, 578–587). Next in point of age come the *Morkinskinna* (beginning with the reign of Magnus), preserved in a MS. of the last quarter of the thirteenth century, derived from an original prepared about 1220 (cf. Mogk, *op. cit.*, p. 811; Jónsson, *op. cit.*, II, 620–624), and the *Fagrskinna* (or *Noregs Konungatal*), the basic MS. of which was destroyed by fire in 1728, though the work itself is coeval with the *Morkinskinna* (cf. Mogk, *op. cit.*, pp. 811, 812; Jónsson, *op. cit.*, II, 625–633). The most extensive of the early compilations is of course the *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturluson, dating from 1230. Finally, the *Flateyarbók*, written between 1387 and 1395, embodies considerable material from lost sources not appearing elsewhere, in particular the *Eymundar þáttr Hringssonar*.

[3] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. F. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1893 ff., cited as *Hskr.*), II, 136 ff.

the pressure of threats from his subjects. Ingigerðr, however, proceeded to send Olaf the customary engagement gifts. Olaf of Norway in turn prepared his suite for the wedding journey, but on arrival at the place of meeting, he found no news or representatives from Olaf of Sweden. Meanwhile, the latter made no secret of his hostility toward his daughter's betrothed, until one day an unfortunate remark by Ingigerðr in praise of Olaf of Norway provoked her father to the declaration that the marriage would never take place. Shortly afterward, envoys from Yaroslav came asking the hand of Ingigerðr for their prince, and were well received by Olaf of Sweden. Through the intervention of Jarl Rǫgnvaldr of West Gautaland and the scald Sigvatr, the attention of Olaf Haraldsson was diverted to Ástríðr, Ingigerðr's half-sister, so that his marriage to her was eventually celebrated (1019).[1]

Ingigerðr secured as a stipulation in her marriage contract that Rǫgnvaldr should receive the principality of Aldeigjuborg (Ladoga), so that he and his family (his wife was Ingibjǫrg, daughter of Tryggvi) accompanied her. Yaroslav's children by Ingigerðr are named by Snorri [2] as Valdamarr, Vissivaldr, and Holti hinn frœkni. The first two are readily identified as Vladimir[3] and Vsevolod,[4] the first and fourth sons of Yaroslav respectively. The son bearing the Norse name Holti would appear to be either the second, known in the Russian sources as Izyaslav,[5] or the third son Svyatoslav.[6] In view

[1] Cf. F. Braune, *Das Historische Russland im Nordischen Schrifttum des 10. bis 14. Jhdts.* (in *Festschrift für E. Mogk*, Halle, 1924), p. 182: 'Da gerade zu dieser Zeit Gesandte aus Russland herüberkamen, um für den Grossfürsten Jaroslav um die Hand der Königstochter zu werben, löste Olaf, der Vater, sehr gegen den Willen der Braut und ohne den Bräutigam davon zu verständigen, das Verlöbnis, und schickte Ingigerðr nach Russland, wo sie Jaroslavs Frau wurde.' There is no clear indication in the *Hskr.* that the embassy from Yaroslav was the direct cause of Olaf's breach of contract. In fact, after her father's declaration that the engagement was off, Ingigerðr informed Rognvaldr, and through him Olaf Haraldsson, that such was the case (II, 166: 'lét segja honum hvat þú var títt með Svíakonungi ok brugðit var öllu sáttmáli við Noregskonung'). It is also clear that Ingigerðr herself regarded the marriage a doubtful prospect from the beginning, while Olaf Haraldsson's courtiers fully recognized that the king of Sweden had yielded only to coercion in the first place. Some time elapses in the *Hskr.* between Ingigerðr's notification to Rǫgnvaldr of her father's decision and her subsequent report (II, 176) to the Jarl concerning Yaroslav's envoys.

[2] *Hskr.*, II, 182.

[3] Born 1020, L², 146; died 1052, L², 160.

[4] Born 1030, L², 149; died 1093, L², 215.

[5] Born 1024. L², 149.

[6] Born 1027, L², 149.

of Izyaslav's irresolute character, the epithet 'valiant' would apply with more propriety to Svyatoslav.

In 1029, the pressure of Knut upon Olaf Haraldsson and the desertion of most of his retainers forced him to flee his realm.[1] Accompanied by his bastard son Magnus, he therefore took refuge in Russia, where Ingigerðr and Yaroslav received him kindly. There is, however, in Snorri at this point no direct reference to the romantic attachment of Olaf and Ingigerðr which later becomes so important an element in the sagas. Though Yaroslav offered Olaf dominion in the eastern part of his realm over the region which the *Hskr.* calls *Vulgaria*, the Norwegian hero preferred to hazard the recovery of his kingdom. Early in 1030, therefore, leaving Magnus in Russia, he set out on his homeward journey with 200 followers, and met his death on August 27 at Stiklastaðir.

Among the refugees from the battle of Stiklastaðir was Harald Harðráði, son of Sigurd Halfdanarson, whose career in Russia and at Constantinople is treated at length in the *Hskr.* (III, 74 ff.). In the spring of 1031, he repaired to Russia, where he became chief of Yaroslav's bodyguard jointly with Eilifr, son of that Rǫgnvaldr who had originally come to Novgorod with Ingigerðr. In this capacity, he took part in Yaroslav's Volhynian campaign of 1031.[2] The next four years were a period of calm in Russia, with the result that in 1035 Harald sought further adventure at Constantinople. The sovereigns of the Eastern Empire at the moment were Zoë and Michael IV. Zoë, daughter of Constantine VIII, just a year before had instigated the murder of her husband in order to marry her younger favorite, Michael the Paphlagonian. [3] In 1042, Harald withdrew, not without difficulty, from the Byzantine service, and escaped by sea to South Russia.[4] On his northward journey, he indited

[1] *Hskr.*, II, 412 ff.

[2] L², 150: 'Ярославъ и Мьстиславъ събьраста вои мъногъ и идоста на Ляхы и заяста грады Чьрвеньскыя опять и повоеваста Лядьскую землю и мъногы Ляхы приведоста раздѣливъша я.' *Hskr.* III, 76, quotes a stave of the scald Þjóðólfr to the effect that the administration of Eilifr and Harald did not rest lightly on the *Laesir*, who are readily identified with the Slavic Ляхы; '*vasa Laesum léttr liðsmanna réttr.*'

[3] *Oxford Med. Hist.*, IV, 101.

[4] *Hskr.*, III, 96, 97. The military exploits of Harald in the Byzantine service, while forming an important chapter in the history of the Varangian mercenaries, fall outside the scope of

sixteen *gamanvísur* to Yaroslav's daughter Elizabeth, *þá kalla Norðmenn Ellisif*, whom he married during the winter of 1042–43. In the saga as preserved by the *Flateyarbók*,[1] the earlier passages of Harald's attachment to Elizabeth are supplied. It is here reported that Harald asked for her hand while still in Yaroslav's service, but was put off by the prince of Rus on the ground that, despite his high birth, he was not as yet sufficiently distinguished or wealthy to justify the match. Yaroslav's suggestion that Harald should raise the question again after obtaining further fame thus motivates Harald's entry into Byzantine service.

The saga material thus far examined has confined itself to purely factual data, and has referred only in cursory terms to internal events in Russia itself. A considerably more intimate picture of the Russian court at the accession of Yaroslav is provided by the *Eymundarþáttr Hringssonar*, preserved only in the *Flateyarbók*.[2] The subject-matter is derived partly from tradition descended from the Icelanders who accompanied Eymundr into Russia, and partly from such written sources as the works of Styrmir hinn fróði.[3] Eymundr himself was great-grandson of Harald Hárfagri, and a close friend of Olaf Haraldsson, whom he accompanied to England. He was, however, absent on a raid when Olaf overthrew his father Hringr and his brothers. Upon his return to Norway in 1015, being unwilling to take up arms against Olaf, he decided to enter the service of a Russian prince, since he was informed of the strife in progress between Yaroslav, who was then in Novgorod, and Svyatopolk, who, as we have seen, had seized the throne of Kiev as soon as St Vladimir was dead. The *þáttr* confuses to some extent the names of the contending Russian princes, who are referred to as Burizleifr, Jarizleifr, and Varnlaf (Vartilaf). The name *Burizleifr* applies ob-

this study. They were, in fact, analyzed fifty years ago with great skill by V. G. Vasilievskĭ in his essay 'Варяго-Русская и Варяго-Английская Дружина в Константинополе XI и XII веков' in *Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения* CLXXVI (Nov., 1874), 105–144; CLXXVII (Feb., 1875), 394–451; CLXXVIII (March, 1875), 76–152.

[1] Oslo, 1860, III, 290; cf. also *Fornmanna Sögur* (Copenhagen, 1831), VI, 127 ff.

[2] II, 118–135; *Fornmanna Sögur*, V, 267–298. Cf. C. C. Rafn, *A. R.*, II, 173–211, for Latin and French translation and notes; also E. Mogk, *op. cit.*, pp. 806, 807, and F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, II, 779, 780.

[3] *Flatey.*, II, 118.

viously to Svyatopolk, since he is represented as holding Kiev, while Varnlaf (Vartilaf), whom the *þáttr* assigns to Palteskja (Polotzk), was actually Yaroslav's nephew Bryachislav, son of Prince Izyaslav Vladimirovich, whom he succeeded as prince of Polotzk upon Izyaslav's death in 1001.[1] According to the *Povest*, Bryachislav's offensive against Yaroslav began only in 1021.[2] Furthermore, the *þáttr* places Eymundr's arrival in Novgorod subsequent to Yaroslav's marriage to Ingigerðr, which did not take place till 1019, though it also notes Eymundr's participation in the campaign against Svyatopolk culminating in the battle of Lyubech, which the *Povest* dates as of 1016. The *Povest* also mentions specifically that among Yaroslav's troops on this campaign there were 1000 Varangians.[3]

According to the *þáttr*, Eymundr's contribution to Yaroslav's victory at Lyubech was vital. The Russian prince failed notwithstanding to execute the financial stipulations originally agreed on with Eymundr, with the result that Eymundr declared his intention of quitting Yaroslav's service. While the *Povest* reports that after his defeat Svyatopolk fled into Poland,[4] the *þáttr* quotes Eymundr as informing Yaroslav that his half-brother had taken refuge among the Finns of Perm (*í Bjarmalandi*), where he was collecting troops to attack Yaroslav. At the receipt of this news, Yaroslav was willing to let Eymundr abandon him, and renewed the previous contract. With Eymundr's aid, Yaroslav then repulsed Svyatopolk's second attack, but was once more reluctant to pay his Norse allies their due. Eymundr also reported that this time Svyatopolk-Burizleifr was collecting reinforcements among the Turks and the Wallachians (*Tyrkir ok Blökumenn*). The Norseman was unwilling to abandon Yaroslav despite his miserly behavior in the matter of pay, and organized a successful raid in which he took Svyatopolk–Burizleifr by surprise and killed him.

In these accounts, we find confused reminiscences of the actual course of events as outlined by the Russian *Chronicle*. In the first place, Svyatopolk's alliance with his father-in-law Bolesław Chrobry of Poland, so well attested elsewhere, has been completely lost in the

[1] L², 129. [2] L², 146. [3] L², 141.
[4] В Ляхы, L², 142.

þáttr, unless we regard the name *Burizleifr* as a reminiscence of Bolesław. There is likewise no reference to the fact that Svyatopolk's offensive of 1018 was so disastrous for Yaroslav that he contemplated voluntary exile. The account of the wounding of Yaroslav in the battle with the Bjarmians, which Rafn accepted as the cause of Yaroslav's lameness,[1] is of little weight beside the fairly consistent Russian tradition that he was lame from childhood. There is no evidence in the *Povest* that Yaroslav was ever at strife with the Finns of the northern Dvina region. On the other hand, references in the *þáttr* to Svyatopolk's alliance with the Turks and the Wallachians accord well with the mention by the *Primary Chronicle* of the fact that, for his attack of 1019, he collected Pecheneg support.[2] The description provided by the *þáttr* of Eymundr's slaying of Svyatopolk is of course at variance with the *Povest* account that the Russian prince perished miserably in his flight westward after the battle of the Alta. While the *Povest* here bears traces of legendary contamination, it was in all likelihood composed for the most part within 85 years of the events under consideration, so that *prima facie* its evidence is superior to that of the saga, which is obviously of late origin. It is not impossible, however, that the compiler of the *Povest*, in his partiality to Yaroslav, may have purposely described Svyatopolk's death in general terms in order to escape the necessity of attributing its instigation to Yaroslav and its execution to his Varangian auxiliaries.[3]

[1] *A. R.*, II, 172. [2] L², 143.

[3] Cf. O. I. Senkovski, 'Скандинавския Саги,' in *Библиотека для Чтения* (Leningrad, 1834), I, iii, 66 ff., who asserts that the phrase *межю Ляхы и Чехы* (L², 145), which Karamzin (*op. cit.*, ed. Suvorin, Leningrad, 1888, II, 14) took to mean 'in the Bohemian wastes,' and which Solovyov (*op. cit.*, I, 224) still interprets as 'in the wastes between Poland and Bohemia' (*в пустыне между Польшею и Богемиею*), is really a reproduction of the Polish phrase '*między Czechy i Lechy*,' signifying 'heaven knows where.' He therefore believes that Svyatopolk fell a prey to treachery somewhere in Russia, and accepts the *þáttr* tradition of his murder by Eymundr and his companions. Senkovski also accepts as historical the *þáttr* account of Svyatopolk's flight to Bjarmia after the battle of Lyubech (1016), and the subsequent narrative of his return with Finnish support. It must be admitted that the details of the *þáttr* are of great interest, particularly since, in the Russian annals, 1017 is practically an empty year. Senkovski believes that it was only after a fruitless attempt to recapture Kiev with Finnish aid that Svyatopolk eventually took refuge in Poland, whence he returned accompanied by Bolesław to drive Yaropolk from Kiev in 1018. The Russian scholar suggests, in this connection, that the utter failure of the *þáttr* to mention subsequent events culminating in the battle

An important incident of the *þáttr* which has but a brief counterpart in the Russian annals treats Eymundr's association with Varnlaf (that is, Bryachislav of Polotzk). The *Primary Chronicle* under 1021 relates briefly that Bryachislav in that year raided Novgorod, and after seizing prisoners and booty returned to Polotzk. He was met at the Sudomir river by Yaroslav, who had reached it after a seven days' march from Kiev.[1] The prince of Polotzk was vanquished in battle, lost his prisoners, and fled to his native city. In the *þáttr*, Eymundr and his companions, exasperated by Yaroslav's continued refusal of payment for their services, decide to join Bryachislav at Polotzk. Ingigerðr, abetted by Rǫgnvaldr, endeavors to have Eymundr assassinated at the point of departure. Though urged to profit by this occasion to carry off the princess and her confidant as prisoners, Eymundr, having saved himself by great presence of mind, refuses to take so easy a revenge, on the ground that he is unwilling thus to terminate his friendly relations with Ingigerðr.[2] Upon their arrival at Polotzk, the Norsemen conclude without difficulty a satisfactory contract with Bryachislav. Shortly thereafter, Bryachislav is visited by envoys from Yaroslav demanding the cession of certain border districts. On Eymundr's advice, Bryachislav refuses to comply, and prepares his troops for resistance. The forces of Yaroslav and Bryachislav meet at their common frontier, but for seven days refrain from fighting.[3] Eymundr knows that Ingigerðr, upon whose

of the Alta rises from Eymundr's non-participation in these operations, and he implies that this abstention was due to one of Eymundr's periodic disagreements with Yaroslav on money matters. If the episode of 1017 as detailed in the *þáttr* is at all historical, it would refer to an attack upon Novgorod rather than upon Kiev, and its absence from Kiev tradition would thus be plausibly explained. Contrary to Senkovski's implication, there is nothing whatever in the *þáttr* to indicate that Svyatopolk's attack of 1017 was made at Kiev. In the sagas generally, Novgorod is always designated as the chief city of Rus.

[1] L^2, 146: 'И пришьдъшю ему къ Судомири рѣцѣ, Ярославъ же ис Кыева въ седьмыи день постиже и ту.'

[2] *Flatey*, II, 131: 'þvíat eigi vil ek svá slíta vináttu við drottningu.'

[3] The mention of this interval in both texts, but with different application in each, is a curious coincidence. Rafn (*A.R.*, II, 207 n.), remarks on the *Povest* passage: 'l'annaliste veut sans doute nous dire que quand Briatchislav, qui emmenait les Novgorodiens prisonniers, eut été sept jours en route, Iaroslav le rejoignit sur le Sudomir.' This interpretation can be derived only from a forced rendering of the Russian text, especially as the Hypatian version (H^3, 132) reads distinctly: 'when he had come to the Sud(o)mir river, Yaroslav also went forth from Kiev (and) overtook him there on the seventh day' ('И пришедшю ему к Судмири рѣцѣ Ярославъ и выиде ис Кыева з̄ дн̄ь постиже и ту'), which can mean only, on the seventh day after Yaroslav's departure from Kiev.

advice and counsel the Russians seriously depended, has not yet arrived on the scene. Capturing Ingigerðr by an ambush, he secures her interested services as an intermediary between Yaroslav and Bryachislav, with the result that peace is concluded. The terms stipulate that Yaroslav shall retain Novgorod, while Bryachislav receives Kiev, and Polotzk with its revenues falls to Eymundr, upon whose death it shall revert to the other two princes. The *þáttr* adds that Bryachislav survived the treaty by only three years, which is in direct contradiction with the testimony of the Russian sources,[1] dating his death as of 1044. At this point, the source material of the *þáttr* comes to an abrupt close, since the subsequent fortunes of Eymundr are described only in the most general terms. The Russian sources nowhere indicate that Bryachislav ever occupied Kiev, and the years 1022–26 in the *Povest* are, moreover, largely occupied by Yaroslav's quarrel with his brother Mstislav. The historical value of the *Eymundarþáttr* is thus negligible, but regardless of the confusion of fact inevitable during a long period of oral transmission in remote Iceland, it still bears witness to the remarkable persistency of tradition regarding the close relations between the Scandinavian courts and the Russian princes of the eleventh century.

Reference may here be made to the *Yngvars Saga Víðfǫrla*,[2] originating presumably in the fourteenth century. This saga contains very little historical material beyond the mere survival of tradition covering Yngvarr's expedition to the Caspian (1036–41), and the sources mentioned by the saga itself are unquestionably devised only to imitate the style of the older narratives. That Yngvarr actually lived and made an expedition to the east is amply confirmed not only by the *Annales Regii*, which mention his death in 1041,[3] but also by the runic inscriptions reproduced by Olson,[4] the majority of which are derived from monuments to warriors who served with Yngvarr and met their deaths upon this expedition.[5] The saga is of

[1] L², 155.

[2] Cf. *A. R.*, II, 141–169; E. Olson, *Yngvars Saga Víðfǫrla jämte ett bihang om Ingvarsinskrifterna* (Copenhagen, 1912); Braune, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–189; E. Mogk, *op. cit.*, p. 829.

[3] *Flatey.*, III, 507. [4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 51–65.

[5] F. Braune, in his article, 'Hvem var Yngvarr enn víðfǫrli?' (*Fornvännen* [Stockholm 1910], pp. 98–117), has sought to prove that Yngvarr was the son of King Emund the Old, and

interest for the present study only to the extent that Yngvarr arrived at Kiev during the reign of Yaroslav, and apparently undertook his expedition to the Caspian district with Yaroslav's support and encouragement, for the purpose of renewing commercial relations with the east, which had been interrupted since the destruction of the Chazar state in the tenth century. In view of the extensive inscription material testifying to a general knowledge of Yngvarr's exploits and fate, the lack of connection between this saga and the cycle of tradition surrounding St Olaf constitutes the basic reason why the real story of Yngvarr's expedition was lost, to be subsequently replaced by a narrative of fantastic adventure coupled with local color from earlier sources, particularly the *Eymundarþáttr*. The saga still requires further analysis with a view to separating the real factual content from the romantic element.

At the close of the *Eymundarþáttr*, which concludes with some general observations designed to connect the *þáttr* with the main body of the narrative concerning St Olaf, the following passage occurs: '*Ok þá er hinn heilagi Ólafr Haraldsson var í Garðaríki, þá var hann með Rögnvaldi Úlfssyni, ok var þeirra vinátta hin mesta, þvíat allir göfgir menn virðu Ólaf konung mikils, meðan hann var þar, en þó öngir meira en þau Rögnvalldr jarl ok Ingigerðr drottning; þvíat hvort þeirra unni öðru með leyndri ást.*' This tradition of affection uniting Olaf and Ingigerðr and her consistent depiction by the sagas as a woman of strong will and keen judgment, intellectually superior to her husband Yaroslav, forms an element of human interest totally alien to the monastic simplicity of the Russian annals, in which, apart from St Olga, grandmother of St Vladimir, the distaff side plays no rôle whatever.

The *Hskr.* contains no trace of any actual romantic attachment between the Swedish princess and Olaf, though Ingigerðr, in conversation with Hjalti Skeggjason and Jarl Rǫgnvaldr,[1] made no secret of her admiration for the Norwegian king, and Snorri also notes that Olaf was fond of talking about Ingigerðr with his inti-

thus nephew of Ingigerðr's father Olaf. This view is contested by O. von Friesen (*ibid.*, pp. 199–209), on the basis of a different dating of the runic inscriptions cited by Braune in support of his contention.

[1] *Hskr.*, II, 121, 138.

mates.[1] There is likewise a delicate touch by Snorri in his description of Olaf Haraldsson's vain wait at Konungahella for the arrival of the expected envoys from Olaf of Sweden.[2]

His fine hand is again discernible in Ingigerðr's melancholy answer to inquiring courtiers that she no longer dares mention Olaf to her father, and in the remark that she was *hugsjúk ok ókát*.[3] The same term is employed to describe Olaf Haraldsson, when, on hearing through Rǫgnvaldr how matters stood, he *varð reiðr mjǫk ok hugsjúkr*.[4] There is no reason, however, to read into these passages a greater romantic content than their literal meaning justifies, since there is no indication, even outside the *Hskr.*, that Olaf of Norway had ever seen Ingigerðr before he met her at Yaroslav's court. The readiness with which he consented to replace her with Ástríðr likewise suggests that his *hugsýki* was traceable more to injured dignity than to any real attachment to Ingigerðr.

In any case, Snorri's narrative treats this subject with visible reserve. There existed, however, even in Snorri's time, an outspoken tradition of the affection uniting Olaf Haraldsson and Ingigerðr. This is expressed most positively in the *History* of Theodric the Monk, written between 1177 and 1180. It will be recalled that in 1035 Magnus, Olaf's son, returned from Russia to occupy the Norwegian throne. Three years after Olaf's death, in fact, a delegation of prominent Norwegians had gone to Russia to request Yaroslav to entrust to them the young prince, who was then eleven years old. In the account of these events as given both in the *Flateyarbók* and in the *Ágrip*,[5] Ingigerðr evinces some hesitation in confiding Magnus to the Norwegian emissaries, after their countrymen had dealt so faithlessly with his father. Theodric adds as the motive for her more than friendly interest in the youth that she had been deeply attached to Olaf Haraldsson.[6] The broadest development of this

[1] *Hskr.*, II, p. 168.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[5] *Flatey.*, III, 261; *Ágrip* in *Fornmanna Sögur*, X, 401.
[6] *Mon. Hist. Norveg.*, ed. G. Storm (Oslo, 1880), p. 45: 'Qui cum uenissent in Rusciam ad Iaritzlauum et Ingigerthi, ubi nutriebatur puer, consilium suum innotuerunt regi necnon et totius Norwegiae. Abnegat regina Ingigerthr affirmans nullo modo mittendum puerum nisi iureiurando promitterent eum in regem sublimandum; ualde enim dilexerat beatum Olauum ideoque officiosissime filium eius nutriuerat.' Cf. *Ágrip, loc. cit.*: 'en þeirra boen var eigi furr haurþ ne framgeng, enn þeir unno honum land oc tronaþ þviat Ingigerþr drottning stoþ amoti.'

theme is preserved in the *Morkinskinna*,[1] where it serves as a basis for a trivial quarrel between Ingigerðr and Yaroslav. This work is of purely compilatory nature, contains numerous unhistorical elements, and exhibits the beginnings of romantic influence. The episode in question is a case in point. Yaroslav, it is related, had constructed an elaborately decorated hall in which he took great pride. When the princess, accompanied by her ladies, entered it for the first time, Yaroslav proudly asked whether she had ever seen as fair a structure. Ingigerðr answered with composure that Olaf's hall was far superior.[2] The king thereupon fell into a rage, and shouted, 'There is shame in such words, and you show your love for king Olaf!'[3] With this angry reproach, Yaroslav proceeded to box his consort's ears before the assembled court. Ingigerðr was so bitterly offended that she threatened to quit Russia, and consented to a reconciliation only on condition that Yaroslav should send for the boy Magnus and bring him up at the Russian court. This account naturally conflicts with the well-attested fact that Olaf took Magnus with him on his flight to Garðaríki in 1029 (*Hskr.*, II, 419), while Yaroslav's manifest hostility toward Olaf in the present instance contradicts the tradition of the intense enmity he entertained toward all Norwegians on account of their disloyalty to Olaf himself.

Did this considerable body of information reach Iceland through Norse intermediaries or by direct report from Icelanders themselves who were personally familiar with current events in Scandinavia and in Russia? As Braune has pointed out,[4] the latter is more likely the case. The Icelander Hjalti Skeggjason, for example, joined the court of Olaf of Norway in 1018 (*Hskr.*, II, 103). He then became a messmate (*mötunautr*) of Bjǫrn, the king's marshall, whom he accompanied on his mission to Sweden shortly after. He was also acquainted with Ingibjǫrg, sister of Olaf Tryggvason and wife of that Rǫgnvaldr who accompanied Ingigerðr to Russia (*ibid.*, p. 107).

[1] *Mork.*, ed. C. R. Unger, (Oslo, 1867) pp. 1–3; also *Flatey.*, III, 251, 252.

[2] *Mork.*, p. 1: 'Herra, segir hon, þessi holl er vel scipot, ok fa dömi mono til at slic pryði eða maeri oc fecosnaðr comi saman i eitt hvs eða iamnmargir goðir hofðingiar oc vascir menn, en betr er þo sv holl scipoð er Olafr konungr Harallz son sitr i, þo at hon standi a sulom einom.'

[3] *Ibid.*: 'Svivirðing er i slicom orðom, segir hann, oc synir þv ast þina við Olaf konung.'

[4] *Festschrift für E. Mogk*, p. 190.

He was thus the bearer of messages and tokens from Ingibjǫrg to Ingigerðr (*ibid.*, p. 111), and was one of the principal negotiators of Olaf Haraldsson's betrothal to the Swedish princess. He returned to Iceland in 1019 (*ibid.*, p. 160), and was thus well informed upon events up to the break of the engagement. Olaf of Sweden also had simultaneously at his court two Icelandic scalds, Gizurr gullbrá, who fell at Kviststaðir in 1030 (*ibid.*, p. 490), and Óttarr svarti (*ibid.*, p. 111), of whom the latter is quoted particularly often by Snorri as a source for events connected with Olaf of Sweden.

At the court of Olaf Haraldsson was found at the same time the Icelandic scald Sigvatr Þórðarson, also often cited by Snorri, and uncle of Óttarr (*ibid.*, II, 177). Sigvatr was intimately acquainted with Rǫgnvaldr, from whom he learned in 1019 that Olaf Haraldsson's betrothal with Ingigerðr was broken off. It was Sigvatr, in fact, who made known to Olaf of Norway that Yaroslav had asked for the hand of the Swedish princess (*ibid.*), and who suggested the possibility of Ástríðr as a consort. While he did not accompany Olaf to Russia, and even took service with Knut, he was influential at the court of Magnus, and was thus in a position to familiarize himself in any case with the Russian experiences of both father and son.[1]

[1] In their discussion of Sigvatr's *Austrfarar Vísur* (*Corp. Poet. Boreal.*, Oxford, 1883, II, 122; text, *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 130), Vigfusson–Powell date this poem as of 1023 and remark: 'In his journey Sighvat found Rognvald in Garth, not in Upsala as the prose makes out, and we thereby learn that he had already left Sweden, and was in that universal refuge for princes, the Swedo-Slavonic state of Novgorod.' This is surely wrong, if the narrative of the *Hskr.* is to be accepted as authoritative. Rǫgnvaldr is found in Sweden just before Sigvatr's mission, since we read (II, 165, 66): 'Ingigerðr konungs-dóttir var nú vís orðin ins sanna um aetlan Ólafs konungs ok gerði þegar menn ofan í vestra Gautland til Rǫgnvaldz ok lét segja honum hvat þá var títt með Svíakonungi.' He was still in Sweden after Olaf Haraldsson's marriage with Ástríðr (II, 180): 'var þá drukkit brullaup Ólafs konungs ok Ástríðar með mikilli vigsemð. Eptir þat fór Rǫgnvaldr jarl aptr til Gautlandz.' Only the next year did he go to Garðaríki (II, 182): 'Ingigerðr sendi þá menn á fund jarls ok lét segja honum þessi tiðendi' (that he was to accompany her to Russia and become prince of Ladoga), 'ok gerði honum stefnu-lag, hvar þau skyldu hittask. En jarl bjósk þegar til ferðar ok reið upp í eystra Gautland ok fekk ser þar skip ok helt þá liði sínu til fundar við Ingigerði konungs-dóttur. Fóru þau ǫll saman um sumarit austr i Garðaríki.' There can be no doubt that the purpose of Sigvatr's mission to Sweden was to spy out what Rǫgnvaldr had learned regarding the intentions of Olaf of Sweden, and to endeavor to bring about a reconciliation between the two hostile kings (II, 168): 'hann [Sigvatr] bauð konungi at fara á fund Rǫgnvaldz jarls ok njosna, hvers hann yrði varr frá Svíakonungi, ok freista, ef hann maetti nǫkkurri saett við koma.' The *Austrfarar Vísur* are quoted at length by Snorri in connection with this mission only. While the term *í Gǫrðum* is the regular expression for Russia both in inscriptions of the tenth to twelfth centuries and also in

Mention is also made of various other Icelanders of distinction who took service with Olaf of Norway (*ibid.*, II, 272), among them Þormóðr Kolbrúnarskáld, likewise cited by Snorri as a source, who fell at Stiklastaðir. There can thus be little doubt that Icelanders attached to the Norwegian and Swedish courts were the original sources of information dealing not only with the events which preceded Ingigerðr's marriage to Yaroslav, but also with Olaf's and Magnus's exile in Garðaríki. Furthermore, the scantiness of the material in the *Hskr.* concerning Russia, apart from the data dealing directly with Olaf and Magnus (I purposely omit reference to the relations of Olaf Tryggvason with Vladimir I), points to its derivation from scalds who themselves had not been at the Russian court.

Similar source material of scaldic origin supplied the basic data for the accounts of Harald Harðráði's adventures in Russia. Thus the scald Bǫlverkr Arnórsson is especially cited by Snorri as an authority on Harald's migration to Garðaríki in 1031 after the battle of Stiklastaðir (*ibid.*, III, 75), and the subsequent transfer of his activities to Constantinople (*ibid.*, p. 76). Bǫlverkr's brother Þjóðólfr, '*der fruchtbarste Dichter seiner Zeit*' (Mogk, *op. cit.*, p. 688), and the scald most often quoted by Snorri in his account of Harald,[1] mentions in one passage thus quoted (*Hskr.*, III, 76) both Harald's association with Eilifr as commander of Yaroslav's bodyguard and their participation in Yaroslav's campaign of 1031 in Volhynia. Finally, Snorri includes a few lines of Stufr Blindi (*ibid.*, III, 99), on Harald's marriage with Elizabeth (Ellisif), along with an equally brief quotation from Valgarðr of Vǫllr which specifically mentions his return *ór Gǫrðum austan* to Norway by way of Sweden. It need hardly be added that Harald's own verse provided additional information. There is

scaldic poetry (cf. Braune, *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 193), it seems unlikely that Snorri so understood it in the passage in question (*Corp. Poet. Boreal.*, II, 132, l. 75; *Hskr.*, II, 175, ll. 3–6: 'Deildak mól ens milda Malma vǫrðr, i gǫrðum Narða mǫrg.'), unless he took the poem to have been written after 1019, and to constitute a poetic recital of these events composed at a considerably later date. While it would be important to show, if possible, that a scald of Signvatr's prominence had actually been in Russia, as Vigfusson–Powell state, the *Hskr.* text does not justify this assumption. F. Jónsson (*Hskr.*, IV, 136) remarks in this connection: 'Dette ord er tidligere blevet misforstået og opfattet som Gǫrðum = *Garderige;* derom kan der ikke vaere tale.'

[1] Cf. *Flatey.*, III, 415: 'Hann var islenzkr og aettadr vr Suarfadardal, kurteis madr og skald mikit. Hann var met Haralldi konungi j hinum mestum kiaerlikum. Kalladi konungr hann haufutskald sitt og virdi hann mest allra skalda.'

no indication that any of these scalds actually accompanied Harald on his excursion to eastern Europe. On the other hand, their constant quotation as sources further confirms the thought that there was a fairly large body of intelligent Icelanders who knew of events in Russia and even at Constantinople from the narratives of the adventurers immediately concerned.[1]

The sagas present practically no information as to Icelanders who actually took service in Russia, and who may have brought detailed accounts of their personal experiences back to Iceland. The *Eymundarþáttr*, however, specifically mentions four who were associated with Eymundr in his plot to surprise and assassinate Burizleifr–Svyatopolk.[2] F. Braune (*op. cit.*, p. 190) has also suggested that the tales of Bjorn and his companions are the underlying material of the *Eymundarþáttr*. From the fact that this case is unique, and that the Icelanders are so carefully particularized, the conclusion is justified that the actual number of real Icelanders (as distinct from Scandinavians in the geographic sense) who were personally in Russian service was a very small one, as is indeed intrinsically probable. A further confirmation of this view lies in the fact that in early Iceland a voyage to Garðaríki was something of a distinction. We thus read in the *Landnámabók* of one Skinna-Biaorn who was a Holmgard-farer, that is, he had been to Novgorod.[3]

[1] The adventures of Harald Harðráði were particularly adapted to treatment in *frásogur*. Specific reference to narratives on this subject is preserved in the *Flatey*. (III, 428, 49), in which Halldór Snorrason is directly mentioned as having treated Harald's oriental expeditions in this manner. In fact, he was accustomed to recite an account of them every summer at the *alþingi*. Cf. *Edda Snorronis Sturlaei* (Copenhagen, 1880–87), III, 211: 'Halldor Snorronis filius, socius Haraldi seueri regis, quotannis in comitiis generalibus historiam de expeditionibus eius orientalibus retulit et ex relationibus eius alter quidam uir Islandus memorialiter historiam collegit, quae regi ipsi satisfecit.' Also, *Fornmanna Sögur*, VI, 356: 'Ek fór hvert sumar til þings, ok nam ek hvert sumar nökkut af sögunni, er Halldór sagði Snorrason.'

[2] *Flatey.*, II, 127: 'Biornn het izlenzskr madr er for med þeim ok Gardaketill ok Astkell het madr ok þordar ij. *Ibid.*, 128: Rognvalldr [= Ragnarr, cf. *A. R.*, II, 198] ok Beornn ſok þeir hinir izlenzsku menn skulu ganga til tressins.' Cf. Rafn's note (*A.R.*, II, 195, 196) in which he endeavors to establish the identity of these individuals.

[3] III, 2, 1, in *Origines Islandicae* (Oxford, 1905), I, 123: 'Skautaðar-Skegge hét maðr ágaetr í Norege. Hans son vas Biaorn, es kallaðr vas Skinna-Biaorn; hann vas Holmgarðsfare.' Biaorn was doubtless a warrior-merchant of the type familiar in Rus of the early tenth century. A strict reading of the text, however, clearly conveys the idea that his voyage to Novgorod preceded his settlement in Iceland, so that his case can hardly be used as a basis for Braune's contention that 'Isländer tauchen in Russland schon frühzeitig auf' (*op. cit.*, p. 191). In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Scandinavians frequenting Russia for professional purposes must have been almost exclusively Swedes.

With the close of the reign of Yaroslav, contact between Scandinavia and Russia declined. From his death, the process of internal disintegration favored by the apanage system grew more and more acute. The Russian state which had finally subdued the nomad Pechenegs was not strong enough to withstand the Polovcians, who formed the next nomadic wave from the east. The trade route to the south was thus cut off. Northern commercial interest in the Dnieper valley as a line of communication now ceased. Scandinavians no longer pursued this route toward Constantinople. Indeed, after their mutiny in 1079, the old constituents of the Varangian guard were manifestly unpopular, so that under Alexius Comnenus, the latter was largely recruited from Anglo-Saxons who had left England after 1066 to escape the rigors of Norman rule.[1] The very scanty references to Scandinavian contacts preserved by the *Primary Chronicle*, dating from the second decade of the twelfth century, and therefore within 75 years of Yaroslav's death, demonstrate how little impression these relationships left outside circles directly affiliated with the Russian princes.

The importance of these Icelandic references to the age of Yaroslav lies rather in retrospect. They show that among the descendants of Rurik there existed a continuity of tradition associating them with the leading families of Scandinavia. The capacity of the outstanding princes of Kiev was, in fact, a product rather of Scandinavian energy than of Slavic inertia. The restricted character of Scandinavian influence in early Russian civilization is explicable on one hand by the proximity of Kiev to the superior culture of Byzantium, and on the other by the peculiar absorbent power which Russia has always exerted upon the immigrant. Furthermore, in view of even this evidence as to the intimate relationships between the Russian princes and their Scandinavian contemporaries, there can be little question but that the ultimate Scandinavian origin of the Russian princely house was clearly recognized by its members.

[1] Vasilievski, 'Варяго-Русская и Варяго-Английская Дружина в Константинополе,' *Журн. Мин. Народ. Прос.*, CLXXVI (March, 1875), 131–151.

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NOTES

L'EDUCATION SCIENTIFIQUE DE BOECE

Depuis 1877 avec l'*Anecdoton Holderi* d'Usener aucun aperçu d'ensemble n'avait été donné sur l'oeuvre et la vie de Boèce. Des travaux remarquables publiés en Autriche ou en Allemagne et dont le principal est la thèse de Mr Klingner [1] avaient fait depuis lors progresser sensiblement les études boéthiennes. Il restait à grouper les résultats de ces recherches afin de permettre aux mediévistes d'apprécier l'influence qu'exerça Boèce sur les siècles ultérieurs. Dans son ouvrage sur les *Founders of the Middle Ages*,[2] Mr le professeur Rand vient de mettre au point toutes les connaissances que nous possédons sur la vie de Boèce et sur ses ouvrages.

D'une façon claire et méthodique, le professeur Rand retrace la biographie du philosophe: issu d'une célèbre famille chrétienne, homme d'état, savant et philosophe, Boèce, comme Cicéron, contribua en Logique 'to create a new philosophical idiom.' [3] Ses conceptions sur la Musique sont originales, autant que la méthode qu'il suit dans ses traités théologiques, tout en s'inspirant des Pères et de St Augustin. Il est intéressant de constater que Mr Rand attribue à Boèce le traité *De Fide Catholica:* on peut admettre en effet que ce quatrième traité ait été écrit par le philosophe pour lui-même et sans être destiné à la publication.

A propos de la *Consolation*, Mr Rand donne un résumé très élégant de son travail antérieur 'On the Composition of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*' [4] dont les conclusions ont été reprises par Mr Klingner.

Emaillé de remarques spirituelles, ce chapitre est intéressant au plus haut point pour le *profanum uulgus* et pour les spécialistes. En effet, la grande question si longtemps débattue du Christianisme de Boèce s'y trouve, à mon avis, résolue d'une façon définitive et nouvelle. Mr Rand a constaté dans le Code de lois promulguées par Théodoric, que si Boèce n'avait pas été chrétien en dépit de sa naissance dans la famille des Anicii, il n'aurait pu obtenir aucune charge. L'analyse attentive de la *Consolation*, les circonstances de la mort du philosophe, l'enthousiasme populaire qui s'est manifesté tant de fois en sa faveur, enfin les *Acta Sanctorum* des Bol-

[1] Fr. Klingner, 'De Boethii Consolatione Philosophiae,' *Philol. Untersuchungen*, XXVII (1921).

[2] E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), Chap. V, pp. 135–181.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

[4] *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XV (1904), 1–28.

landistes, tout entraînait Mr Rand à souhaiter 'that someone influential with the Holy See would present a petition in favor of St Severinus or St Boethius.' [1] Non seulement Boèce est chrétien, mais encore 'he deserves canonization.'

Cette appréciation déduite de preuves solides avait déjà été celle du pape Leon XIII. Celui-ci, en effet, le 15 decembre 1883, confirmait par décret le culte rendu à St Boèce dans la province de Pavie le 23 octobre.[2] Le pape s'appuyait sur la tradition qui fait de Boèce un martyr: sa décision était due aux réclamations de prêtres italiens qui dans une série d'ouvrages réclamaient la canonisation.[3] Après les travaux de Mr Rand et de Mr Klingner,[4] le grand problème qui avait été l'objet de discussions sur Boèce a reçu une solution scientifique; la concordance est parfaite avec la solution sentimentale donnée par l'Eglise auparavant. Il y a cependant un point contestable dans la décision du Saint-Siège: je veux dire la condamnation du philosophe.

Pendant longtemps on a interprété la condamnation de Boèce comme le geste d'un roi hérétique contre un chrétien catholique. Mais au sixième siècle la distinction entre politique et religion était mal établie; et la crise qui a déterminé la mort de Boèce avait été provoquée par une mesure d'ordre politique autant que religieux. La conduite de Théodoric s'explique mieux lorsqu'on sait que notre sénateur patriote était à la fois un adversaire du régime goth et un chrétien ennemi des Ariens. Il se mêlait de plus à sa condamnation une cause d'ordre mystique qui devait rendre Boèce coupable aux yeux du peuple: on l'accusait de magie.[5] Un problème se pose que peu d'historiens ont relevé: comment cet homme d'état, ce logicien abstrait, ce savant mathématicien a-t-il été entraîné dans les sciences occultes? Il faut pour le comprendre examiner l'éducation que Boèce a reçu.

Tout jeune, *in armis puerilibus*,[6] ses tuteurs envoyèrent Boèce à Athènes faire ses études. Cassiodore et Ennodius nous disent qu'il y fit de brillants progrès. Athènes était la seule ville de l'Antiquité qui possédait à cette époque une Ecole de Philosophie. Dirigé par le Diadoque Paulus ou par Marinus, Boèce y fut alors initié au Néo-platonisme. Cette doctrine con-

[1] Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[2] *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, in *Compendium opportune redacta et illustrata studio J. Pennacchi et Vict. Piazzesi* XVI (Romae, S. C. de Prop. Fide, 1898), pp. 302–303. On trouve ce décret reproduit dans *Analecta Iuris Pontifici*, 23e série (1884), pp. 629–630.

[3] Cf. H. F. Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay* (London, 1891), Ch. I, p. 10.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

[5] 'Cuius dignitatem reatus ipsi etiam qui detulere viderunt, quam uti alicuius sceleris admixtione fuscarent, ob ambitium dignitatis *sacrilegio* me conscientiam polluisse mentiti sunt.' (*Cons. Philos.*, I, pr. IV, ed. Peiper, 15, 123; *Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 628. Nitzsch (*Das system des Boethius*) a établi le sens magique du mot *sacrilegium*.

[6] Ennodius, VII, 13 (*Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 120; *M.G.H.*, I, 7, p. 236). Cf. Cassiodore, Var. I, 45 (*Patr. Lat.*, LIX, 539; *M.G.H.*, I, 12, p. 406).

seillait d'abord aux adeptes l'étude des mathématiques pour exercer l'esprit; puis la lecture commentée d'Aristote servait d'introduction aux mystères de l'ascension vers le Bien. Impressionné à cause de sa jeunesse par l'enseignement rituel de l'Ecole, Boèce réalisa plus tard ce programme d'études mais jamais d'une façon originale: il ne fit que traduire des oeuvres au lieu d'en composer. D'ailleurs, Boèce prit goût à la logique d'Aristote, puisque durant presque toute sa vie il en commenta ou en traduisit des volumes, comme son contemporain (peut-être son condisciple) Simplicius. Sans prendre directement contact avec Aristote, Boèce l'étudia d'abord dans le commentaire de Porphyre traduit par Marius Victorinus. Puis l'abandonnant rapidement, il étudia les textes avec l'aide constante des commentaires de Victorinus qu'il plagia souvent.[1] Enfin dans ses douze dernières années, d'après Mr Rand,[2] Boèce écrivit ses ouvrages théologiques.

Ce savoir encyclopédique, caractérisant le néo-platonicien, étonnait ses contemporains. Cette science même devait lui être funeste: aux yeux du peuple, ce physicien parut un magicien. D'ailleurs cette opinion était exacte: tout en pratiquant la philosophie et les sciences techniques, Boèce cherchait encore, comme le lui avaient enseigné ses maîtres,[3] les *secreta naturae* et les *uias siderum;*[4] il tâchait de conformer sa conduite aux indications qu'il trouvait dans le ciel:[5] en un mot, il pratiquait l'Astro-

[1] Voir P. Monceaux, 'L'Ysagoge de Marius Victorinus' (*Philol. et Linguist. Mélanges L. Havet*, p. 295). J. Bidez, 'Boèce et Porphyre, '*Revue belge de Philol. et d'Hist.*, I (1923), 189–201.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

[3] Proclus, *In Plat. Timaeon* (ed. Balder, Bâle), p. 11 et p. 2. C'est l'enseignement de l'Ecole d'Athènes, je crois, qui le fit se tourner vers les mathématiques. Mr Rand (*op. cit.*, p. 146) croit que Boèce 'changea' de plan général, ou 'l'élargit,' ou peut-être le 'forma réellement pour la première fois' à ce moment. Il me semble que notre auteur ne faisait que continuer la tradition néo-platonicienne qui exigeait l'étude des mathématiques. Cf. A. Croiset, *Hist. de la Litt. grecque* (Paris, 1887–1899), VIII, 1031 sq.; E. Vacherot, *Hist. de l'École d'Alex.* (Paris, 1846–1851), II, 358.

[4] Cons. Philos., I, 4 (*Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 615; ed. Peiper, 11, 10). Un autre homme politique, Bacon, cherchera aussi les *secreta naturae*.

[5] Son intérêt pour la magie est bien indiqué par les vers suivants (*Cons. Philos.*, I, m. 2; *Patr. Lat.*, LVIII, 594; p. 6, l. 6):

Heu quam praecipiti mersa profundo
Mens hebet, et *propria luce relicta*
Tendit *in externas ire tenebras,*
Terrenis quotiens flatibus aucta
Crescit in immensum noxia cura.
Hic quondam *coelo liber aperto*
Suetus in aetherios ire meatus
Cernebat rosei lumina solis
Visebat gelidae sidera lunae.
. . . . . .

logie.[1] Théodoric avait déjà reprimé au commencement de son règne l'astrologie et la magie:[2] la punition était terrible. Lorsqu'on ajouta ce crime à ceux de lèse-majesté, il détermina la mort de Boèce.[3]

L'éducation dont Boèce suivit pendant toute sa vie toutes les prescriptions et qui fut un des motifs de sa mort, a une origine néo-platonicienne incontestable.[4] Mais son caractère essentiel, l'éclecticisme, n'est pas particulier aux disciples de Plotin: de tous temps il y eut des écoles éclectiques. Mais tandis que les Néo-Platoniciens tendaient par là à la contemplation plotinicienne et à l'assimilation à Dieu, ou à l'action politique de Proclus et de ses successeurs, Boèce fit oeuvre de savant et de chrétien. De son temps les écrits d'Aristote paraissaient contenir la science parfaite; adoptant les matériaux et le plan de conduite qu'on lui avait donnés à Athènes, notre philosophe les utilisa pour fournir à ses concitoyens les connaissances grecques et pour consolider certains points contestés du catholicisme.[5] C'est en ce sens que je soutiens le néo-platonisme de Boèce.

Nunc iacet *effeto lumine mentis*
Et pressus grauibus colla catenis
Decliuemque gerens pondere uultum
Cogitur *heu stolidum cernere terram.*

J'ai souligné intentionellement les passages laissant voir le sens mystique et profond de ces vers. Cf. également *Cons. Philos.*, I, m. 3. Plus loin Boèce, parlant à la Philosophie, dit: 'Talis habitus talisque uultus erat, cum tecum *naturae secreta* mirarer, cum mihi *siderum uias radio describeres*, cum *mores nostros totiusque uitae rationem ad caelestis ordinis exempla formare?*' *Cons. Philos.*, I, 4 (*Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 615; P. 11, 12).

[1] 'Omnem terrae ambitum, sicuti astrologicis demonstrationibus accepisti,' etc. *Cons. Philos.* II, 7 (*Patr., Lat.* LXIII, 709; P. 44, 9).

[2] Cassiodore, Var. IV, 23 (*Patr. Lat.*, LXIX, 625; *M.G.H.* I, 12, p. 124). Cf. E. K. Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[3] Cf. Code Theodos. V, 23; *Code Just.* IX, tit. 18, tit. 29 et 30. ed. P. Krueger (*Codex Justinianus recens. P. K.*, Berlin, 1877), pp. 836, 837 et 838. La peine de mort etait couramment appliquée pour ces délits.

[4] Boèce est toujours de l'avis de 'notre' Platon: *Cons. Philos.* I, 3 (*Patr. Lat.*, 606; P. 8, 16); III, 9 (*Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 797; P. 70, 94); III, 12 (*Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 777; P. 81, 1). Il reconnait qu'il a été nourri de la doctrine de l'Académie et des Eléates. 'Hunc vero eleaticis atque academicis studiis innutritum?' *Cons. Philos.* I, 1 (*Patr. Lat.*, L. 591; P. 5, 36). Enfin sa philosophie est une synthèse de toutes les doctrines de l'Antiquité; même le Stoicisme y est incorporé. 'Cuius haereditatem (nostri Platonis) cum deinceps epicureum uulgus ac stoicum ceterique pro sua quosque parte raptum ire molirentur, meque reclamantem renitentemque uelut in partem praedae traherent, uestem quam meis texueram manibus disciderunt, abreptisque ab ea panniculis totam me sibi cessisse credentes abiere,' etc., *Cons. Philos.* I, 3 (*Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 607; P. 8, 19). Cette philosophie synthétique est évidemment le Néo-platonisme. Ceci explique pourquoi Boèce émet des idées morales stoiciennes tout en critiquant fortement la physique (*Cons. Philos.* V, m. 4: *Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 850; P. 135, 1). L'Ecole d'Athènes n'avait adopté que la morale stoicienne et suivait la physique aristotélicienne.

[5] Boèce n'a écrit en effet ses traités que sur des sujets de dogme catholique touchant de près au Néo-Platonisme: Trinité, Unité, de Dieu Foi, etc. Il n'a d'ailleurs repris ces thèmes

Il fut un savant non seulement au sens scolastique et ancien du mot mais aussi au sens moderne. En avance sur son siècle, il comprit la valeur de l'expérience en s'adonnant à la physique et à l'astronomie, sans s'expliquer pourquoi on persécute les adeptes de cette dernière science. Il fut aussi un chrétien défenseur du catholicisme et mourant sinon pour la foi, du moins à cause d'elle. En résumé, Boèce employa toujours ce qu'il prenait pour la science, c'est à dire l'enseignement néo-platonicien, dans un but éducateur ou apologétique, au lieu d'en faire un moyen de contemplation égoiste[1] ou un instrument politique.

L'intention de Boèce s'est-elle réalisée et le Moyen-Age a-t-il bénéficié de la compilation immense opérée par le dernier Romain? Le problème est trop vaste pour être traité ici: nous nous contenterons de signaler quelques auteurs français qui ont connu et utilisé Boèce.

Un premier groupe d'écrivains se compose de ceux qui ont lu Boèce et constaté son importance. Les chroniqueurs, Marius évêque d'Avenches[2] par exemple, ne mentionnent que la mort de Boèce, à titre de fait historique: ils ne disent rien de son oeuvre. La première fois qu'on constate l'utilité de l'oeuvre de Boèce, c'est lors de cette Renaissance qui eut lieu sous Charlemagne, et c'est un français naturalisé, Alcuin, qui en parle.[3] Dans sa *Dialectique* il met à contribution surtout le *De Differentiis Topicis*. Un de ses élèves, Raban Maure, devait se servir de Boèce beaucoup plus, en utilisant la Logique et le traité *De Arithmetica* dans son *De Computo*.[4] Jusqu'à ce moment il n'y avait aucun auteur français proprement dit qui ait cité Boèce comme une autorité, Alcuin et Raban étant d'origine étrangère. Hucbald (840–930) fut le premier clerc français qui composa un ouvrage fondé sur le *De Musica* de Boèce:[5] ses *Scholia Enchiriadis de Arte Musica* et sa *Musica Enchiriadis* sont formées en majeure partie d'extraits de Boèce, sauf dans la deuxième partie du *Musica* où Hucbald expose des vues plus personnelles. Après Hucbald, nous rencontrons le plus illustre des

étudiés déjà par St Augustin que pour les étayer de preuves logiques (*De Trinitate Proemium, Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 1249; *Patr. Lat.*, V, 1293). Pour l'étude de ces traités voir Stewart: *Boethius*, V, pp. 108–159; E. K. Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 150 sq. Il est curieux de remarquer cette diminuition de la foi et ce retour à la raison, précédant le Moyen-Age essentiellement fidéiste.

[1] Sauf dans le *De Fide Catholica* dont Mr Rand dit: 'He drew it up, I should imagine, to clarify his thought and to provide a basis for further procedure.' *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

[2] Marius, episcopus Aventicensis, ed. Mommsen, *M. G. H.* I, 11, p. 235.

[3] Alcuin, 'Versus de Patribus Regibus et Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae,' V. 1547 (*M.G.H., Poet. Lat. Med. Aev.*, 14, T. I, p. 205, ed. Duemmler). Boèce n'est pas une source essentielle pour Alcuin: il utilise St Augustin et les Pères.

[4] Voir A. Ebert, *Hist. gen. de la Litt. du M. Age en Occident* (trad. Aymeric et Condamin, Paris, 1883–1889), II, i, 29.

[5] Je ne parle pas de Jean Scott Erigène qui a résidé moins longtemps en France. A son sujet voir le livre de Mr Rand, *Johannes Scotus*, 1906; *Founders of the Middle Ages*, p. 150.

admirateurs de Boèce: Gerbert, Pape sous le nom de Sylvestre III (999). Ce savant à l'esprit plus pratique que théorique chercha dans les oeuvres de Boèce des documents de toute nature sur les mathématiques et la dialectique.[1] En l'honneur de notre philosophe il composa une épigraphe célèbre, gravée sur le socle d'une statue de Boèce que l'empereur Otton III avait fait élever dans son palais.[2]

Au siècle suivant, Roscelin, imprégné de la *Logique* de Boèce, commence à découvrir dans l'*Ysagoge* une intention nominaliste.[3] Abélard utilisa la même source pour combattre cette opinion de Roscelin.[4] Un peu plus tard, Alain de Lille citera Boèce au même titre que Porphyre dans son *Anti-Claudianus*.[5] C'est la seule fois où on voit un auteur établir un rapprochement entre Boèce et les Néo-Platoniciens de l'Ecole d'Athènes.

Mais le plus beau titre de gloire de Boèce est d'avoir servi de base aux disputes sur le problème des Universaux. Les nominalistes français empruntèrent en effet leurs arguments à Guillaume d'Occam et celui-ci les avait tirés des oeuvres de Boèce.[6] Notre philosophe a ainsi apporté sa contribution à la création des sciences expérimentales et c'est lui qui a fourni les premiers arguments aux empiristes.

A côté de ces érudits qui admiraient Boèce et le prenaient comme autorité dans leurs travaux, il est un second groupe qui imita Boèce d'une façon plus ou moins scrupuleuse et intelligente.

Des sculpteurs naifs et inconnus ont tracé sur des cathédrales le portrait ébauché au début de la *Consolation:* ils n'ont oublié à la Philosophie ni l'échelle ni le sceptre. Parfois, moins ingenus, d'autres sculpteurs artistes ont idéalisé davantage la Philosophie, en se conformant moins strictement à l'image proposée par Boèce.[7] Les peintres ont également représenté dans leurs tableaux ou sur les miniatures de manuscrits la conception qu'ils se

[1] Cf. F. Picavet, *Gerbert, un Pape Philosophe d'après l'hist. et d'après le Leg.* (Paris, 1897. Bibl. Ec. Htes Et. Sc. Relig., T. IX).

[2] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXIV, 1509; P. p. XXXX.

[3] Cf. E. Bréhier, *Hist. de la Philos.* (Paris: Alcan, 1928), pp. 564–566. Picavet, 'Roscelin, Philos. et Theol.' (Ec. des Htes Et. Sc. Relig., Rapport, 1895–1896).

[4] Brehier, *op. cit.*, p. 584 sq. V. Cousin, *Ouvrages inéd. d'Abelard* (Paris, 1836), Introd. p. viii sq.

[5] *Anticlaudianus*, III, i (*Patr. Lat.*, CCX, 510–511). Le *De Planctu Naturae* est imité de la *Consolation*, surtout dans la description de la Philosophie (Migne, *op. cit.*, 431 sq.) Dans l'*Anticlaudianus* le rapprochement n'a d'ailleurs aucune rigueur: il groupe les principaux logiciens.

[6] E. Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 720 sq.

[7] E. Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe Siècle* (6e éd., Paris: Colin, 1925), pp. 112, 121; L. Bréhier, *L'Art Chrétien* (Paris: Renouard-Laurens, 1918), pp. 194, 284, relève l'origine néo-platonicienne de ces figures.

faisaient de Boèce et de certains passages de ses oeuvres,[1] surtout de la *Consolation*. Ce livre si populaire fut imité par Walahfrid Strabo dans ses *Versus de Imagine Tetrici*, où il critique violemment les tyrans. Avec Sedulius Scottus, professeur à Liège, nous trouvons un ouvrage, le *De Rectoribus Christianis*, qui adopte entièrement le plan de la *Consolation*. Prose et vers sont intercalés pendant une vingtaine de chapitres, et les vers sont de mètres divers tout comme chez Boèce.[2] On trouve comme chez Walahfrid une critique sévère des souverains injustes: Sedulius parle de Théodoric, mais ne dit rien sur Boèce (il ne voulait probablement pas donner ses références!) Hucbald, au contraire, imitant dans le premier chapitre de sa *Vie de St Lebuin* le procédé de Boèce, cite cet auteur, mais transforme la Philosophie *sapientia* en Jésus Christ.[3] Des poètes se sont emparés aussi des thèmes de la *Consolation:* l'auteur provençal de la *Vie de Boèce*, par exemple.[4] Mais c'est dans le *Roman de la Rose* qu'on reconnaît surtout l'influence de la *Consolation*. Mr Langlois a relevé dans sa thèse de nombreux passages ou Jean de Meun imite Boèce.[5] Plus tard Christine de Pisan dans *Le Livre du Chemin de Long Estude* reconnaît l'influence que Boèce exerça sur elle.[6] La plus célèbre transcription de la *Consolation* et en même temps la plus complète est le *De Consolatione Theologiae* de Gerson. Le cadre est identique à celui de Boèce; la forme alternante de prose et de

[1] L'ouvrage de H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), en donne deux reproductions, p. 18, 102. Ce travail remarquable est un apport très précieux pour l'étude de l'influence exercée par les Ecoles (et par Boèce aussi) sur les conceptions morales du Moyen-Age: je ne fais que renvoyer à cet ouvrage de première utilité, sans même en resumer tous les renseignements.

[2] *Patr. Lat.*, CIII, 291 sq. Les pièces de vers sont tout à fait analogues à celles de la *Consolation*. Par exemple, *Consol. Philos.* I, m. 3; *De R. Ch.* XVI.

[3] La citation est sans référence: 'Erat autem ut iam ante nos per quemdam sui amatorem de ea dictum est, *reuerendi admodum uultus oculis perspicacibus, colore uiuido, atque incxhausti uigoris, quatenus ita aeui plena foret ut nullo modo nostrae crederetur aetatis, statura discretionis ambiguae. Nam nunc quidem ad communem se hominum mensuram cohibebat; nunc uero pulsare caelum summi uerticis cacumine uidebatur. Quae cum altius caput extulisset ipsum etiam caelum penetrabat, respicientiumque hominum frustrabatur inuitum.*' Vita S. Lebwini (*Patr. Lat.*, CXXXII, 881). Le nom de Boèce n'est pas même donné. J'ai souligné les mots et les expressiones identiques à ceux de la *Consolation* (I, 1, *Patr. Lat.*, LXIII, 587; P. p. 4). La *Vie de Ste Aldegunde* (*Ibid.*, p. 681, 871) contient aussi des apparitions analogues.

[4] Cette vie a donné lieu à des travaux importants auxquels je renvoie. Stewart, *Boethius*, p. 178 sq.; Zingarelli, 'Il Boezio Provenzale e la Leggenda di Boezio,' Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, *Rend. conti*, Ser. 2, LIII (1920), 193–221.

[5] E. Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose* (Paris, 1890), pp. 94 sq., 136–138. Mr Langlois rapproche Alain de Lille de Boèce mais ne voit pas que Boèce a été la source d'Alain (p. 95).

[6] Ed. R. Püschel, v. 4121 (Paris, 1883), p. 176. Cf. vers 202 à 302.

vers est la même. Gerson a voulu compléter simplement la *Consolation de la Philosophie* par une consolation apportée par la Théologie.[1]

Bien qu'ayant eu une énorme influence, la *Consolation* ne fut pas la seule oeuvre de Boèce qui ait été imitée. Un auteur medieval très important, Jean de Murs, donna un abrégé du *De Musica* de Boèce sous le titre de *Musica Speculativa:* cet ouvrage fut très répandu au Moyen-Age. L'*Arithmétique* de Jean de Murs est tirée également du *De Arithmetica* de Boèce.[2] Dans ses *Glossae super Sphaeram* le chancelier de l'Université de Montpellier, Robert l'Anglais, utilisa Boèce:[3] il cite cet auteur comme source générale mais n'indique pas les références exactes.

Dans cette énumeration trop brève des principaux écrivains français mediévaux qui ont bénéficié de l'érudition ou de la culture de Boèce, j'ai omis à dessein les théologiens. Les traités théologiques de Boèce ont servi de fondement à la plupart des discussions scolastiques et il aurait été trop long même d'énumerer les théologiens qui ont étudié Boèce.[4] L'étude du rôle des autres escrits de Boèce au Moyen-Age me semble dégager deux conclusions. Les écrits de Logique ou de Mathématique ont été utilisés comme point de départ vers des recherches ultérieures, tandis que l'oeuvre morale a été reproduite presque toujours intégralement dans sa forme et dans son fonds. La culture étendue de Boèce a donc servi de base aux recherches scientifiques (scolastiques et mathématiques) tout en étant d'un autre côté la source d'un courant poétique et artistique fécond. Mais il y a un deuxième résultat beaucoup plus intéressant: c'est que personne n'a reconnu dans les oeuvres de Boèce une source philosophique. Aucun auteur mediéval n'a songé à rapprocher Boèce d'une Ecole quelconque: on l'a utilisé comme point de départ absolu.[5] Peu à peu les penseurs du Moyen-Age se sont ainsi pénétrés de la culture néo-platonicienne dont Boèce était imprégné, et en adoptant sa méthode scolastique, ils n'ont fait que continuer la tradition scientifique instaurée par Porphyre.[6] Le but

[1] Les poèmes surtout sont à rapprocher de ceux de la *Consolation. J. Gersonii Opera Omnia* El. du Pin ed. (Anvers, 1706), I, 130 sq. Le but de Gerson est expliqué par lui-même: 'Propterea sub compendio procedentes, inducemus Theologiam inchoantem uerbum ab illo supremo quo Philosophia consolationem suam apud Boethium terminauit,' I, 121 (*ibid.*, p. 133). La différence vient de l'emploi du dialogue plus souvent que Boèce ne l'a fait.

[2] Cf. Pierre Duhem, *Le Systeme du Monde* (Paris: Herman, 1916), IV, 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, V, 291.

[4] Un exemple de discussion est donne par Duhem, *op. cit.*, V, 285–316. Cf. pour la liste de quelques théologiens les ouvrages de Stewart, *Boethius*, pp. 241–257; Brehier, *Hist. de la Philos.*, I, 641 sq.

[5] Il ne fut pas le seul auteur dans le même cas; Cassiodore, Isidore de Seville, Bède furent également utilisés comme source fondamentale de connaissances.

[6] J. Bidèz, 'Vie de Porphyre,' *Receuil de Trav. Publ. par la Fac. de Philos. et de Lettres de l'Univ. de Grand*, 43e fasc. (1913), p. 62.

seul de la science aura changé: au lieu d'avoir pour fin l'ascension vers l'Un abstrait, la science va servir, comme le dit la formule célèbre d'Alcuin, d'*ancilla theologiae*. L'importance considérable de Boèce me paraît justement consister en ce qu'il servit de pivot entre les deux états d'esprit, en participant profondément à la science profane et à la foi chrétienne, et dans un autre sens, en préparant par sa dialectique et ses travaux scientifiques l'avénement de la science expérimentale.[1]

[1] J'ai omis de faire remarquer le parallèle interessant établi par Mr Rand entre Villon et Boèce (*op. cit.*, p. 170): il y a certainement un rapprochement à faire entre les deux; Villon ayant fait des études classiques sérieuses (il était maître ès arts) devait connaître Boèce.

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L'HARMONIE DES SPHERES SELON BOECE

Lorsque Boèce écrivit son *De Institutione Musica*, il s'est manifestement inspiré des traités théoriques de Nicomaque de Gérase. Qu'il s'agisse du son, des consonances, de la voix, des instruments, de l'harmonie cosmique, nous retrouvons presque partout chez Boèce non seulement les théories de Nicomaque, mais aussi sa manière de les exposer. Souvent, Boèce cite Nicomaque comme étant sa source. Si nous ne trouvons pas toujours chez l'auteur grec l'équivalent des théories émises par l'auteur latin, la raison en est que nous avons perdu une partie des écrits du premier, notamment un Περὶ Μουσικῆς dont il ne nous reste que des fragments.[1] Dans ce cas, c'est toujours chez un théoricien de la même école, l'école pythagoricienne, que nous découvrirons ce qui nous manque chez Nicomaque. Ces quelques mots sont nécessaires pour comprendre ce qui va suivre.

De toute l'oeuvre de Boèce, je n'examinerai ici que ce qui concerne l'Harmonie des Sphères.[2]

Comme presque tous les théoriciens antérieurs, Boèce divise la musique en trois espèces: la première est celle du monde, la deuxième est produite par la voix humaine, la troisième provient d'instruments soit solistes, soit accompagnateurs. La musique ou harmonie cosmique se manifeste dans le ciel lui-même, dans l'union des quatre éléments et dans la variété des saisons.[3]

[1] Cf. Karl von Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 224; Ch.-Em. Ruelle, *Manuel d'Harmonique* [*de Nicomaque de Gérase*] (traduction, Paris, 1881), p. 5.

[2] Je me propose de publier un jour le résultat de mes recherches sur les sources musicales de Boèce. Dès à présent, je renvoie le lecteur à la dissertation (incomplète et un peu superficielle) de Mieckley sur le même sujet: G. Mieckley, *De Boëthii libri de Musica primi fontibus*, diss. Jena, 1898.

[3] Boèce, *De Institutione Musica*, I, 2.

L'Harmonie des Sphères n'est donc qu'une des manifestations de l'harmonie cosmique.

Tout ce qui est en mouvement produit un son.[1] Or les corps célestes parcourant l'espace avec rapidité ne peuvent se déplacer silencieusement: 'Comment, en effet, pourrait-il se faire que la machine si rapide du ciel puisse se mouvoir dans une course muette et silencieuse. Bien que ce son ne parvienne pas à nos oreilles (cela tient nécessairement à de nombreuses causes), il serait impossible que des corps, lorsqu'ils se meuvent si rapidement, ne produisent, d'aucune façon, des sons. . . .'[2] Nicomaque est du même avis: 'Les noms des sons doivent avoir été empruntés aux sept astres qui parcourent le ciel et roulent autour de la terre. En effet, on dit (dans l'école pythagoricienne) que tous les corps qui tournent rapidement . . . produisent nécessairement des bruits qui diffèrent entre eux par la grandeur et le lieu du son. . . .'[3]

Boèce dit que si nous n'entendons pas la musique céleste, cela tient à de nombreuses causes. Il ne les donne pas. Nicomaque, dans son Manuel, promet aussi à la dame à qui il dédie celui-ci, de lui expliquer plus tard les raisons pour lesquelles la symphonie cosmique ne parvient pas jusqu'à nous.[4] Les Pythagoriciens cependant l'avaient expliqué. Nous trouvons, en effet, chez Aristote:

> Comme il pourrait sembler bizarre que nous ne l'entendions pas (le bruit), ils (les Pythagoriciens) en donnent cette cause: c'est qu'il n'y a bruit (entendu) que pour les bruits qui se produisent à un moment donné. Le bruit n'est pas perçu quand il n'a pas son contraire, le silence. En effet, ce n'est que par rapport l'un à l'autre que nous percevons le silence et le bruit: c'est ainsi que les forgerons habitués au même bruit finissent par ne plus l'entendre.[5]

Or, il se fait que, en collationnant les manuscrits du *De institutione Musica* de Boèce qui se trouvent à la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, j'ai trouvé dans deux manuscrits dont la parenté paraît très proche, une scholie (la même dans les deux codices) qui traite de la même question avec plus de détails.[6] Comme cette note marginale est placée en regard du texte de Boèce précité et que, de plus, elle est inédite, je n'hésite pas à la transcrire ici:

[1] Boèce, *loc. cit.*, I, 3; Aristote, *De Anima*, VIII, 2; Euclide, *Divisio canonis*, p. 23 (Meibaum), p. 148 (v. Jan).

[2] Boèce, *loc. cit.* I, 2.

[3] Nicomaque, *Enchiridion*, p. 241 (v. Jan).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 242 (v. Jan).

[5] Aristote, *De caelo*, II, 9; Cf., A.E. Chaignet, *Pythagore et la philosophie pythagoricienne* (2. éd., Paris, 1874), II, 148 sq.

[6] *Codex Parisinus latinus 7200*, fol. 4 verso (fin du IX[e] siècle); *Codex Parisinus latinus 10275*, fol. 5 recto (XI[e] siècle).

Dum musica caelestis ex subtilioribus conficitur, sine ulla inconuenientia sonorissima comprehenditur: nam, latenter, ex superioribus ad inferiora usque ad auditus nostros effunditur, quamuis eam propter consuetudinem non sentimus: sic sunt illi qui circa *κατάβαθμον* habitant, id est *descensum Nili;* si autem aliquis in altero mundo nasceretur, si possibile esset, ut Sanctus Augustinus affirmat, in hunc mundum postea uenisset, eam (musicam) sine ullo impedimento audiret eique ultra uires placuisset musica autem quamuis terrestris nobis placuerit; tamen, quia ex corpulentioribus elementis efficitur, uix sine aliqua incongruitate inuenitur. Et notandum quia (quod, *cod. Paris. lat. 10275*), sicut multa anima agit, illa ipsa nesciente, ut capilli ungulaeque crescunt, sic etiam multa in auditu ipsius aguntur quae eam propter consuetudinem latent ut sonitus planetarum.

On remarquera que le scholiaste prétend que ceux qui habitent aux alentours des chutes du Nil [1] ne les perçoivent pas parce qu'ils ont l'habitude de les entendre. Ce n'est pas l'avis de Macrobe (que l'on peut, au point de vue musical, placer parmi les adeptes de l'école pythagoricienne).[2] Celui-ci croit, au contraire, que:

Nous n'entendons pas la musique provenant de la révolution éternelle du ciel, parce que le son est trop grand pour être saisi par la faiblesse de l'ouïe humaine; en effet, si les chutes (Catadupa) du Nil échappent à l'ouïe des riverains à cause de la grandeur de leur fracas, qu'y a-t-il d'étonnant si le son qu'émet le mouvement de la masse du monde dépasse notre faculté d'audition? [3]

Voilà donc trouvées, chez des Pythagoriciens, deux des nombreuses causes que Nicomaque et Boèce nous faisaient prévoir et qu'ils ne nous ont pas données. Il appartiendra à un théoricien moderne de reprendre ces idées en les illustrant par des exemples plus nombreux.[4]

Partant du principe que les astres, en se déplaçant, produisent chacun un son toujours le même et différent des autres, les Anciens crurent et cherchèrent à démontrer qu'il y avait des rapports intimes entre ces astres et les cordes de la lyre.[5]

Boèce n'a pas échappé à cette tendance. Selon lui:

. . . entre les cordes, à partir de l'hypate des moyennes jusqu'à la nète, et les astres, il existe une certaine analogie d'ordre et de distinction. En effet, l'hypate des moyennes est attribuée à Saturne; la parhypate est semblable au cercle de Jupiter. On rapproche de Mars la lichanos des moyennes. Le Soleil obtient la mèse. Vénus possède la trite des conjointes. Mercure régit la paranète des conjointes. La nète prend exemple sur le cercle de la Lune.[6]

[1] *κατάβαθμον* est un apex.

[2] Cf. Ch. Schmidt, *Quaestiones de Musicis scriptoribus Romanis* (diss. Giessen, 1899), p. 58.

[3] Macrobe, *Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, II, iv, 14 (Eyssenhardt).

[4] Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1637), II, 358 sq.

[5] Cf. Th. Reinach, 'La Musique des Sphères,' *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, XIII (1900), 432 sq.

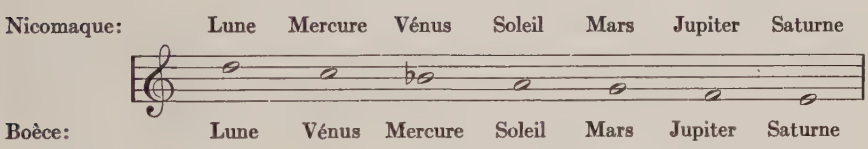
[6] Boèce, *loc. cit.*, I, 27.

Prenons le texte de Nicomaque tel qu'il se trouve dans son Manuel:

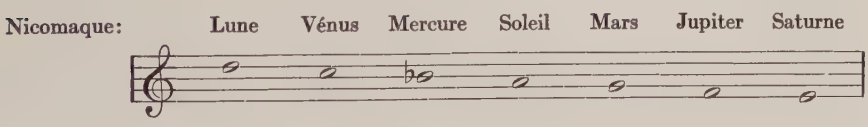
Maintenant, en raison du mouvement de Cronos qui est la planète située le plus au-dessus de nous, le son le plus grave dans le diapason (l'octave) a été nommé *ὑπάτη, hypate*, car *ὕπατον* signifie le plus élevé. En raison du cours de la Lune, placée au rang le plus bas et le plus près de la terre, on a dit *νεάτη, nète*, car *νέατον* signifie le plus bas.[1] Parmi les deux autres astres situés de chaque côté, à l'un celui de Zeus en-dessous de Cronos, correspond la *parhypate;* à l'autre, celui d'Aphrodite, situé au-dessus de la Lune, la *paranète*. L'astre le plus central, qui est le Soleil, placé le quatrième à partir de chaque extrême, devient la *mèse*, placée à l'intervalle de quarte de l'un et l'autre son extrême dans l'heptacorde antique, de même que le Soleil parmi les sept planètes est au quatrième rang à partir de chaque astre extrême puisqu'il occupe le point moyen. Parmi les deux astres situés de chaque côté du Soleil, à l'un, Arès, à qui échut la sphère placée entre Zeus et le Soleil, correspond l'*hypermèse* appelée aussi *lichanos;* et à l'autre, Hermès, occupant le milieu entre Aphrodite et le Soleil, la *paramese*.[2]

Nous constaterons que Boèce a suivi presqu'entièrement l'ordre adopté par Nicomaque dans son Manuel. Seuls deux noms sont intervertis. C'est ainsi que Boèce attribue à Vénus la *trite*, à Mercure la *paranète*, tandis que chez Nicomaque, la *paramèse* (qu'on appelle aussi trite) échoit à Hermès (Mercure) et la *paranète* à Aphrodite (Vénus).

Mr Th. Reinach[3] transcrit ce diagramme comme suit:



en prétendant (p. 436, note 1) que C. von Jan s'est trompé dans sa transcription du texte de Nicomaque:



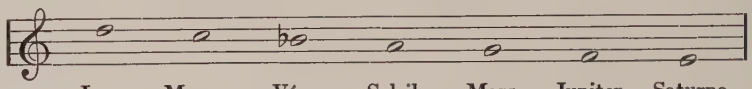
[1] Par *le plus bas, le plus élevé*, il ne faut pas entendre ici la hauteur du son, mais la position de la note dans le diagramme; or, dans les diagrammes antiques, la note la plus élevée au point de vue *son* était placée au bas du diagramme et vice versa. F. A. Gevaert (*La Musique de l'Antiquité*, II, 253) explique ainsi cette anomalie: 'L'exécutant tenait l'instrument (la lyre) sur le genou entre les bras, les cordes les plus graves tournées vers le dehors selon l'usage des violonistes et des harpistes modernes. Une semblable position explique d'une façon plausible la dénomination de *suprême* ou supérieure (hypate) à la corde la plus grave et par contre coup, celle d'*infime* dernière (nète) dont on qualifiait la plus aigüe.'

[2] Nicomaque, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 sq. (Meibaum); pp. 241 sq. (v. Jan).

[3] Th. Reinach, *loc. cit.*, p. 435; cf. C. v. Jan, *loc. cit.*, p. 242.

En réalité, c'est Mr Reinach lui-même qui tombe dans l'erreur et nous transcrirons *momentanément* les deux textes grec et latin par:

Nicomaque: Lune Vénus Mercure Soleil Mars Jupiter Saturne



Boèce: Lune Mercure Vénus Soleil Mars Jupiter Saturne

Peut-on expliquer la contradiction qui existe entre Nicomaque et Boèce concernant la place de Vénus et de Mercure? Oui, car on peut très bien supposer que Nicomaque, pressé par le temps lors de la composition de son Manuel, se soit trompé et qu'il ait redressé son erreur dans son ouvrage suivant, le Περὶ Μουσικῆς qui doit avoir été la véritable source de Boèce. Ce qui nous fortifie dans cette opinion, c'est une remarque du compilateur à qui nous devons les fragments de Nicomaque et qui nous indique l'erreur commise dans le manuel par cet auteur:

. . . τὴν δὲ Παρανήτην — *scil.* Νικόμαχος κεκλῆσθαί φησιν — οὐ κατὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἀφροδίτην, ἀτάκτως, εἰ μὴ γραφικὸν εἴη τὸ πταῖσμα . . . τὴν δὲ τρίτην κατὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην . . .[1]

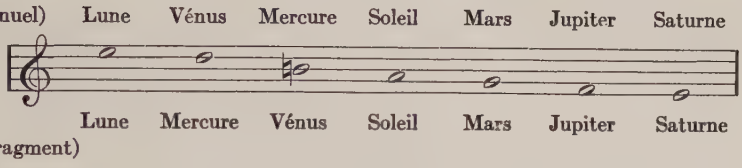
Nicomaque dit . . . que la paranète a été rapportée non pas à Hermès (Mercure) mais *irrégulièrement* à Aphrodite (Vénus), à moins qu'il n'y ait une faute dans le texte . . . la trite à Aphrodite. Ne voyons-nous pas, par ce passage, que la paranète doit être attribuée à Hermès (Mercure) sans quoi Aphrodite (Vénus) donnerait son nom à deux cordes, la paranète et la trite.

Mr Reinach fait remarquer en outre que le type de gamme transcrit plus haut ne doit pas appartenir à Pythagore: 'car l'harmonie pythagoricienne embrassait par définition une octave entière même lorsqu'elle ne comptait que sept cordes.' Son observation est exacte. Mais pourquoi veut-il, de même que C. von Jan, transcrire le texte de Nicomaque par:

La raison qu'il donne, à savoir que Nicomaque dit expressément que la mèse est à la quarte des deux sons extrêmes, ne me paraît pas suffisante. A bien examiner le texte de Nicomaque, on trouve que: 'En raison du mouvement de Cronos . . . le son le plus grave dans le *diapason* (octave) a été nommé ὑπάτη, *hypate*.' Or, nous ne trouvons pas d'octave dans la transcription de C. von Jan et de Mr Reinach. De plus, le texte sur

[1] *Excerpta ex Nicomacho*, C. 3, p. 33 (Meibaum), p. 272 (v. Jan).

lequel se base Mr Reinach pour donner cette transcription peut être interprété d'une autre façon. On peut considérer *διὰ τεσσάρων πρὸς ἀμφότερα ἄκρα* comme étant une simple étymologie du mot *μέση*. Et de fait, la mèse était bien à la quarte de l'un et l'autre son extrême, mais *ἔν γε τῇ ἑπταχόρδῳ κατὰ τὸ παλαιόν*, dans l'heptacorde antique (avant Pythagore). A l'époque de Pythagore, la mèse était encore, d'après la gamme de Philolaos, corde-milieu au point de vue place dans la succession des cordes mais non plus au point de vue intervalle.[1] Nicomaque aura comparé le *Soleil* a la *mèse* parce qu'il est astre-milieu dans la succession des corps célestes comme la mèse est corde-milieu dans la succession des cordes. Je pense donc que la véritable interprétation du texte de Nicomaque est celle-ci:



c'est-à-dire un heptacorde embrassant une octave (deux tétracordes disjoints, dont l'un est défectif).[2]

Je prévois l'objection que l'on pourrait faire à mon interprétation. Lorsque Boèce donne la concordance entre les cordes et les astres, il attribue à Saturne l'hypate des *moyennes*, à Mars la lichanos des *moyennes*, à Vénus la trite des *conjointes*, à Mercure la paramète des *conjointes*. Mr Reinach constate que Boèce a écrit le mot *nète* sans l'adjectif *συνημμένων*, *des conjointes* (il aurait pu aussi faire la même remarque pour les mots parhypate et mèse auxquels, dans ce cas, il manquerait respectivement les mots *μέσων* et *συνημμένων*. Il aimerait suppléer à ce qu'il considère probablement comme une omission de Boèce et ajouter au mot *mèse* l'adjectif *συνημμένων*.[3] On se trouverait donc en face de deux tétracordes conjoints dont l'ambitus serait d'une septième (puisqu'un tétracorde, par définition, comprend un intervalle de quarte) et alors, le texte de Boèce ne pourrait s'adapter au texte de Nicomaque tel que je l'interprète. Aussi, contrairement à

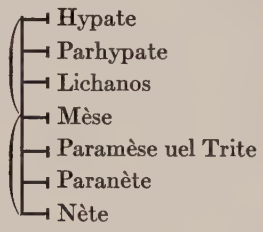
[1] Cf. Philolaos, ap. Nicom., *Enchiridion*, p. 17 (Meibaum), p. 252 (v. Jan).

[2] Cette gamme est celle qu'Aristote (*Pr.* XIX, 32) semble attribuer à Terpandre et Nicomaque (*l. c.*) non pas à Philolaos, comme le prétend M. Reinach (*Musique Grecque*, Paris: Payot, 1926, p. 11, note), mais à un musicien beaucoup plus ancien; cf. Ch. Em. Ruelle, *op. cit.*, p. 27, note 4. Je n'ai pas à examiner ici la valeur de l'interprétation de Nicomaque concernant le texte de Philolaos. Cf. F. A. Gevaert, *Musique de l'Antiquité* (Ghent, 1875–81), II, appendice 3 (Wagener), p. 634 et Th. Reinach. Eug. d'Eichtal, 'Problèmes musicaux attribués à Aristote' (*Revue des Etudes Grecques*, XIII, 1900), 33.

[3] Th. Reinach, *La Musique des Spheres*, *op. cit.*, p. 435, note 2.

Mr Reinach, je pense qu'il ne faut pas ajouter le mot *συνημμένων*[1] mais que, de plus, il faut considérer les mots *μέσων* (des moyennes) et *συνημμένων* (des conjointes) adjoints aux autres cordes comme étant la conséquence d'une erreur commise par Boèce dans un paragraphe précédent.

Prouvons-le. Avant de donner l'ordre des astres et des cordes, Boèce dit: 'Je crois devoir ajouter ceci seulement, au sujet des premiers tétracordes (*de superioribus tetrachordis*), à savoir qu'entre les cordes à partir de l'hypate des moyennes jusqu'à la nète, et les astres, il existe une certaine analogie d'ordre et de distinction.'[2] De quels tétracordes s'agit-il? Nous ne pouvons pas traduire '*de superioribus tetrachordis*' par 'des tétracordes les plus élevés,' sans quoi nous obtiendrions ou bien les tétracordes des disjointes et des hyperboléennes si nous nous plaçons au point de vue hauteur du son, ou bien les tétracordes des hypates et des moyennes si nous nous plaçons au point de vue de la position de ces tétracordes dans le système parfait. Comme ces tétracordes n'étaient pas encore créés à l'époque où l'on eut l'idée de comparer les astres aux cordes, il ne peut donc être question ici que des deux premiers tétracordes décrits par Boèce dans le chapitre qui traite 'De l'addition des cordes et de leurs noms'[3] et que Terpamdre, selon Boèce,[4] a obtenus en ajoutant une septième corde aux six cordes primitives *par analogie avec les sept planètes:*



Lorsque Lycaon, toujours selon Boèce, ajouta une huitième corde, 'il la plaça entre la paramèse qu'on appelle aussi trite et la paranète.'[5] Or, Lycaon n'aurait pu accomplir cette transformation que si l'heptacorde qui précède n'embrassait une octave et était composé de deux tétracordes disjoints dont l'une était défectif c'est-à-dire que si cet hepta corde était semblable à celui que j'attribue à Nicomaque. Lorsque, quelques lignes

[1] Aucun des manuscrits que j'ai collationés (Paris, *lat. 7181, 7199, 7600, 7201, 10275 nouv. acq. lat. 1618;* Bruges, *lat. 531;* Einsiedeln, *lat. 298, 358*) ne donne *nète συνημμήνων* pas plus que les manuscrits collationnés par Friedlein.

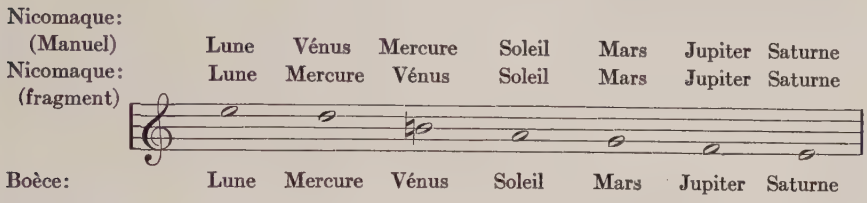
[2] Boèce, *op. cit.*, I, 27.

[3] *Ibid.*, 20, p. 207 (Friedlein).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 206, l. 10 (Friedlein).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 207, 11, 8 sqq.

plus loin,[1] Boèce annonce que cet heptacorde est formé de deux tétracordes *conjoints*, il se contredit et commet une erreur (*συνημμένων*) qu'il répétera lors de la comparaison des astres et des cordes en l'aggravant encore (inconsciemment et pour se mettre d'accord avec lui-même) par l'adjonction du mot *μέσων* (des moyennes) à deux de ces cordes. Cette erreur, que je considère comme toute formelle, provient du fait que Boèce ne se contente pas seulement de copier Nicomaque mais qu'il cherche aussi à le compléter et à l'interpréter.[2] Aussi, je crois que, lorsqu'il s'est occupé de l'harmonie des sphères, il avait en vue l'heptacorde qu'il attribue à Terpandre et que Nicomaque a décrit selon Philolaos. L'Harmonie des Sphères selon Nicomaque et Boèce serait donc celle-ci:


Nicomaque: (Manuel) Lune Vénus Mercure Soleil Mars Jupiter Saturne
Nicomaque: (fragment) Lune Mercure Vénus Soleil Mars Jupiter Saturne
Boèce: Lune Mercure Vénus Soleil Mars Jupiter Saturne

Roger Bragard,
Angleur, Belgique.

FRANCO-SAXON ORNAMENTATION IN A BOOK OF TOURS

The script of Tours, especially as practised at the monastery of St Martin's, reached its acme about the year 830, if my estimate is correct, and held a sovereign position among the other French styles for about thirty years. The art of ornamentation was a bit slower both to develop and to degenerate; it was still at the summit when the script had begun to run downhill. Surely by 870, the artists of Tours had made their full contribution to both script and illumination, and yielded the palm to a new rival. This was the Franco-Saxon style, which owed much in both script and illumination to Tours, was vigorously cultivated at various northern centres, and soon acquired a general vogue. Is it not antecedently probable that it should be imitated, to some extent at least, even at Tours?

In a volume called *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, to be published by the Mediaeval Academy of America and now in press, I have assembled

[1] Boèce, *op. cit.*, p. 207, ll. 21 sqq.

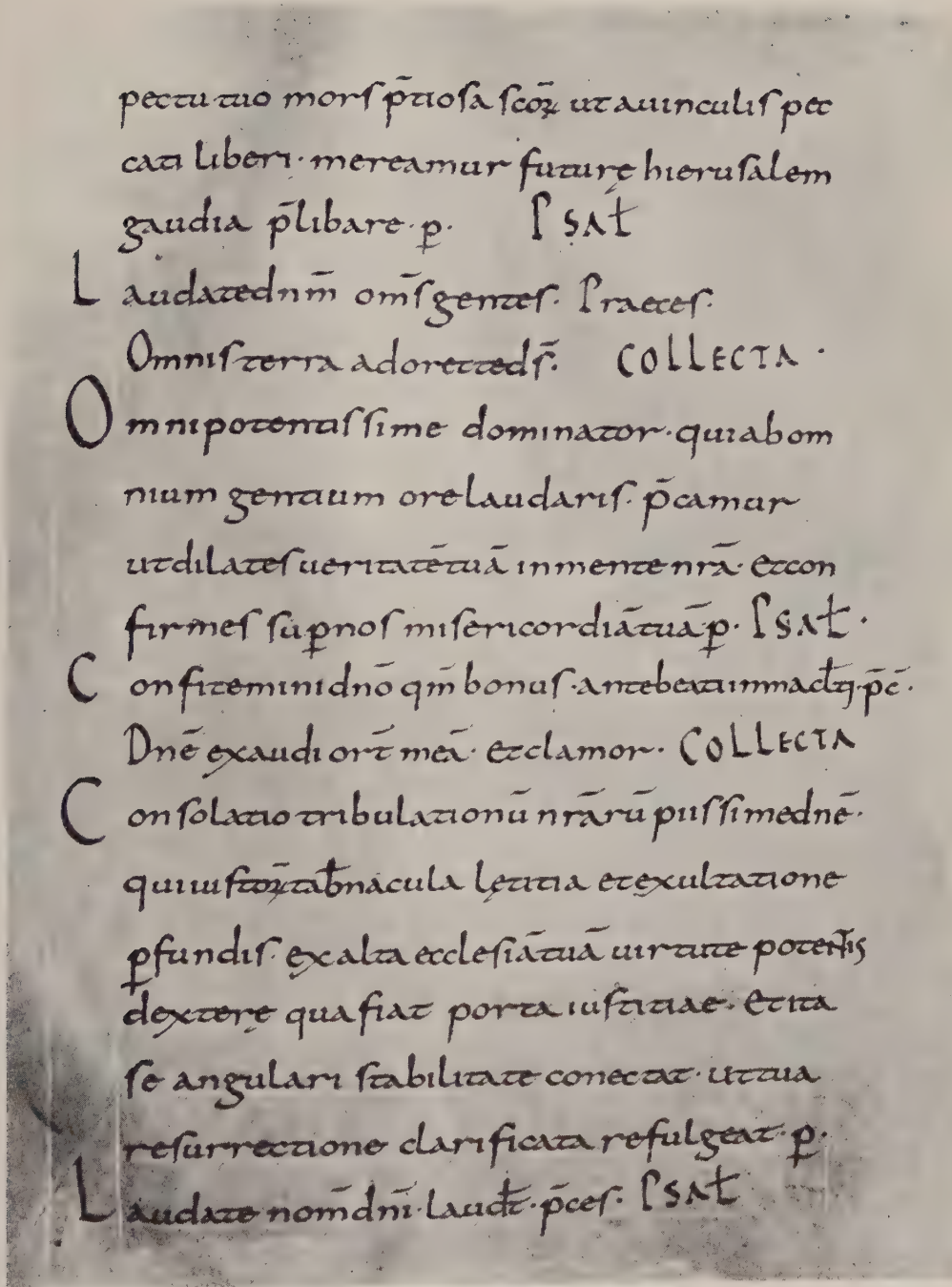
[2] Voici un exemple où Boèce complète, d'une heureuse façon, Nicomaque: Nicomaque, *op. cit.*, p. 35 (Meibaum), p. 274 (v. Jan): '*Προφραστός τε ὁ Πιερίτης τὴν ἐνάτην χορδὴν προσκαθῆψε, καὶ Ἰστιαῖος τὴν δεκάτην ὁ Κολοφώνιος, Τιμόθεος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἑνδεκάτην.*' Boèce, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 sq. (Friedlein): 'Prophrastus autem Periotes *ad grauiorem partem* unam addidit chordam ut faceret enneachordum . . . Histiaeus vero Colophonius decimam *in grauiorem partem* coaptavit chordam, Timotheus uero Milesius undecimam.'

a little group of manuscripts which for various reasons are to be associated with Tours and which, for all that, show clearly Franco-Saxon or Insular influence in the ornamentation. Many will arise to call me anything but blessed for this suggestion, particularly when I proceed to associate with this little group certain well-known books that few at the present moment would ascribe to Tours. I am aware that I am offering too much: at the same time, I find it difficult to draw the line.

Meanwhile, I am indebted to my friend Charles Niver, who in the course of his investigation of the books of St Germain des Près came upon one which he quite rightly divined would be grist to my mill. It is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (*lat. 13388*), a volume of 108 leaves of medium size (216 × 166 mm.) written in one column (155 × 115 mm.) of 18 lines. It contains the *Confessio S. Fulgentii* and other matter — some of it highly interesting, though it cannot detain us here. Nothing is surer than that the book was written at St Martin's. The script is of that period (I call it Period VII) which immediately succeeds the best work of the mid-century: it is still the 'Perfected Style,' but symptoms of deterioration have begun to set in. In a book of this period, I should be exceedingly surprised if the manner of ruling the pages were not what I have called N(ew) S(tyle). I have treated this matter in Lindsay's *Palaeographia Latina* V (1927) and shall revert to it, with many more illustrations, in my forthcoming volume. The book of St Germain, I speedily discovered, is plainly N. S. in its ruling. The character of its abbreviations also conforms to the system which, as I shall show in my book, prevailed in the mid-century.

We can be still more precise. I have noted one scribe whose work appears in two books of Period VII (*London, B.M. Add. 11849* and *Paris, B. N. lat. 267*) and in one of the ensuing period (*Library of A. Chester Beatty, London*, 11, Hand A) and who has the curious trick of putting a superfluous stroke above the symbol of abbreviation for *-orum; σψ* would suffice, but he will have it $\bar{\sigma}\psi$. Nobody else at St Martin's, to the best of my knowledge, ever did the like. Now it is possible that the manuscript of St Germain is the work of two scribes. If so, their work is remarkably uniform. I prefer to see only one scribe at work, who from time to time changes his traits. One of these is the occasional use of $\bar{\sigma}\psi$. See Plate I, l. 1. A minute comparison of this hand with that in the books above-mentioned shows that it is the same. I feel also, though I cannot precisely prove, that the book belongs in the earlier rather than the later period of the scribe's career — possibly before the use of $\bar{\sigma}\psi$ had become a fixed habit.

If the above remarks and the specimen of the scribe's work in Plate I attest the characteristics of Tours in the script, Plate II is abundant proof that those characteristics are no less present in the ornamentation of the book. The lettering here and elsewhere is alternately red and gold.



peccatuo morsꝑ̄ uiosa scō̄z ut a uinculis pec
cata liberi · mereamur future hierusalem
gaudia ꝑ̄libare · ꝑ̄. ℣ SAT
Laudate dnm̄ omℓ gentes · ℣ quoniam
Omnis terra adoret te dℓ. COLLECTA ·
Omnipotentissime dominator · qui ab om
nium gentium ore laudaris · ꝑ̄ amar
ut dilatet ueritatē tuā̄ in mente nr̄ā · et con
firmet sup nos misericordiā tuā̄ ꝑ̄ · ℣ SAT ·
Confitemini dnō̄ qm̄ bonus · ante beata immaculata ꝑ̄ ·
Dnē exaudi orōn̄ meā̄ · et clamor · COLLECTA
Consolatio tribulationū nr̄ārū piissime dnē ·
qui uisitatoria tabnacula lētitia et exultatione
ꝑfundis · exalta ecclesiā tuā̄ uirtute potentis
dextere qua fiat porta iustitiae · et ita
se angulari stabilitate conectat · ut tua
resurrectione clarificata refulgeat · ꝑ̄ ·
Laudate nom dnī · laudate · ꝑ̄ · ℣ SAT

PLATE I

Paris, *B. N. lat. 13.388.* fol. 72^{v}

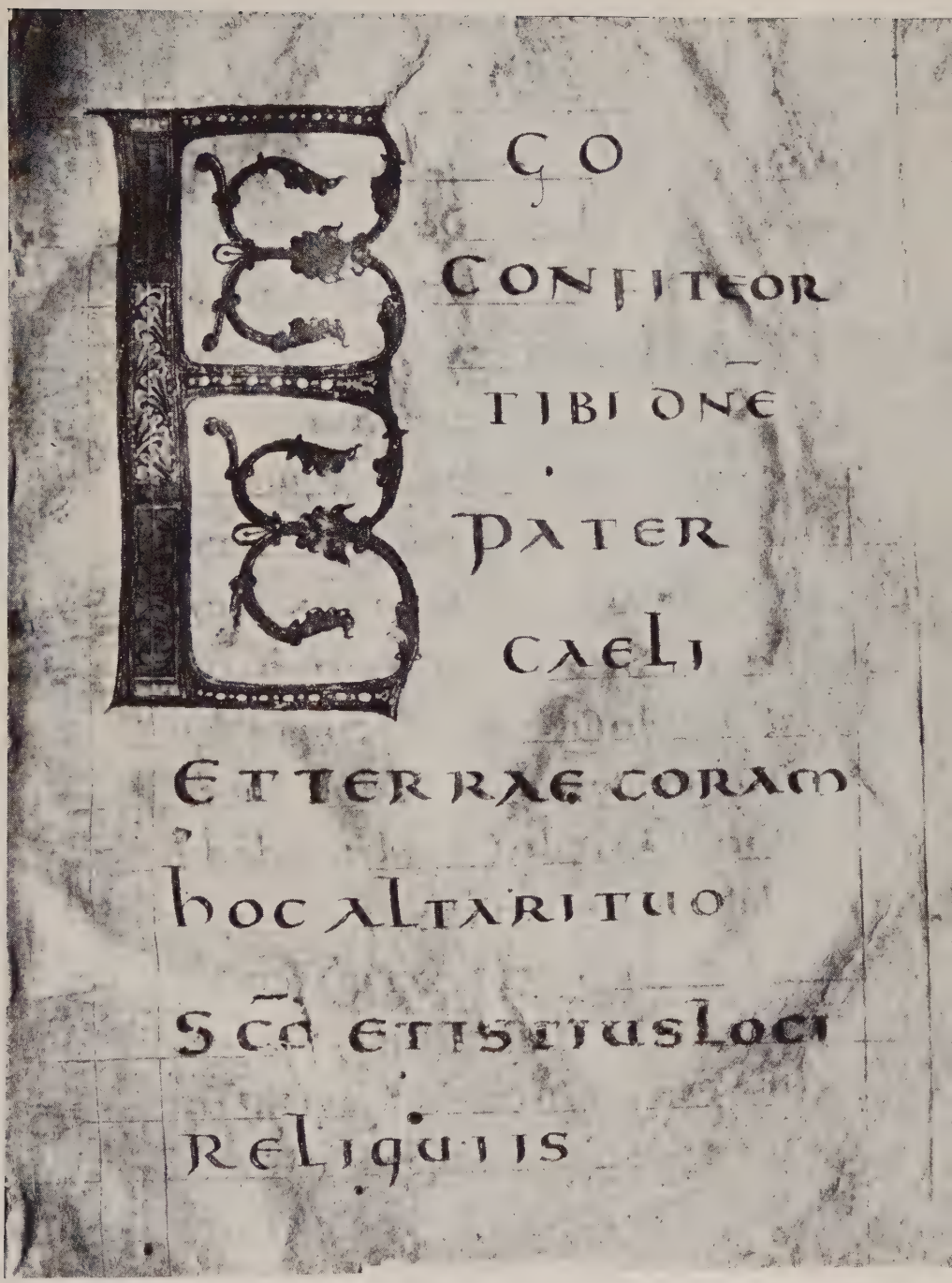


PLATE II

Paris, *B. N. lat. 13.388.* fol. 6^{r}

Plate III

London, *B. M. Add. 11.849.* fol. 1r

PLATE IV

Paris, *B. N. lat. 13.388.* fol. 82^{v}

Again, it may be entirely in red. In some cases the green coating on which the gold was laid shows through, as is notably the case in Mr Beatty's manuscript (No. 11). Besides gold, various colors are used in the illumination, with a generally pleasing effect, though with none of the subtle harmonies visible in the very best books of Tours. The designs in the ornamented letter, particularly the use of branches and leaves, can be paralleled in various specimens of the style of Tours. If I mistake not, the artist of *B. N. 13388* is the same as that of *London, B. M. Add. 11849:* if not the same person, he is a brother-worker in the same manner. See Plate III.

However, as our last Plate (IV) will show, our artist is not insensible to what was going on in the scriptoria that were cultivating the new Franco-Saxon style. The regularity, simplicity, symmetry of that style, along with the use of beast-heads correspondingly disposed, are manifest here. The shape of the *b* is almost, though not quite, of the curved-back Insular sort often favored by Franco-Saxon artists. There is a touch of self-consciousness in its pose — like that of a Bostonian trying to be Southern. It will almost shake hands with the stranger from without, and yet wishes to preserve its integrity and a stiff back. None the less, through the partly opened door, the Franco-Saxon has entered in. The opening may be wider next time.

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HĀRŪN AR-RASHĪD'S GIFT OF AN ORGAN TO CHARLEMAGNE

It has been common tradition that, among his other gifts, Hārūn ar-Rashīd presented Charlemagne with an organ. Indeed, few other memories of the negotiations between the two rulers are apt to remain so clear. Having occasion to hunt for that particular reference, I was somewhat perplexed at my inability to find the gift mentioned in any of the French sources. None of the Arabian sources which I consulted even mentioned an embassy sent to the Frankish King by the Caliph. In a long and intriguing search, it finally developed that, like many other charming bits of history, the organ sent to Charlemagne by Hārūn ar-Rashīd had never existed. The tale was based quite literally on fiction.

It seems that in the eighteenth century, Mme Stéphanie de Genlis wrote a novel, *Les Chevaliers du Cygne,* in which she pictured the delivery of the organ, made by an Arabian named Giafer. Rimbault took over the notion in his *History of the Organ,*[1] saying that 'it also appears that an

[1] E. J. Hopkins and E. F. Rimbault, *The Organ, its History and Construction* (London, 1870), p. 18.

organ, constructed by an Arabian named Giafer, was sent to Charlemagne by the renowned "Commander of the Faithful," the caliph Haroun alraschid — an incident introduced with considerable effect by Madame de Genlis in her romance *Les Chevaliers du Cygne.*' Audsley then adopted the story, saying that Hārūn ar-Rashīd had presented Charlemagne with an organ, which must have been the instrument to which Walafrid Strabo referred, and whose tone he described as being so sweet that a woman lost her life in ecstacies while listening to it.[1] Later G. Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* introduced the story into the article on the organ, saying that Hārūn ar-Rashīd presented Charlemagne with an organ of exceptionally sweet tone which had been made by an Arabian named Giafer.[2] And such is the form which the legend has taken in many and divers histories of organ construction.

The story is highly improbable. In no place do we find mention of the gift in the French annals. But assuming that Mme de Genlis had read through the sources, it is possible that she confused the term '*clepsidra*' with an hydraulic organ in the enumeration of gifts from Hārūn found in the *Einhardi Annales.*[3] That is the sole possibility of authenticity which I can suggest. The Giafer mentioned may have been one Dja'far, who was the most intimate friend of the Caliph.[4] He certainly was not a man to become voluntarily an organ-builder. However, the name seems to be as common among the Arabs as our well-known Smith, so it in itself proves nothing. Of greater significance is the fact that the Arabs seem not to have made organs, either of the hydraulic or pneumatic variety, until the ninth century.[5] Certainly the instrument was not indigenous to the Arab.[6] So it would seem that the gift of an organ to Charlemagne was never made by Hārūn ar-Rashīd.

Although Charlemagne did not receive one from Hārūn, we know that the royal court did not want for organs. Pepin the Short was presented with one by Constantinus Copronymus, which was possibly placed at Compiègne.[7] Charlemagne, interested in the instrument used by the Greek envoys on their visit to him, caused a similar one to be constructed, which

[1] G. A. Audsley, *The Art of Organ Building* (London, 1905), I, 20.

[2] H. C. Colles, 3d ed., III, 738.

[3] Anno 807. *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, I, 194.

[4] See Dja'far b. Yaḥyā the Barmakid, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (Leyden: Brill, 1913–1928), I, 993.

[5] *Al-Mashriq*, vols. IX and XVI. Cited in Henry George Farmer's 'The Arabian Influence on Musical Theory,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Part I (1925), 5. Farmer erroneously assumes that the Arabs reintroduced the organ into Europe at this time.

[6] See the article 'Music' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, and Salvador-Daniel, *Arabian Music and Musical Instruments*, H. G. Farmer, transl. and ed., London, 1914.

[7] *Einhardi Annales*, anno 757 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS I, 141).

was placed in the church at Aachen.[1] One was also erected at Aachen for his son, Louis the Pious, by a Venetian named George.[2] It was this organ to which Walafrid Strabo referred[3] and which was praised by Ermoldus Nigellus.[4] It seems later to have been destroyed, although when and by whom the chronicler does not say.

Helen Robbins Bittermann,
Columbus, Ohio.

[1] Monk of St Gall, *De Gestis Karoli Imperatoris*, II, 7 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *SS.*, II, 751).

[2] Einhard, *Historia translationis beatorum martyrum Marcellini et Petri* (Paris, ed. A. Teulet, 1843), II, 340; *Annales Francorum*, anno 826 (Teulet, I, 382).

[3] *Versus in Aquisgrani Palatio editi* (*Patr. Lat.*, CXIV, 1092A).

[4] *Carmina*, III (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., II, 513, ll. 633 ff.).

REVIEWS

P. S. Allen, H. W. Garrod, eds., *Merton Muniments*. Selected and edited for the College. Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1928. Pp. 47.

This beautiful volume illustrates admirably the archives of one of the oldest of the world's colleges, "a collection which, without going outside the mediaeval period, runs into several thousands." The twenty-six plates reproduce thirty-seven documents, extending from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, and touching upon many aspects of college life and college endowments. After two early title deeds, the series begins with the founder's statutes of 1264, and closes with the account of a quarrel between two of the Fellows *circa* 1620. The longest document consists of the minutes of the college meetings in 1338–39. The intellectual interests of the college appear in various texts (Nos. XXIII to XXVI) relating to the library, closing with lists of Greek books belonging to William Grocin, all of which will doubtless have its place in the history of the Merton library which Professor Powicke is preparing. The documents seem to have been selected and edited with skill and care. In No. I a the editors might have pointed out that Mr Salter's identification of 'Willelmus filius Elie' with William of Newburgh has not been universally accepted. Their statement that the mandate of Nicholas III in No. VIII b is an original or a duplicate fails to mention whether there is any evidence that the document was sealed, or whether it has any of the endorsements which are usual on papal originals of this period.

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Philip Schuyler Allen, *The Romanesque Lyric, Studies in its Background and Development, from Petronius to the Cambridge Songs, 50–1050*, with renderings into English Verse by Howard Mumford Jones. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xx + 374. $4.50.

A truly remarkable achievement! Rarely indeed does one find a book which covers so much ground, works in such a wealth of material from the most widely scattered sources, presents such a composite picture, seeking to draw the whole into one wide synthesis. One is dazzled by the kaleidoscopic view of the crossing, recrossing, and merging of strands of Greek, Roman, Hebrew, Carthaginian, Gothic, Gallic, Frankish, Scandinavian, Irish, Arabic, Byzantine, Sanskrit and other religion, ethics, art, archaeology, learning, literature, music, and general culture. Few scholars will be

familiar with anything like the whole of the field covered: most will find a great deal which is strange and unfamiliar: much will seem at first sight strange and paradoxical. Views are pressed into the author's service which are admittedly far from finding general acceptance. Much depends on the delicate appreciation of subtle and intangible influences, and the sensing of what is called atmosphere. Hence one would expect to find far from easy reading. But we do expect the author to give what help he can to make his meaning plain.

This, however, is far from being the case. The style is difficult, metaphorical, and allusive, and apt to become dithyrambic. Points are not made with clearness and precision. Definite evidence is withheld at crucial moments. References and quotations, except of whole poems, are conspicuous by their absence. The apparatus of scholarship is hidden — the notes at the end are sporadic and rarely give the indications desired. There is no adequate orientation, statement of aims, or summing up from time to time of the position reached, to guide the bewildered reader, whose task would have been greatly lightened by a synopsis of chapters.

Again, for the proper appreciation of the argument, everything depends on chronology, but chronological indications are few and vague. It is a pity the last two paragraphs do not come first. Here we finally learn what was the author's object, that the book is addressed to "cultured amateurs" (I fear they will often be sadly puzzled), and that it is preliminary to a second volume — which the reviewer for one impatiently awaits.

But these are details, and having delivered myself of this preliminary grumble, I hasten to make amends by declaring that rarely, if ever, have I come across a book which gives more food for thought and opens out more new paths (a German reviewer, if he ever succeeds in getting through it, will assuredly call it *bahnbrechend*). Naturally there is much with which one disagrees — in fact the whole book is deliberately provocative, but he would be a dull reader indeed who was not stimulated by its enthusiasm and challenging unconventionality.

To review the book at all adequately would require at least ten times the space at my disposal. The points for discussion are numberless. I comment on and, it may be, criticize a few, not from any predilection for pinpricks, but because this seems the only possible method.

Romanesque literature, then, is based on Gallo-Roman work — influenced by the East, partly through trade-routes, partly by migrations, especially of the Goths (to whom much importance is assigned),[1] afterwards of the Franks. Poetry is but one aspect of vast cultural innovations, hence

[1] My own impression is that experts are far from convinced by Strzygowski's ingenious pleading.

the term Romanesque, taken over from the historians of Art. (It is defined on page 67, and closely resembled what in modern times appears as Romanticism, a term of equally vague connotation, and of similarly complicated ancestry.) This continued into the heart of the Middle Ages — there was no absolute break about the twelfth century — and formed part of the warp and woof of modern poetry (cf. p. 60).

There is much in these chapters which will provoke dissent, especially, to my mind, in Chapter IV (in spite of the truths it contains): for instance, I cannot accept many of the remarks on page 63, and in general, if I may say so, the author seems to me over-ready to find parallels and resemblances.

Romanesque, Mr Allen continues, is unclassical, but not necessarily a debasement; rather, on the contrary, a wholesome change. Stress is very properly laid on the reappearance of folk-dancing: it took all three, folk-song, music, and dance, to produce the mediaeval lyric. On page 90, we come to a crucial passage on assonanced and rhythmical poetry. On a technical point like this we expect detailed evidence supported by concrete examples. Little or none is given, and such as there is, is uncertain and precarious. For instance, no proof is offered that Commodian is in any way representative, and his date is far from certain (incidentally, Apuleius' diction has always appeared to me anything but spontaneous). Later on (p. 92), the share of Gaul in the new poetry is insisted on, but hardly substantiated. I fail to see anything new or admirable in the three sixth-century poems from the Latin Anthology (of which the only Romanesque feature, as far as I can see, is the 'Hisperic' prologue).

Chapter VIII, 'Fortunatus and the Platonic Tradition,' is typical of the whole book. It is rich in detail and illustration, yet the author does not seriously try to convince dissenters — if you don't agree, the misfortune is yours! *How* exactly is Fortunatus connected with the Platonic tradition? After six pages about Ibn Dawoud (d. 918), we are switched off to Fortunatus (d. about 600), and left to infer the connection between the 'love' of Fortunatus for Radegunde and that of Ibn Dawoud for his schoolmate, which is truly Platonic (homosexual). The ordinary reader will see in Fortunatus the germ of Teutonic chivalry. Mr Allen would include this, but infers that an oriental Platonic influence, perhaps Arabic (but 'not later than the sixth century'!) was also at work. Is the mild Fortunatus on the same plane at all as such burning spirits as Plato, Ibn Dawoud, Gottschalk, Dante, and Petrarch? His poems would hardly lead one to think so. With the present writer, not one of the Latin poems quoted to support the thesis carries much weight. (It is noteworthy that Gottschalk's bitterest enemies never reproach him with his affection for the lad so touchingly addressed.)

Chapter XII is full of suggestion, but this again would be more convincing if supported by more definite evidence. There is a strange reluctance

to give names and dates. I am willing to be convinced, but I do not yet feel sure that the various developments recapitulated on page 223 sufficiently account for the new note now beginning to be sparingly heard in poetry. To name perhaps the most strikingly prophetic of Carolingian poems, do these influences really account for what is new in *ut quid iubes pusiole?* I rejoice to see that Mr Allen gives weight to the development of music as a deciding factor, but how can the introduction of the *organum* influence *rhythm?* More than that was wanted. My own idea is that it was not the music of the theorists at all, but that of the people which gradually changed the whole development (see *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXVI, 1924, 330-346). From the remarks on p. 214 it looks as if Mr Allen might agree; perhaps he will have more to say on this in his second volume.

The theme of Chapter XII is the share of monks in the formation of the new poetry. The question is difficult, but is it not true that the work of the monks is rarely creative, and lacks vigour except when there is something definite in the vernacular behind it? This certainly seems to be so in the case of the writers mentioned on page 266. Take *Ruodlieb* and *Waltharius:* I should say they owe everything to epic material in the vernacular — some lost predecessor of the *Nibelungenlied*. The authors think in German and might have written very good German poems; what they did write was rather bad Latin ones. If Mr Allen means that the German poetry also was written by the monks, I have nothing to say. But the influence of the Latin poetry, say of Hrosvitha and Ekkehard, on future development was surely unimportant. They lead nowhere. The great exception is the Sequence: but how far was the growth of the sequence itself dependent on vernacular lyric?

Where I seem to differ most from Mr Allen is in my estimate of the actual achievement of these Latin poets. The catalogue on pages 267–68 seems very imposing, but an examination of their output is likely to disillusion the reader.[1] I would submit that its interest is in promise rather than in achievement, and that the Latin dress was nothing but an entanglement to be shaken off the moment the times were ripe for the development of a vernacular literature.

I am loth to take leave of this fascinating and tantalizing book, and feel the inadequacy of my comments. But it is too rich in detail, too full of novel views, for a comparatively short review to do it justice. Students of any side of mediaeval activity will have to read it themselves, and whatever their special interest, they will surely find much that is new, and much that is illuminating. The book will cause much fluttering in academic dovecotes, but it would be premature as yet to forecast its ultimate effect.

[1] A simpler test is to take Mr Gaselee's anthology and note how very little of the Romanesque verse between Columba and Wipo is of first-rate merit.

The production of the book is all that can be desired, but the printing of the Latin is shocking, sometimes making it unintelligible. The translations reproduce not inadequately the varied moods of the originals, but seem over-elaborate, and are much inferior in ease and charm to those of J. A. Symonds and Miss Helen Waddell.

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Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, A.D. 1251–1253. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1927. Cloth. Pp. vi + 620. £2: 2*s*.

The outstanding events of the period covered by the two Close Rolls now published in full were three: the troubles in Gascony culminating in the expedition that set out on August 5, 1233; the marriage of Alexander III of Scotland to Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry III; and the proposal of a crusade with the consequent continuance of the struggle over the taxation of the clergy by pope and king. Each of these is illustrated by numerous references on the rolls.

The difficulties with the nobles of Gascony take up a considerable amount of space. In January, 1252, writs were directed to officers of communities and lords in the duchy commanding them to hear what certain men who were sent them had to say in the king's behalf (pp. 186–87). There is entered on the roll a long agreement between the king and Simon de Montfort (pp. 203–205). Many writs testify to the preparations made by Henry in the autumn of 1252 for a visit to Gascony, a plan which he abandoned. Finally there are many orders for the assembling of men, ships, munitions of war, and victuals for the expedition that started from England in 1253. While this information does not change the main outlines of the story as known to us, it adds a good deal to our knowledge of its details.

Literally scores of writs describe the preparations made by Henry for the marriage of his daughter at York on Christmas Day, 1251. Clothing of worth had to be provided for the king, his family, and his attendants. For those of royal blood there were robes and mantels of samite, cloth of gold, and of scarlet; some of the garments were trimmed with fur, even with ermine. Gilded spurs, buckles of gold, fine saddles, a sword, chairs, beds, and all kinds of necessary things were to be made or procured to satisfy Henry's love of splendor.

Henry's promise to go on a crusade and the ensuing attempts to raise taxes from the clergy are also mentioned. So far as I can see the rolls add very little to the information brought together by W. E. Lunt in his *Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford, 1926).

Alongside of these references to matters of general interest are others that have to do with the routine work of government. The officers of the

exchequer are told to audit or prorogue accounts. An excellent set of directions for a regard of a forest is found (pp. 469–470). Coroners are to be elected, inquests are to be held, money is to be delivered to the wardrobe, escheators are instructed to do this or that, sheriffs are warned to proclaim the coming of itinerant justices, and men are appointed to hold assizes of mort d'ancester and novel disseisin. Most phases of government activity are referred to.

Those who delight in occasional bits of information that help to an understanding of the domestic life of the past will find many such to interest them. Of this character is the order forbidding bakers to place on their bread the sign of the cross, the lamb of God, or the name of Jesus (p. 249). Among many other items there is one that describes the food to be gathered for the royal celebration of the feast of St Edmund, 1252, at Westminster (p. 259). Along with a fair quantity of bread and several thousand eggs, there were to be provided bacon, swans, pea-fowl, partridges, hare, rabbit, chickens, pheasants, larks, and geese. The array of flesh and fowl, even without good red herring, is appalling.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

LANE COOPER, *A Concordance of Boethius, the Five Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1928. Paper. Pp. xi + 467. $5.00.

WHEN Dr Ernest H. Wilkins (now President Wilkins of Oberlin) and I had finished the *Concordance of the Latin Works of Dante*, published for the Cambridge Dante Society in 1912, we passed two resolutions: first that nobody knew the inner secrets of scholarship until he had made a concordance, and second, that we should never make one again. Professor Cooper would evidently subscribe to the first resolution, but not to the second. Proceeding by a clever method of his own, delightfully described in an essay in the *Sewanee Review* (April, 1919), he published a concordance to the poems of Wordsworth in 1911, one to the works of Horace in 1916, one to the Latin, Greek, and Italian poems of Milton in 1923, besides assisting in the preparation of three other concordances. He is easily the king of all concordance-makers. The publication of this his latest achievement was made possible by an appropriation from the Heckscher Foundation of Cornell University. The work was then generously offered to the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA. The ACADEMY would be proud to present as the first of its publications any concordance by Professor Cooper, and is especially grateful to him for applying his art to an author so powerful in the Middle Ages as Boethius.

The works comprised, the *Consolation of Philosophy* and the *Five Theological Tractates*, could not have been better chosen, since both are of sover-

eign importance for the understanding of the writer's character, thought, art, and influence on the coming generations. The text selected is that constructed by the reviewer for the translation prepared for the Loeb Series by Hugh Fraser Stewart in 1918 (revised in 1926). I would once more make clear that while the text of the *Theological Tractates*, destined to appear some day in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, is as good as I can make it, that of the *Consolatio* is merely a revision of Rudolf Peiper's text (1871), with the help of certain collations, some attention to punctuation, and (I hope) a little common sense. The critical edition in the *C. S. E. L.* expected before long from Wilhelm Weinberger, in completion of the task on which August Engelbrecht had labored long, will naturally excel that on which Professor Cooper had to rely. I can state with some confidence, however, that nothing revolutionary will come from the manuscripts not examined by Peiper and that at least a better text than his is accessible in the Loeb Series. Professor Cooper, furthermore, has included in his treatment all the important variant readings and conjectures noted in Peiper, in the Loeb edition, in the posthumous edition by Fortescue (1925), in Weinberger's review of the Loeb edition, and in an important article on the text of Engelbrecht. He certainly has done all that could be expected to provide a solid basis for procedure.

One difference between the present concordance and that of Dante's Latin works is that Professor Cooper lists inflected forms separately instead of combining them under the words from which they are derived. Thus, while in the Dante Concordance all the cases of *iudicium* are included under that word, in the Boethius Concordance we have separate entries for *iudicia*, *iudicii*, *iudicio*, *iudicium*. There is of course an ancient quarrel about these methods; I am prejudiced in favor of the former. One may say that in listing the forms as they occur, one is relieved of all problems of decision and merely registers what occurs without attempting to group. On the other hand, such grouping is not difficult: the sentence will tell whether *legi* is a noun or a verb, or *libero* a verb or an adjective. The result, in my opinion, is a neater, clearer and more interesting page, especially if the word is printed in Italics in the body of each citation. Further, there are groupings in the Boethius Concordance; the different cases of a noun are distinguished even though the form is the same. Thus there are separate entries for *iudicia* nominative and *iudicia* accusative, *iudicio* dative and *iudicio* ablative, *iudicium* nominative and *iudicium* accusative. Herewith the compiler is embarked on a sea of uncertainty with far more risks than in the other plan. The ancients themselves could not tell the difference between a nominative and an accusative when both were presented in a Delphic oracle, and cases occur, for instance in the odes of Horace, where doctors disagree between dative and ablative, perhaps because flavors

of both were intended by the poet. In the present concordance, for instance, we find *libero* twice entered. In the first entry, one of the passages cited shows the dative, the other the ablative; in the second entry, the one instance shows the ablative. Similarly under *bona* accusative, there are two instances (*Tract.* III, 142 and *Cons.* III, pr. 2, 37) in which the nominative really is used. Finally it would seem that one who desired to study the meaning, particularly the philosophical meaning, of a word in Boethius, — like *bona* — would find irrelevant and inconvenient the separation of nominatives and accusatives. Whatever his interest in a word, he will be considerably put out if its forms are not alphabetically adjacent. I find, for instance, that *quicumque* occurs only twice, both times in *Consolatio*. Trembling for the authenticity of the *Tractates*, I am forced to decline *quicumque* (which is something of a strain in this ungrammatical age) and to turn leaves forward and backward before arriving at the immensely consoling result.

Such matters may indicate the numerous minute questions with which the maker of a concordance is concerned and about which the user of the concordance cares little if he can find what he wants. Here he can find easily what he wants and all that there is of it — that is the final test. We may be specially grateful that Professor Cooper has included all the references for each and every word, even those that are apparently trifles, like *et*, *que*, and *atque*. I wish that Dr Wilkins and I had done the same by Dante. For there are a very few words of which we gave mere specimens, *et* in particular. I remember spending about a fortnight on our *et*-cards — which Dr Wilkins had kindly entrusted to my inspection — and then we threw most of them away, quoting in full some fifty passages and adding the base subterfuge '*Et in multis aliis locis.*' In the Boethius Concordance, one can turn to *et*, *que*, and *atque* and without stopping to count, measure relative frequencies with the eye. I could wish that Professor Cooper might have cited at least a few instances of such words and have adopted our method of lumping the rest under the heading *His quoque locis*, with occasional brief citations in parentheses of constructions grammatically interesting. One could thus see at a glance, for instance, how often *quod*, *quia*, *quoniam* are used in indirect discourse and also, at a glance, what means his fourfold division of *quod*. To all this Professor Cooper would doubtless reply that the interests of readers are varied and that all the material is before them to put to what use they will.

The edition of the *Consolatio* in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (vol. LXIII), which is based on the Delphin edition, reproduces from that edition an *Index Vocabulorum Omnium quae in quinque libris Boetii de Consolatione Philosophiae Leguntur*. Many a scholar has found this index of use, and there is a general impression that it is tolerably complete as a word-list.

However, the occurrences of each word are by no means completely registered. No entry runs over two lines. To prevent any overflow, three, or at most four, passages are cited, followed by *aliisque locis* and the number of occurrences remaining. This method is pursued not only in the case of conjunctions, pronouns, and similar words of frequent occurrence, but in the case of any word, however interesting, that happens to be used more than four times, as for instance, to cite at random, *effectus, iniuria, sidera, terrae.* The gaps thus left are of course all filled by the new concordance. Further, some words have been neglected in the ancient index. Taking merely the beginning of the alphabet as found on the lower half of col. 1367–68 in Migne (*a — aculeus*), I note with the help of the Concordance the following omissions: *abesse* (1), *abest* (1); *abiit* (1); *absoluta* (1); *ac* (11), *acceptas* (1), *acri* (1), *acta* (1). So many defects in so small a space are not reassuring. I am bound to add that in several later parts of the index that I tested, the omissions are notably less. On the whole the ancient index is trustworthy, so far as it goes. None the less patent is its inferiority to the Concordance. Professor Cooper states that after thousands of quotations and references had been checked by himself and all of them checked and rechecked by others he believes the Concordance 'fairly well-done.' That is a modest statement. Those with more Lyncean eyes than those of the reviewer may find false references or misprints here, on the principle that nothing human is perfect. For one, I have not been able to note its application in the present work. One reason is undoubtedly Professor Cooper's practice of cutting out segments of the text and pasting them on the slips rather than having the text copied by hand or typewriter.

The hope is expressed in the preface that the Concordance, apart from its use as a clue to quotations, may render valuable service in certain scholarly investigations. No question whether Boethius was 'the first of the scholastics,' may now be more minutely examined by this thorough display of his technical terminology and its application to theological thought. Again, the uninterrupted influence of Boethius, and especially his *Consolation of Philosophy*, from his own day almost to our own may be more accurately traced with the help of this source of ready reference. Finally, the question of the authenticity of the five theological tractates may be examined anew, now that their thought, vocabulary and style are displayed in close proximity to the language of the *Consolatio.*

Undoubtedly the Concordance will prove indispensable in all of these subjects of inquiry. As to the last, I hardly anticipate that much new light will be shed on the genuineness of *Tractates* I, II, III, and V. Their case, in my opinion, has been settled once for all, with due attention to their *modus loquendi.* New and interesting details may well emerge, but no new conclusion. It should be of course remembered that the language of the

Tractates must be compared not only with that of the *Consolatio* but with that of the works on logic. When we note, for instance, the various occurrences of *accidere* and *accidentia*, in the philosophical sense, contained in the *Tractates*, but the utter absence of these expressions in the *Consolatio* we might jump to the conclusion that somebody else had written the *Tractates*. Turning to the logical works, however, we find *accidere* and *accidentia* in plenty. And so with other expressions. The *Tractates* are technical, esoteric, in phraseology like the works on logic. They naturally will differ in style from the *Consolatio*, that golden volume, as Gibbon called it, worthy the leisure of Tully or Plato.

There is one problem in which the last word has not yet been spoken, and that is the genuineness of *Tractate* IV, *De Fide Catholica*. I disproved its genuineness in my doctor's thesis years ago, but since even doctor's theses are not infallible, I later was ready to recant and to accept the little work as Boethius's own. Now, as I turn over the Concordance, doubts arise again. The style is obviously not that of the other four tractates: it is rather in the esoteric manner of the *Consolatio*. But are there certain disagreements in vocabulary and turns of phrase? Without venturing any further statement, just now, I will merely express the hope that somebody may tackle this problem anew, with due gratitude that concordances exist and that Professor Cooper has made one for Boethius.

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Earl LeVerne Crum, *Index of Proper Names in Servius* (University of Iowa Studies, Humanistic Studies, IV, 1). Iowa City: University of Iowa 1927. Paper. Pp. 75. Price, $1.00.

The importance of Servius' commentary on Virgil in mediaeval literature and thought has long been recognized in a general way, but the full extent to which that treasure-house of information and misinformation was rifled in the Middle Ages will not be known until it is systematically examined by specialists in various fields. There may well be, for instance, other points of contact between Servius and Dante besides those noted by the present reviewer in an article called 'Dante and Servius' in the *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Dante Society* (Cambridge, Mass.), 1916, pp. 1–10. One reason that has doubtless deterred investigation is the protracted absence of an index to the standard edition of Servius by Thilo and Hagen. Index-learning turns no student pale, whereas any scholar will acquire an excessive pallor by hunting in Thilo and Hagen *sine indice*.

In calling Thilo and Hagen the standard edition of Servius, I would not imply that it is a definitive edition. In fact it is constructed on a demonstrably false principle. As all users of the work are aware, the commentary has two forms, a shorter and a longer. The discovery of the latter we owe

to Pierre Daniel, who gave it to the world in his edition of 1600. He regarded it as the original Servius of which the text previously published was an extract. This view held the field until Thilo argued, in 1881, that the extra matter in the *Servius auctus* (or *Servius Danielis*) represents an addition made from various sources — some of them excellent, perhaps by some English or Irish scholar of the eighth century. He then weaves these additional comments into those of the original Servius and prints them in italics. In the process there is much unwarranted manipulation of the text; for what the manuscripts actually contain, one must consult the *apparatus criticus* or — more conveniently still, despite its imperfections, the edition of Daniel.

Furthermore, recent investigations have shown with tolerable certainty, that the larger Servius could not have been put together in any such way as Thilo believed. It consists of a combination of the original Servius not with a collection of notes drawn from various sources by a mediaeval scholar but with an independent commentary from which Servius had drawn. I hazarded the guess in *The Classical Quarterly* X (1916), 158–164, that this was none other than the supposedly lost commentary of Donatus. Whether this is so or whether, as certain others think, the immediate source from which Servius drew was a commentary that itself depended on that of Donatus, is a matter for future investigators to decide. In either case, we need a new edition of Servius in which both the shorter and the longer forms would be presented in their integrity. I am not without hopes that such an edition may be undertaken by certain younger scholars in this country.

This is a long, but I think not unnecessary, preamble to my notice of Dr Crum's *Index of Proper Names in Servius*. In the preface, no account is taken of any other view than that of Thilo and Hagen, and even that is not reproduced with sufficient accuracy. The statement that 'one [version] is known from manuscript evidence to be the work of Servius, the other is the work of later writers and contains valuable additions and information,' might easily lead to false inferences both as to the facts in the case and as to the views of Thilo and Hagen.

However, all this is a matter of indifference, since the present work is an index not to Servius but to Thilo and Hagen's edition of that work. As such, it is a convenient stop-gap, while we bide the time when something better appears. Dr Crum has done his work, to judge by various testings of it, with scrupulous fidelity. A comparison with the only index hitherto available, demonstrates at every turn the superiority of that of Dr Crum over the ancient one. For at least there is an index to the earlier editions of Servius, to say nothing of the meagre word-list (called *copiosissimus*)

compiled by Daniel. There appeared a much better one in Maaswyck's edition of Virgil in 1717, along with the famous index of Virgil by Erythraeus (1583). It is most conveniently consulted in the edition of Virgil prepared by the elder Burmann on the basis chiefly of N. Heinsius's notes, completed by the younger Burmann and published in 1746. It is our only clue in the labyrinth of Servius and its insufficiency is now more than ever apparent. Turning at haphazard to *Deiphobe*, we find four entries in Crum against but one in Maaswyck. For *Deiphobus* we have eleven in Crum and only three in Maaswyck, and so on. A further advantage of the new index is that, in accordance with Thilo's method, the references to the enlarged Servius are printed in italics, so that we can tell at a glance the names that occur in the larger commentary but not in Servius — such as *Messala*, *Messenina*, *Metapontum*, *Myrmix*. Obviously such information will help investigators at the present moment, whatever one's views about the *Servius auctus*. We are therefore grateful to Dr Crum for an accurate piece of work. Misprints are hard to find. *Saturniaus* is perhaps intended for *Saturnia* (*us*).

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Bateman Edwards, ed., *Gui de Cambrai: Le Vengement Alixandre* (Elliott Monographs, No. 23). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1928. Paper. Pp. xi + 146. $1.50.

Two years ago Mr Edwards issued his important study on the classification of the MSS of Gui de Cambrai's *Vengement Alixandre* (see *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u Lit.* L, 1927, 184–187), in which he announced a forthcoming edition of the text itself. This edition, long a desideratum, has now appeared and constitutes an important contribution to the study of the legendary history of Alexander the Great, and to the history of Old-French literature of the twelfth century as well. The basic MS. chosen for the text is, on the grounds set forth by the editor in his previous study, *H* (Bibl. Natl. *MS. fonds franç. 786*), with copious variants from other MSS (see 'Notes,' p. 101, for the system followed and p. 2 of the earlier study for a key to the MS.-designations). The poem proper is 1749 lines long, in 75 'stanzas' of varying length; in MSS *G*, *I*, and *L*, st. 75, (ll. 1730–1749), appears with a different text, with three additional stanzas (*76–*78) to supplement the normal termination of the poem.

The Notes are mainly textual, but those to ll. 132, 242–246, and 455, raise small unsolved points which should have the attention of students of the legend. A vocabulary omitting words found with the same meaning in L. Constans' edition of the *Roman de Troie*, a full index of proper names,

and a bibliography (mainly linguisitc helps) conclude this substantial volume.

In the Introduction perhaps most interesting to the general student is the statement that 'there are extant not two but four accounts of Alexander's vengeance: those of Gui and Jean [le Névelon], the amalgamated version of *F* and *J*, and that of *B*' (p. viii); the details of the version in *B* (Venice MS.) are clearly a subject for further investigation. Interesting, too, from the point of view of Old-French literary history is the list of verbal resemblances between the *Vengement* and the *Barlaam and Josaphat*, presented as supporting testimony of common authorship.

These are red-letter days for Alexander studies. Early in 1928 A. G. Solalinde published 'El Juicio de Paris en el *Alexandre* y en el *General Estoria*,' *Revista de Filología Española*, XV (1928), 1–51, in which he showed the relationship between the 'judgment of Paris' episode in the Spanish metrical *Alexander* and in the inedited *General Estoria* of Alfonso el Sabio; from further study of the latter document other important contributions to our knowledge of the Alexander legend may be expected. Friedrich Pfister's unassuming note, 'Auf den Spuren Alexanders des Grossen in der älteren englischen Literatur,' *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*, XVI (1928), 82–86, touches on a variety of important matters, while a notice in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, V (May, 1928), 226, announces the early publication a two-volume facsimile edition, under the direction of M. R. James, of the greatest of Bodley's treasures of illumination, the Old-French *Roman* in *MS. Bodley 264*. In *Studi Medievali* (New Ser. I), VII (1928), 422–437, J. J. Salverde de Grave writes on 'Un manuscrit inconnu des *Vœux du Paon*,' an Amsterdam MS. not utilized by R. L. Graeme Ritchie in his Scottish Text Soc. ed. of the *Buik of Alexander;* in this same connection the present writer wonders if the *Vœux du Paon* MS., seen fleetingly by himself in the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library, has been studied and described? Though out of the realm of special studies Jan Jakubec's *Dějiny Literatury České* (2d ed., Prague, 1928 ff.) should be noticed as including a valuable summary of present opinion on the Czech metrical Alexander (*op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.) and the Czech prose *Kronika o Alexandru Velikém* (Jakubec's *Povidka o Alexandru Velikém*, pp. 287 ff., 293, 294). To the latter might be added a note to SPECULUM, III (1928), 204–217, and to J. V. Šimák, *Kronika Česko*slovenská, I, iii (Prague, 1925), p. 880, who places this work in the reign of King John (1310–1346). Now in 1929 (*Germanic Review*, IV, 50 ff.) A. J. Barnouw has begun the serial publication of an inedited Middle-Low-German Alexander text from a privately owned MS. (fragments of a History Bible); Mr Barnouw is thoughtfully including here a reprint of the not always easily accessible *Fabelhafte Geschichte*, published by P. J. Bruns in 1789, also of S. Hoogstra's *A*-text.

A long life is foreordained to Alexander scholarship and in the vanguard must continue to stand the Princeton Romance Seminar, whose latest work reflects such high credit not only on the editor himself, but also on the *spiritus rector*, the general editor of the Elliott Monograph Series.

F. P. Magoun, Jr,
Cambridge, Mass.

Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen. Neubearbeitung.* 1. Band. *Die lateinischen Pergamenthandschriften.* Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1928. Pp. xxiv + 634. 11 plates.

Ludwig Traube, in his monumental study of the Bamberg uncial fragments of Livy's Fourth Decade (*Palaeographische Forschungen*, IV, 1904), begins with a well-deserved tribute to the librarian who discovered them. Dr Fischer, after watching over the books entrusted to him 'mit ebensoviel Liebe als Kenntnis,' to quote Traube's words, and after years of labor on the Bamberg catalogue, has found time in the years of his retirement from the Staatsbibliothek at Bamberg to publish a catalogue of the Latin manuscripts on parchment in the University Library at Erlangen. It is a model of what a catalogue should be. It is called a 'Neubearbeitung,' inasmuch as there has been accessible since 1852 a catalogue by Irmischer. But the term 'revision' is excessively modest. The previous catalogue, including all the manuscripts in the library, with 1911 entries, describes them in 359 pages. The new catalogue, including only the Latin manuscripts, with 436 entries, devotes 528 considerably larger pages to their description. Further, although one generally sighs at finding new numbers affixed to manuscripts, there is no reason, in the case of a closed collection like that at Erlangen, why the books should be listed helter-skelter. Fischer has arranged them in classes — somewhat in the mediaeval fashion — with the Bibles first, then liturgical, theological and philosophical works, law-books (chiefly canonical), the classics, including works on grammar, histories, and works on medicine and the natural sciences. Dr Fischer cites the old number along with his own and gives a double concordance of numbers in an appendix. For a time, scholars should cite both numbers in referring to a manuscript of Erlangen, but eventually those of Irmischer will drop away.

The description of the individual manuscripts leaves nothing to be desired. We find, after the number of the manuscript, its dimensions and date, an accurate account of its contents with the opening and closing words not only of entire works but of their important sections, and with exact references to standard printed texts. Then comes a careful description of the gatherings of which the book consists and a paragraph (often packed with most interesting matter) on the character of the script, the different hands, marginalia, scribes' signatures or verses, and anything else of interest.

The literature is then cited, often in great detail. Next comes an account of the history of the book and finally a description of the binding. Somewhere, I believe, there should have been a reference to the plates at the end of the volume if the manuscript is represented there. There is of course a list of these plates, which possibly were selected after the descriptions had been printed. At the end come various *Beilagen* and a wealth of indices. Here besides general lists of persons, places, and things, one finds the names of authors, scribes, owners, and the places in which manuscripts may have been written. Especially illuminating is the *Sachregister*, containing such headings as *Medizinisches*, *Naturwissenschaftliches*, *Unterricht*, *Philosophisches*, and over eleven columns on *Buch- und Schriftwesen*. 'Liebe und Kenntnis' are obvious on every page of this great work.

The nucleus of the Erlangen collection is the library of the monastery of Heilsbronn, a Cistercian establishment founded in 1132. Indeed, only a few of the codices of Erlangen are earlier than the twelfth century and only a few come from other collections. Of special interest among the *Beilagen* are a reprint of a catalogue of the Heilbronn library, written in a hand of the thirteenth century on the last leaves of one of the manuscripts, and an account of the history of the library. Thus, as the director of the Erlangen library, Dr E. Stollreither, remarks in the preface, the new catalogue presents not only an accurate description of the manuscripts, but a picture of the intellectual life of the abbey of Heilbronn from the twelfth century to the fifteenth. One can roam about in these pages and find human documents at every turn. Verily, as Anatole France observed, few forms of literature are so diverting as a catalogue of manuscripts.

I was specially fascinated with the account of two manuscripts of Boethius which I studied years ago. They both contain various of the *Opuscula Sacra* of that great philosopher and both illustrate the fact that the scholastics counted him as one of the family. In the first of these books, No. 220 (235), *saec.* XII–XIII, two of the *Opuscula* (IV and V) are included with works of Bernard of Clairvaux — nothing surprising in a Cistercian monastery. These Cistercians, however, were a tolerant lot. The other manuscript, now forming two volumes, Nos. 182 (229) and 216 (400), originally contained *Opuscula* I, II, III, V, followed by works of St Ambrose. This volume was split in two; the last two leaves, containing the end of *Tractate* V, went perforce with the second volume. They were copied again, however, to complete the first volume, to which was added that highly dangerous work *Tractatus de unitate et trinitate diuina* of Abelard; in the title he figures as *Magistri Petri clarissimi atque doctissimi uiri, cognomento adbaiolardi*. To be sure, a marginal note warns the reader: *Caue ne hawrias uenenum quo hic (non caret tractatus?) quod beatus arguit bernardus in quodam epistola ad innocentium papam* — but this note was added in the fifteenth

century. The manuscript itself was written in the twelfth, 'wohl noch etwa Mitte.' The existence of this work was inferred by Victor Cousin in his edition of Abelard, and was discovered and published by Remigius Stölzle in 1891. Through the energy of St Bernard it was condemned at the Council of Soissons in 1121. Abelard, unrepentant, incorporated it in his *Introductio ad Theologiam Christianam*, which was promptly denounced at the Council of Sens in 1140. But here are members of the pet order of St Bernard, audacious enough to tear a book in two in order to associate the disreputable treatise of a modern heretic with a standard work on the Holy Trinity. Thereto the scribes added a commentary on the most important of Boethius's tractates, *de Trinitate* (*Tr.* I) and, perhaps to take the curse off Abelard, the Athanasian Creed with interlinear and marginal glosses. As for Boethius, we see him, in these books of Heilbronn, meet bed-fellow for both lion and lamb.

In his introduction, Dr Fischer makes a suggestion, which one hopes may be carried into effect by future makers of catalogues. He remarks that a librarian, master of a special collection but not of the entire range of mediaeval books, must fix his standards for dating by the general works on palaeography. These are invaluable in their way, especially when they are particularly concerned with dated manuscripts. However, such manuscripts may come from centres quite remote from that with which the librarian is dealing. I will add that my confidence in such a librarian as Dr Fischer, who has spent days and years with the books in his keeping, is greater than that in a general palaeographer who happens to treat some one of those books. By long association and by the assimilation, sometimes unconscious, of their traits, he has formed standards of judgment of inestimable value even though they may be hard to describe. Dr Fischer's suggestion is that in catalogues of manuscripts each description should be accompanied by the reproduction of a few characteristic lines of the script, just as sometimes in musical catalogues each piece is accompanied by a few bars of the music. In this way, it would often be possible to group under the same school, manuscripts now lying in different libraries. Further study would of course be needed after similarities had been detected in these tiny facsimiles, yet these would furnish clues. Dr Fischer would like to see all the manuscripts of Boethius, with their scholia, thus presented to the readers of catalogues, and he can envisage in the imagination a kind of *Heiligengeographie*. It is devoutly to be wished that he himself may be enabled to prepare atlases of such facsimiles to add to the catalogues of Bamberg and Erlangen. In any case, long life to him, and success to whatever other works he has in mind, inspired by 'Liebe und Kenntnis.'

E. K. Rand,
Harvard University

MARTIN GRABMANN, *Mittelalterliche lateinische Aristotelesübersetzungen und Aristoteleskommentare in Handschriften spanischer Bibliotheken.* (Munich Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-phil. und hist. Klasse, 1928, 5. Abhandlung.) Pp. 120.

IN contrast to the broad theme of his recent essay, 'The Influence of Mediaeval Philosophy on the Intellectual Life of Today' (*The New Scholasticism*, III, January, 1929, 24–56), Mgr Grabmann here presents the results of detailed investigations in his special field, supplementing his comprehensive *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (1916) and subsequent studies by himself and others. The manuscript collections upon which he has drawn are those at Madrid, the Escorial, and Toledo, and the Ripoll codices in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon at Barcelona. He does not tell us whether he has worked elsewhere with negative results; he has evidently not been at Seville, and he does not mention the copy of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De vegetabilibus* at the University of Barcelona, MS. 7–2–6 (cf. my *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, p. 128). Nor, while fully recognizing the importance of the versions of the *Posterior Analytics* therein contained, does he seem to have rediscovered MS. 17–14 of the Cathedral Library at Toledo, which, in spite of all efforts of scholars, has remained 'lost' since I called attention to it in 1913. Spanish libraries are, on the whole, disappointing in the amount of scientific and philosophic material of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which they contain, but Mgr Grabmann has made some interesting finds, as he always does.

Sometimes Mgr Grabmann gives a fuller description of manuscripts already indicated, but for the most part his results are based on fresh material. Thus, a new manuscript confirms the argument of F. H. Fobes and G. Théry that William of Moerbeke was the author of the newer translation of the *Meteorology* and also of the accompanying commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias. In searching for new light on the versions of the *Metaphysics*, he has found among the Ripoll manuscripts an interesting set of questions on the textbooks in arts designed to prepare candidates for the examinations at Paris about the middle of the thirteenth century. Of the various commentators to whom attention is called, the most significant is Petrus Hispanus, later Pope John XXI, of whom Mgr Grabmann has discovered an important treatise *De anima*, which he proposes to edit, as well as commentaries on standard medical treatises and on Aristotle's *De animalibus*. A connection of Petrus with the scientists of the court of Frederick II is conjectured but not established. Let us hope that the author may find new evidence in support of this interesting suggestion.

CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Harvard University.

Dom Louis Gougaud, *Ermites et Reclus, Études sur d'Anciennes Formes de Vie Religieuse.* (*Moines et Monastères*, 5.) Vienne: Abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé, 1928. Paper. Pp. iii + 144.

Tria sunt in Aegypto genera monachorum. Unum coenobitae . . . in commune viventes. Secundum anachoretae, qui soli habitant per desertum. . . . Tertium genus est quod Remoboth dicunt, teterrimum atque neglectum. (Hieron., Ep. xxii, 34). It is to the second of these three classes that Dom Gougaud's book is devoted, but the anchorites whose names figure most prominently therein are not the great 'athletes' known to us from the writings of Palladius, Rufinus, Cassian and the rest, but rather the ascetics of a later age, notably the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the countries of Western Europe. For it is not a history of this particular phase of asceticism which the author undertakes to present, but a picture of the solitary life in its twofold aspect: there is first of all the hermit, who seeks out a dwelling far from the haunts of men, in the depths of the forest or on a desert island, and secondly the recluse, whose cell usually adjoins a monastery or a church. At no time does Dom Gougaud allow himself to be diverted from his purpose. Despite the frequent occurrence of such names as Robert d'Arbrissel, Vital de Mortain, Raoul de la Futaie, the *principes et magistri eremitarum* (*Gaufridi Grossi Vita B. Bernardi Tironiensis*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXII, 1381A; *Acta Sanctorum*, Aprilis, Tom. II, 227D), not the slightest indication is given of the causes which led up to the great religious movement which they represent, nor is anything said of the important results of their life and work. We learn, to be sure, that at this time a strong ascetical impulse laid hold of Europe, but no attempt is made to explain the phenomenon. Dom Gougaud gives his readers a picture of the canonical, the physical, the spiritual, and — paradoxical though it may sound — the social aspects of the solitary life, but even when he discusses the hermit's relations with the outer world, the deep significance of his renunciation for the religious and social history of the period is not even mentioned. These remarks concerning the limited scope of the work appear to the present reviewer to be necessitated by the very general character of the title.

Current conceptions of the eremitical life are in no way altered or modified by Dom Gougaud's book, but under such titles as *Position canonique des Ermites, Ermites clercs, ermites laïques, La Vie Matérielle, Vie Ascétique, Rapports des ermites avec le siècle, Vrais et faux ermites*, the details of that life are presented in an historically precise form. The life of the recluse is treated along similar lines, the chapter headings being almost identical, but in this latter case the chronological limits are less narrowly drawn. Not since the publication of Miss R. M. Clay's book, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London, 1914), has such a work appeared. It is all

the more welcome, since it does for the Continent what Miss Clay did — in somewhat more detail, perhaps — for England. The outstanding merit of the book is its exceptionally rich and full documentation. Not only are liturgical and hagiographical documents constantly cited, but frequent use is made of profane literature as well. To say that the author's intimate knowledge of the vast literature bearing on the history of Christian asceticism is evident on every page, is rather an understatement; it is nearer the truth to say that it is strikingly apparent in almost every line. The value of the work is enhanced by an appendix in which are printed for the first time the *Statuta Inclusorii S. Reinoldi Lata per Theodericum Archiepiscopum Coloniensem* of the year 1448. This document reveals to us a new type of recluse, inasmuch as we have here in reality a small community of women subject to a superior (*rectrix*). A short series of *Addenda* brings the documentation up to date, and a carefully compiled *Index des Noms Propres* adds materially to the usefulness of a most remarkable book.

Anselm Strittmatter, O.S.B.,
St Anselm's Priory, Brookland, D.C.

Ferdinand Lot, *La fin du Monde antique et les débuts du Moyen Age*, L'Evolution de l'humanité, vol. 31. Paris: La renaissance du livre, 1927. Paper. Pp. xxvi + 513.

Between classical antiquity and the feudal centuries the European world changed completely, not only in its institutions but in the whole spirit of its civilization. '*Entre l'homme des temps nouveaux et l'homme des temps antiques il n'y aura plus une pensée commune.*' The change, however, was not a sharp break; it was accomplished during a long period when the state, society, and culture shifted slowly into new forms expressive of the new man. Scholarship has long since investigated particular lines of continuity between Rome and the Middle Ages, but comprehensive studies have unfortunately tended to stop with the Empire or to begin with the German kingdoms. Here is a masterly volume which bridges the gap, which emphasizes the continuity of development between the third and eighth centuries, and which even gives to that period a unity of its own as an age of transition. Perhaps no field of history contains more knotty and alluring problems, from the causes of Rome's fall to the origin of Frankish institutions. In Professor Lot's hands, these questions fall into place as incidental to his main purpose, which is to trace the transformation of a civilization. Specialists will be interested in the many points of fresh interpretation, and in the forceful summaries; to all readers, a most impressive quality of the volume will be the sustained clarity of exposition and narrative.

Part One (pp. 1–215) is concerned mainly with analysis of the fundamental characteristics of the later Empire. This analysis is preceded by

a summary of the political weaknesses which resulted in anarchy and civil wars, and forced imperial realists to recast the Empire in all its lines. The adoption of Christianity by the state was one of the most significant elements of reconstruction, but was not a necessary step. The author considers Constantine's conversion the result of personal conviction rather than of sound state policy. Economic conditions were decisive in fixing the outlines of reconstruction, and one of the most suggestive chapters is devoted to the causes for Rome's failure to recover prosperity after the third century. The great weakness here was the lack of a developed capitalistic system to provide economic resiliency. Superficial capitalism was being replaced by the old substructure of domestic economy, and the future lay with the great estates. As for the decadent culture of the fourth century, Professor Lot finds that the beginnings of its decay go far back into classical antiquity: classical literature and art stifled under the dead weight of their own traditions. Whether all classical objective literature is doomed to death is a debatable question; at any rate, Christianity did not supply the stimulus for revival of the moribund forms of art and literature.

Professor Lot has met effectively the problem of the 'fall' by his description of the later Rome with its corrupt administration, barbarized army, artificial and withering caste system, and decayed morale. When the full import of this condition is appreciated, one sees that in any profound sense of the word Rome had already fallen. A dying organism was held together only by an oppressive shell of administration.

Part Two of the volume is entitled 'La Débacle.' The theme which emerges from chapters of lucid narrative is not one primarily of invasion or conquest, but of disintegration. Control of administration in region after region shifted from incompetent emperors or corrupt officials to the leaders of German army contingents, usually Roman *foederati*. But even after 476 the fiction of Roman unity was maintained along with much of the Roman system in the west, and with pretence of the dependence of German rulers on Constantinople. The Roman west probably failed to see much change in the process whereby its barbarian army became its barbarian ruler.

Part Three of the volume deals with the history and effects of barbarian control on the once Roman world. Whether the German rulers maintained Roman machinery or built on ruder lines, the general results were the same. None of the German-controlled states had vigorous institutions and all had radical vices. The West continued to decline along the lines of earlier decay, unchecked by the rapid fusion between Germans and Romans; the Germans did not constitute a force of reinvigoration. The eighth century begins with nearly complete bankruptcy of western civilization, including even the Church.

In his description of Merovingian society, culture, and institutions, Professor Lot reaches perhaps his high point in the use of effective detail. The reader ends not only with a clear impression of an unhappy age, but with a sense of its logical position in European history, here dependent on the past, there prefiguring future development. All about were decay and ruin, relics of the old world, but there were also forces of an increasing vitality destined to prepare a new order. In handling Merovingian institutions Professor Lot eschews the pitfall of Roman-Germanist controversy. The sum total of these institutions was something *sui generis*, neither Roman, nor German, nor permanent. Their significance lay in certain features, well marked out by the author; in the development of a landed aristocracy, in the disappearance of old political concepts, in the growth of personal relationships, in the manor, in the political rôle of the papacy. The stage is set for a feudal world.

A bibliography of 742 titles at the end gives a notion of the labor of choice and compression necessary to the preparation of this work. Though the volume was completed in 1922, its conclusions hardly suffer from the publication of later works, with the exception of Rostowtzew's latest studies.

C. H. Taylor,
Harvard University.

M. Manitius, ed., Robert Ulich, transl., *Vagantenlieder aus der Lateinischen Dichtungen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts.* (Das Alte Reich. Quellen zur deutschen Kultur.) Jena: Eugen Dieterichs, 1927. Paper. Pp. 176.

This volume is not a contribution to learning and should not be reviewed as such. It is rather the work of a fine amateurism in mediaeval Latin culture, using the accumulated materials of historical and philological research but combining them in a new creation of beauty with the aid of a happy talent for expression in prose and verse. The translator has selected some twenty-five of the richest and most beautiful Latin poems from the *Carmina Burana*, with a few additions from other sources, prefaced them by an enthusiastic and competent introduction on the Goliardic movement, translated them freely but with an extraordinary fidelity to their sense and rhythm, appended a simple working apparatus of bibliography, vocabulary, and notes, and published the whole in an artistically printed volume embellished with reproductions from mediaeval MSS. The training ground for the activities which have resulted in this delightful work was afforded by Alfred Doren's Leipzig course on mediaeval culture attended by the author fifteen years before. The friendly coöperation of Max Manitius was invoked in the technical problem of securing the best texts.

The reviewer sets down these details with pleasure, not only as com-

mending the book itself to the leisure hours of readers of SPECULUM, but as illustrating a kind of mediaeval fruitage of which there has hitherto been relatively little outside of Germany. The closest parallel in the same field is J. A. Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song*, but Symonds aimed rather to render a literary novelty palatable to the dilettante than to satisfy the higher craving of the connoisseur, while the German work implies a reading public capable not only of comparing the translation with the original but even of interesting itself in the litter of the seminaries. Such a public is happily beginning to exist in America, but mediaeval scholars are commonly too unliterary or too heavily burdened with the sense of their obligations as investigators to supply it with books as attractive as this of Ulich's.

JAMES H. HANFORD.
Western Reserve University.

C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, ed., *The Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua*. Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xlvii + 517.

FORTUNE, with books as with men, plays strange pranks. Here is a work written in the early part of the fourteenth century by an Italian physician who was later attached to the court of Louis of Bavaria, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Probably his medical training made him, like Servetus, more scientific and analytical in his methods than the clerics with whom he associated, and he was thus more inclined to express opinions on ecclesiastical and civil affairs which were at once more advanced and radical than was common among the scholars of his time. In these respects his work is more remarkable than Dante's *De Monarchia*, which preceded and Machiavelli's *Prince*, which followed it. Yet those two works are very well known while Marsiglio's *Defensor* has remained in comparative obscurity.

Perhaps the fact that the popes almost immediately condemned it on its appearance in manuscript form may have had much to do with its slight circulation. Certainly the polemical writers in the conflicts between the popes and the Emperors over the ecclesiastical and civil powers both in Marsiglio's own time and during the two centuries preceding the Reformation made much use of it.

Some twenty manuscript copies of it are now in existence. In 1522, a certain German priest under the name of Licentius Evangelus published the first edition, probably with the idea that it was a good weapon in the fight which was being waged against Rome. Fairly numerous reprints of this edition were published down to 1692, but here again the appearance of the *Defensor* in the lists of prohibited books probably kept the number in circulation small, even in Europe. So far as this reviewer knows there

are only two copies in the United States, one at Harvard and the other at Columbia.

For this reason we are much indebted to Mr Previté-Orton for the arduous labor which he has performed in bringing out this edition. It is now easily purchasable and on it studies may be based which will make the theories of Marsiglio more generally known to the world.

In the space of a short review it is not possible to give a detailed account of him or his theories. Several outstanding points may be made. He was a product of the Italian environment in which he lived. The Italian republics, the structure of their government and their constant struggles in the maelstrom of the wars brought on by the opposing claims of the popes and the emperors determined his political theories and colored his views.

The arch trouble-makers and disturbers of the peace were in his estimation the popes. If they could be reduced from their position of authority, peace would reign. So in his work he sets out to show reasons why they have no valid claims. He casts doubt on the Donation of Constantine, a document used by the popes to support their temporal powers. He attacks the doctrine of the Petrine Supremacy and questions whether Peter was ever at Rome. He denies the claim of the popes to authoritative interpretation of the Scriptures and places such in the hands of a general council — a body representative of all faithful Christians. The Church itself, he holds, is a mere part of the State, even like the army, in carrying out the functions which come to it from the State.

Marsiglio was a vehement republican and advanced theories of government which could have been none too acceptable to the monarchs of his time. He holds that all authority in the State comes from the assembly of the adult male citizens. By such a body the ruler, whether a single person or a council, should be chosen. When necessary the ruler or rulers may be punished or deposed by the assembly. He is opposed to hereditary monarchy and thinks that the chief function of the ruler or executive is to enforce the laws passed by the assembly.

Many other theories which we are inclined to describe as modern are to be found in the *Defensor* of which the above are merely samples.

The idea of a universal state or empire which was expounded by Dante, Marsiglio regards as impracticable. In fact he says that wars between rival states are a good thing and like disease are intended by Nature to keep down the number of the population. None the less he does see the advantages to unity and peace in having certain consolidations of kingdoms and city-states into organized and exclusive states. One can find in this an appeal for Italian unity which Machiavelli emphasized later.

Instances are many where the new text has given us different interpretations of Marsiglio's intended meanings. Perhaps the best is that which

concerns the words '*ualentior pars*.' This reviewer and others have translated this in the sense of majority, with the implication of the one-man-one-vote idea. Professor Emerton in his book on *The Defensor Pacis* (p. 26) supported it with cogent reasoning. It is now shown that the original printed text omitted the words '*personarum et qualitate*' from the phrase: '*ualentiorem inquam partem considerata quantitate personarum et qualitate*,' whereas practically all of the manuscripts have them in. The word *qualitate* shows us that Marsiglio did not have in mind by *ualentior pars* mere head counting.

The editor supplies an introduction of forty-seven pages in which he treats of the life of Marsiglio and the part played by John of Jandum in the compilation of the *Defensor;* the structure and contents of the book; and the manuscripts. He has not contented himself with a mere notation of variants in the notes on the text, but in numerous cases has supplied valuable information which aids the reader to a better understanding. At the end of the text he has supplied an Index of proper names, persons, and countries; an Index of quotations and authors referred to in text and notes; an Index of biblical quotations; and an Index of subjects. Five illustrations show facsimiles of pages of some of the manuscripts.

A list of books and articles treating of Marsiglio and his work would have been extremely useful as would also have been some account of previous editions, but limitations of cost and space probably account for these omissions.

In a work of this kind it is inevitable that some slips should occur. On page xi the editor has omitted some intended word after 'deprived,' a capital *E* is by a printer's error omitted from 'erastianism' on page xxvi.

James Sullivan,
University of the State of New York.

Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Mediévale (Abbaye du Mont César, Louvain, Belgium). Vol. I, No. 1, 1929.

Speculum greets with pleasure the first number of the new *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Mediévale*, published by the learned monks of the Abbaye du Mont César at Louvain. Its field is at once broader and narrower than that of our journal. It extends from Tertullian to the epoch of the Council of Trent (about 1560), but is restricted to theology. But anything that contributes to the understanding of theology is grist to the mill. In the *reductio omnium scientiarum ad theologiam*, all the sciences may call for passing consideration. Thus in the present number, literature, history, palaeography, philosophy, liturgics, hymnology, textual criticism contribute their share. Theology is an inclusive discipline! The articles with

their authors are: D. B. Capelle, 'L'origine antiadoptianiste de notre texte du Symbole de la Messe'; D. A. Wilmart, 'La tradition littéraire et textuelle de l'*Adoro te devote*'; D. O. Lottin, 'Les dons du Saint-Esprit chez les théologiens depuis Pierre Lombard jusqu'à S. Thomas d'Aquin'; D. O. Lottin, 'Textes inédits relatifs aux dons du Saint-Esprit'; D. M. Cappuyns, 'Note sur le problème de la vision béatifique au XI^{e} siècle.' The writers and their subjects are a guarantee of the scholarship and the interest of the new journal. There is constant citation of the manuscripts, and eight new texts are printed. The 'Comptes Rendus' include forty-one pithy and informative reviews of recent books, and the 'Bulletin de Théologie Ancienne et Mediévale,' sixty-four brief notices of recent works or articles; in some cases the notices are as long as the reviews. The student of theology is thus kept amply abreast of the times. We note with gratification that books by American scholars († Paetow, Boyce) are here reviewed, and that Volume III of SPECULUM prompts notice of several articles. All students of the Middle Ages, whatever their interests, will find the new *Recherches* an indispensable guide. SPECULUM, with the peculiar satisfaction of the very young, welcomes this latest addition to the family.

E. K. RAND.

C. ROBINSON, ed., *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Third, Michaelmas 1230*. Publications of the Pipe Roll, New Ser., Vol. IV. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927. Cloth. Pp. xxix + 472. $10.00.

THE present volume is very welcome; it contains a Pipe Roll of the reign of Henry III and it is edited by an American scholar. Both of the printed rolls for Henry's reign have been edited by Americans; the other is that of the twenty-sixth year and was edited by Henry L. Cannon. With these a student may learn something of the value of Pipe Rolls at a time when other records of the government were making their appearance.

In the days of Henry II, the paucity of records beyond the Pipe Rolls makes it difficult to gain much knowledge of the financial activities of the government. During the reign of Henry III, the situation is materially changed. The exchequer kept more records, Memoranda Rolls, Receipt Rolls, and Issue Rolls. There had also come into existence the great chancery series, Charter, Patent, Close, and Liberate Rolls. With the help of these it is possible to supplement the information given in the Pipe Rolls. The editor has made good use of the chancery rolls, especially of those called Liberate, throughout his introduction. From them he has gained a considerable amount of information concerning the financial and other activities of the government. As the years passed, the new records grew in number and in volume, and completely overshadowed the ancient Pipe Rolls in importance. By the fourteenth century, that once great series

occupied a very subordinate position, even among the records of the exchequer.

An indication of the new order is found in the relative amount of information contained in the Pipe Roll and in the new series concerning Henry's expedition to France in 1230, the outstanding historical event of the year. Though Mr Robinson has carefully gathered the scattered references to the assembling of supplies for the army that was to invade France, the Pipe Roll entries do not make a very brave showing. Then we remember that Tout has told us that the 'wardrobe . . . had the whole administration of the finances of the expedition in its hands' (*Chapters*, I, 198). The facts that he gives to substantiate this statement are found in the chancery rolls. In the case of taxes the situation is somewhat different; for, though Mr Robinson draws upon other records, most of what he has to say about the scutage or tallage is based upon the Pipe Roll.

There are some matters about which we should know practically nothing, were the Pipe Rolls destroyed. One of these is of perennial interest to a student investigating the financial methods of the past, though no one but Miss Mabel Mills, in her Surrey Record Society volume, has worked on it with any care. I refer to the payment of debts on the instalment plan. On this roll there are at least two instances of debts running back to the days of Richard I, which are still being paid by that method. Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, a great money-lender, died in 1186. The king took over the debts owed Aaron and in 1191 they were set down on the Pipe Roll as due the crown. During the years that followed most of them were paid; but two remained to be collected in full in 1230. The prior of Bullington was charged in 1192 with £304 of the debts due Aaron and was directed to pay £5 annually (Pipe Rolls 3–4 Richard I, p. 231). By the year 1230 he had reduced his indebtedness to £22 10*s.* and was still paying £5 a year (p. 295). William le Vealtre and his heir had during the same period reduced his indebtedness of £191 to £52 6*s.* 8*d.* (Pipe Rolls 3–4 Richard I, p. 51; *ibid.* 14 Henry III, p. 339). The editor has estimated that more than fifty pages of the printed text are devoted to debts dating from the reign of John.

Not only was the payment of many debts drawn out over a number of years, but there were also great contrasts, particularly in connection with large sums, between the size of the instalments paid. William of Lancaster owed £6508 in 1230, paid £40, and was directed to pay a like sum each year (p. 332). By 1242 his annual payment had been raised to £80 (Pipe Roll 26 Henry III, p. 47). Nigel de Mowbray owed £1690, paid £10, and was to pay £40 a year (p. 269). In 1242 he was paying at the rate of £100 a year (*op. cit.*, p. 25). The heir of Thomas de Erdington owed £3437 in 1230 and was paying at the rate of £5 a year (p. 233). The absurd-

ities that resulted from a lack of a standard of proportionate payment need no further illustration. At the rate at which the debt owed by the heir of Thomas was being reduced in 1230, his descendants would have closed their account with the government early in the twentieth century.

Many other types of information are found in the roll. There are several records of financial transactions relating to manors (pp. 1–4, 37, 162–3, 259). These tell us of the prices of animals and farm produce. In this connection the editor, by translating *ponderibus casei* as pounds of cheese (p. xi) and thus recording a price of 6*s.* 6*d.* for a pound instead of a *pondus*, has raised the cost of a useful commodity to an unheard-of height. A number of payments for charters are noted. As usual there are several references to the repair of castles. All of the early Pipe Rolls that I have examined contain references of this sort. Having in early life gained the idea that Norman and Angevin castles and churches were solid constructions that would last throughout the ages, I was rather shocked to discover some years ago how much was spent on their repair during the Middle Ages, and how much concrete has to be poured into their walls in modern times in order to make them safe for the future. The cost of carriage of rather large sums of money across country was not high. The large sum of £1200 was transported in barrels from Nottingham to London, not less than 125 miles, for £1 9*s.* 6*d.* (pp. 75, 313). Scutage, tallage, and carucage are recorded as paid or in arrears. In this connection it may be noted that the statement (p. xxi) that the sub-tenant usually paid scutage, though correct, should not be interpreted to mean he paid it to the crown. There would also seem to be a slight misconception of the functions of that mysterious institution known as the Exchequer of the Jews (p. xx), for Jenkinson has made it clear that the receipts from the Jews reached the king through the ordinary channels (*Jewish Histor. Soc. of England, Transactions* VIII, 1915–17, 19–54). Amercements and fines of all sorts are found on the roll, not the least interesting of which have to do with breaches of the forest law.

The transcription of the roll, so far as my means of checking it go, has been very well done. The introduction discusses many of the matters contained in the roll, and is, with minor exceptions, sound. The volume is a credit to its editor and to the Pipe Roll Society.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

SISTER JAMES ALOYSIUS STEIN, ed., *Encomium of St Gregory on his Brother St Basil.* A Commentary with a Revised Text, Introduction, and Translation. Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. XVII. Washington, D. C., 1928. Pp. xcvi + 166. $3.00.

WITH an expression of warm approval of this useful and painstaking edition of a mediocre text, I pass on to comment on a few details.

The introduction is good, but I fail to understand the remarks on *clau-*

sulae. The list of six on page xc apparently includes every possible ending: I doubt if the proportions are due to anything but chance. And can you combine accentual and quantitative *clausulae?* (e.g., πίστις ἡ πίστις, – ∪ // – / – –, ⏑́ ∼ // ∼ // ⏑́ ∼, p. 74). Nor am I much impressed by being told we have polyptoton and parison, with isocola. The *clausulae* still need critical treatment.

The word-lists are not quite complete (those under *F* are trivial and mostly good Attic). Add προτερεύω p. 6, 10; παρῳχηκώς 6, 11; δευτερεύω 8, 1; κατάλληλος 8, 8; ἀδιαπνευστός 36, 1; ὑποχώννυμι 48, 21 (read ὑπερχώννυμι, or ἐπιχώννυμι). (It was some time before I realized that Atticism in this book means a non-Attic use of the Atticists.)

The text is here established on a firm basis. I offer the following suggestions: 4, 7, comma for full-stop; 10, 8, if the text is sound I would translate 'gathered it into one self-centered race'; perhaps αὐτὸ should be αὖ τὸ, 'united the national elements which surrounded him'; § 10, the first 11 lines are all one sentence; put comma at l. 18, then parenthesis to νόσου; 'utter apostate' is wrong. P. 22, l. 14 add οὖν; 22, 17, comma for full-stop (a slight anacoluthon); 26, 16, del. τοῦ; 32, 4, A, B, F are right; 50, 3, add verb from MSS; 54, 6, αὐτὸ, read αὐτόματον; 54, 9, ἢ : ἡ; 56, 7 seems corrupt, perhaps παραγράφεσθαι ('reject') ⟨ δεῖ ⟩; for 48, 21, see above.

The translation and notes are good, but suffer from over-conscientiousness, the translations being occasionally so painfully literal as to be obscure, and the notes descending to details which are often trivial, to the neglect of hard passages where the *sense* needs explaining, e.g., § 9 (why translate all the long biblical quotations?). I query the translation at 2, 18; 4, 17 'skilled'; 6, 19 f.; 8, 13 'some sort'; 14, 3 '*to* faith'; 18, 22 'moreover' (the force of particles is not always brought out; we miss an examination of the queer uses of πάντως); 24, 21 ff. refers of course to Basil; 38, 7 'deme'; 38, 18; 42, 4 ('he'); 42, 12 translate 'which it waged against that which is pure . . . rose against' (*not* incited; correct the note); 46, 12 translate 'the type of the cross touched Basil's lips' (?); 48, 5 κατὰ = 'like'; p. 50, the last sentence is quite wrong (with the note) — ὡς ἂν is final; 52, 21 f. is not clear; 56, 22, 'groove'; 58, 1, the aorist is gnomic. In 56, 9, n., the subjunctive retains deliberative force: 'how are we to . . . if we are not to . . . ?'

The printing is not very good: on p. 89 there are four misprints in the Greek, and apparently also shuffling of type.

W. B. Sedgwick,
Leicester, England.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

M. Armour, transl., *Gudrun done into English* [*Prose*] . . . Pictures and Decorations by W. B. Macdougal. New York: E. P. Dutton, [1929?]. Cloth. Pp. viii + 215. $2.75.

Art Studies, Mediaeval, Renaissance, and Modern [Vol. VI]. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Boards. Pp. xviii + 221. $3.50.

K. Bartsch, ed., rev. M. Marti, *Wolfram's von Eschenbach Parzival und Titurel*, Bd. I. 4th ed., Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1927. Cloth. R.M. 6.50.

E. v. Berchem, D. L. Galbreath, and Otto Hupp, edd., *Die Wappenbücher des deutschen Mittelalters . . . mit einem Anhang: Zur Datierung einiger Wappenhandschriften, von Otto Hupp.* Emil Birkhäuser, Basel: 1928 (Separat-Abdruck aus dem *Schweizer Archiv für Heraldik*, 1925, 1926, 1928; in 100 Exemplaren gedruckt). Paper. Pp. 93.

W. Bombe, ed., *Nachlass-Inventare des Angelo da Uzzano und des Ludovico di Gino Capponi, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen* (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Bd. 36). Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928. Cloth. Pp. 64. R.M. 3.60.

G. Bruno, J. S. Zybura, transl., *Progressive Scholasticism.* St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1929. Cloth. Pp. xxxviii + 185. $1.75.

R. B. Burke, transl., *Compendium on the Magnificence, Dignity, and Excellence of the University of Paris in the Year of Grace 1517* [by Robert Goulet]. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928. Boards. Pp. 115. $2.50.

Otto Cartelliere, *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund: Kulturhistorische Bilder.* Basel: B. Schwabe, 1926. Cloth. Pp. xi + 329. Fcs. 12.50.

Father Cuthbert, *The Capuchins: a Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. Cloth. Pp. 475 in two volumes.

G. G. Dept, *Les Influences Anglaise et Française dans le Comté de Flandre* (Universiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, 59e Aflev.) Gent: Van Rysselberghe & Rombaut, 1928. Paper. Pp. 231.

A. Dickson, *Valentine and Orson: A Study in Late Mediaeval Romance.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. vi + 309. $3.50.

B. Edwards, ed., *Gui de Cambrai: Le Vengement Alexandre* (Elliott Monographs, No. 23). Princeton: Princeton University Press [1928]. Paper. Pp. xi + 146. $1.50.

H. G. Enelow, ed., *Menorat na-Maor by R. Israel ibn al-Nakawa.* New York: Bloch, 1929. Pt. I. Pp. 37 + 90. Cloth.

F. H. Fobes, W. O. Sypherd, edd., transl., *Jephthah by John Christopherson.* Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. vii + 157. $2.00.

J. L. Gerig, *Antoine Arlier and the Renaissance at Nimes.* New York: Institute of French Studies, 1929. Paper. Pp. 57. $0.75.

E. M. Grimes, ed., *The Lays of Desiré, Graelent, and Melion: Edition of the Texts with an Introduction* [*and Vocabulary*]. New York: Institute of French Studies, [1929]. Paper. Pp. vi + 139. $1.25.

E. J. Holmyard, ed., *The Ordinall of Alchimy. Written by Thomas Norton of Bristoll. Being a facsimile reproduction from Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum with annotations by Elias Ashmole.* London: E. Arnold, 1928. Boards. Pp. viii + 125. 10/6.

Maurus Inguanez, ed., *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus.* Vol. II, Pars i. Montecassino, 1928. Paper. Pp. 122.

——, *I Placiti Cassinesi del Secolo X con Periodi in Volgare* (Miscellanea Cassinese, No. 5). Badia di Montecassino, 1929. Paper. Pp. 27 + 4 Plates.

——, *L'Opera Conservatrice degli Amanuensi Cassinesi.* Badia di Montecassino, 1928. Paper. Pp. 7 + 2 Plates.

G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. 641. $6.00.

P. Lehmann, ed., *Mitttelalteriche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz.* 2. Bd. *Bistum, Mainz, Erfurt.* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1928. Paper. Pp. vi + 812. R.M. 75.

E. Levi, *Inni e Laudi d'un Frate Piemontese del Secolo XIV.* Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1928. Paper. Pp. 12 + 2 plates.

A. Lipsky and H. E. Wedeck, edd., *Nārratiōnes Biblicae from the Vulgate.* New York: Silver, Burdett: n.d. Cloth. Pp. ix + 70.

E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica: Studien und Beiträge zur Historischen Syntax des Lateins. I. Teil. Über einige Grundfragen der lateinischen Nominalsyntax* (Skrifter utgivna av kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, X:1). Lund: C. W. Gleerup, 1928. Paper. Pp. xx + 289.

L. F. H. Lowe, ed., *Gérard de Nevers: Prose Version of the Roman de la Violette* (Elliott Monographs, No. 22). Princeton: Princeton University Press [1928]. Paper. Pp. xxxiv + 177. $2.25.

F. P. Magoun, Jr, ed., *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon: Two Middle-English Alliterative Fragments, Alexander A and Alexander B.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. x + 261. $3.50.

P. Miterre, *Saint Bernard de Clairvaux.* Genval (Belgium): Lannoy, 1929. Paper. Pp. 192. Fcs. 15.

V. F. O'Daniel, *The First Disciples of Saint Dominic, adapted and enlarged from Father Anthony Touron's Histoire Abrégée des Premiers Disciples de Saint Dominique.* Washington, D. C.: *The Dominicana,* [1928]. Cloth. Pp. 518.

Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XII, 1926. New York: Oxford University Press [1929]. Cloth. Pp. xii + 364. $10.00.

A. E. Reuter, *Königtum und Episkopat in Portugal im 13. Jahrhundert* (Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte. Heft 29). Berlin-Grunewald: W. Rothschild, 1928. Paper. Pp. 120.

W. P. Shepard, *La Passion Provençale du Manuscrit Didot: Mystère du XIV^e^ Siècle* (Soc. Anc. Textes Franç.). Paris: Champion, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xliii + 151.

J. Vielliard, *Le Latin des Diplômes Royaux et Chartes Privées de l'Epoque Mérovingienne* (Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Histor. et Philol., Fasc. 251). Paris: Champion, 1927. Paper. Pp. xx + 262. Fcs. 60.

K. Vossler, W. C. Lawton, transl., *Mediæval Culture: An Introduction to Dante and his Times.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. Cloth. 2 vols. Pp. vi + 354, ix + 454. $8.00.

CORRIGENDA

SPECULUM IV (1929), 91, l. 5 read: *τὸν δὲ Δία θαπτόμενον ἐν Κρήτῃ*; p. 116, l. 21 from bottom, read: 'a thesis on that Flavy who was'; p. 138, l. 10 from bottom, for Siberian, read: Serbian.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE CLASSICS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By EDWARD KENNARD RAND[1]

THE thirteenth century witnessed the triumph of mediaeval thought in the mighty theological and philosophical systems of St Thomas and the other scholastics. Conversely, it would appear to some, the thirteenth century witnessed the downfall of ancient letters. Aristotle, and Plato, too, had contributed powerfully in the elaboration of the new thought, but their works were not valued as literature. The progressive and practical tendencies of the age started one of those *querelles des anciens et des modernes* with which all history is dotted. The Classic authors were dislodged from the high place that they had won in the Renaissance of the twelfth century; they went down to defeat in the battle of the seven arts.

This view of Classical culture in the thirteenth century is, I infer, the current and the standard and, one would add, the established view; for it meets us in the pages of our beloved Haskins. Even in the time of John of Salisbury, he declares, 'logic is already driving letters from the schools, and the thirteenth century will have no place for the Latin classics in the curriculum of the universities.'[2] This statement derives strength not only from Haskins's own investigations, but from those of his former pupil, Louis John Paetow. The recent death of Professor Paetow is one of the hardest losses

[1] Presidential address delivered at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, April 27, 1929.

[2] *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 356. Cf. pp. 98 f.

that our Academy has been called on to sustain. Last year he was with us here, and here he received the Academy's prize for his masterpiece on John of Garland. To-day his life-work remains a fragment of what he had amassed and what he had planned. May some younger scholar arise competent to push on in the paths that he had blazed!

On the matter that I would present to you this morning, Paetow spoke out in no uncertain terms. After a careful scrutiny of university programmes of study, he wrote one chapter on the neglect of the ancient Classics at mediaeval universities and another on the decline of the study of grammar, both containing many a pungent lament over that 'great calamity' and many a well-considered reason as to what had brought it about.[1]

It ill becomes me to trespass in a field that such authorities have made peculiarly theirs. Nor do they stand alone. I will call their view, once more, the current view, and while suggesting this morning certain thoughts that point in another direction, I would not undermine deductions so nicely drawn or rewrite accepted history. My aim is to supplement, not to overthrow. I have purposely refrained from consulting Professor Haskins about what I meant to say, since I mean merely to launch a little *ballon d'essai* and do not wish it punctured before the flight. For the moment I will fly bravely, as though no impediment awaited in the blue and no anti-aircraft gunnery were pointed at me from the earth. And at the end, may I at least merit a portion of Phaethon's epitaph,

magnis tamen excidit ausis.

First, then, I make bold to say that the current theory, if I have correctly stated it, is not wholly satisfactory. When we consider some of the great works of literature of the period or of that immediately succeeding, we ask ourselves whether the whole story has been told. When we read the *Romance of the Rose* or the *Divine Comedy*, to take but two examples, we are soon aware that beneath the first lies a profound acquaintance with Ovid, and that beneath

[1] *The Arts Course at the Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric* (Champaign, Illinois, 1910), p. 36.

the second lies a profound acquaintance with Virgil. The lives of the three authors concerned, Guillaume de Lorris, Jean de Meung, and Dante, cover most of the thirteenth century and nearly a quarter of the fourteenth. The schooling that they received represents what went on during the last three quarters of the thirteenth century, precisely the period to which I have invited your attention this morning. Needless to say, Virgil and Ovid were not the only ancients with whom these poets were familiar, nor were they themselves the only masters of vernacular literature who had somehow been schooled in the same way. It is easy to call these greater lights exceptions, and to attribute their acquaintance with the Latin Classics to private reading. And yet this explanation is — to me — a bit disquieting. Once more, has the whole story been told?

Though Professor Paetow does not blur the outlines of his picture of the thirteenth century as a period in which the logicians had driven the humanists from the field, he does not blink certain facts and certain names that show, to quote his words, 'that in spite of the general decadence of the classics during this period [i.e. *ca.* 1225 to 1325] they were still known and read by some students and savants in isolated places throughout western Europe.'[1] Thus, in France, we have Vincent of Beauvais and Etienne de Bourbon, who knew their ancients, but they are 'solitary classicists' — swallows not ushering in a spring but still flying in December. Then there are anthologies of Latin writers in two manuscripts in Paris.[2] There is in a manuscript of Toulouse[3] a student's note-book containing comments on Virgil's *Georgics* and on a fragment of Seneca. There is that fine little work palmed off on Boethius by its author, — *De Disciplina Scholarium*, in which it is prescribed that scholars should be trained in the liberal arts and the ancient authors. So much for France. I will not pause to enumerate the similar examples listed for Germany, England, and Italy; we shall glance at some of them later on the way. Sum them all up, and we get merely those exceptions that prove the rule, 'survivals' of that which had been.

[1] *The Arts Course at the Medieval Universities*, pp. 101–105.
[2] *B. N. lat. 17903* and *13582*.
[3] *No. 811*.

But now we should note, first of all, that these different examples do not stand alone. They represent certain classes of works or practices each of which had its course in the Middle Ages and was still flowing strong in the thirteenth century. Thus the student's commentary on Virgil and Seneca is but one incident in the history of mediaeval interpretation of the Classical authors, a subject which we are only just beginning to study. The practice started in antiquity; it was cultivated, if I mistake not, in the Emerald Isle when the Continent was occupied in more strenuous pursuits; it was a feature of the Carolingian Renaissance; it flourished in the following centuries, especially in the new Renaissance of the twelfth; [1] and it was by no means abandoned at the time when St Thomas was composing his *Summa Theologiae*.

On the basis of what has been published thus far we may trace the history of this mediaeval interpretation most clearly in the case of Ovid. Not to speak of the glossing of his works in the early Middle Ages, where we have only fragmentary evidence at our disposal, we note as an invention of the twelfth century, that veritable Renaissance, a complete and systematic sort of commentary or *Accessus*, with an introduction that treats of the poet and the characteristics of his work. The annotator discusses in turn the life of the poet, the title of his work, the intention of the writer, his subject, its utility, and the division of philosophy under which it may be classed. The comments are not always what we should expect, that is, if we cling to the widely disseminated idea — not to be found in Haskins's book, I will add — that the mediaeval reader, spiritually sharpened by a training in allegory, heard nothing but the mystical overtones in Ovid's works, such as the *Art of Love*. How disappointing to find that the *intentio scribentis* in the *Amores*, according to one of these commentators of the twelfth century, is — *delectare!* Only this and nothing more. What a vista is opened by these few words — a vista into the mediaeval mind!

More than one mediaeval commentary on the different works of Ovid is in existence to-day, and even if most of them were compiled

[1] See Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 114. He notes as a 'survival' of such glossarial habits in the thirteenth century William of Breton's practice of citing passages from the pagan poets to explain the more difficult words of the Bible.

in the twelfth century, the copies made of them in the thirteenth amply demonstrate that they were still of interest and of use. The manuscripts used by the learned Pole, who has written very profitably on this subject, are evenly distributed between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, with a slight preponderance for the latter, and the tradition waxes stronger still in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[1] Exactly the same situation is revealed by an inspection of the catalogue of the manuscripts at Munich, which is especially rich in texts of Ovid with mediaeval annotations. One work undoubtedly of the thirteenth century, and of the latter part of it, is the paraphrase of the *Metamorphoses* by Albert of Halberstadt. I venture to predict from what examination of manuscripts and catalogues of manuscripts I have been able to make that, when the history of mediaeval interpretations of the Latin authors is written, — and would that these words of mine might inspire some youthful student to plunge into this summoning task, — the thirteenth century will figure, not as a barren, but as a very fruitful period in this tradition.

Another line of scholarly interest to follow is grammar. The history of mediaeval grammar is described in the monumental treatise of Thurot,[2] still unsurpassed, and is discussed by Paetow in a stimulating chapter.[3] He pays significant tribute to the 'new grammar' of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as represented by the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei and the *Grecismus* of Everard of Béthune, praising its 'system of syntax so well-constructed that its principles were adopted by the humanists and are still in vogue to-day.'[4] That Alexander regarded himself as wholly anti-Classical, however, seems to me at least questionable. He does protest against the 'paganism' of the course at Orleans,[5] and he inveighs against

[1] Gustave Przychocki, *Accessus Ovidiani* (*Symbolae ad Veterum Auctorum Historiam atque ad Medii Aeui Studia Philologa*, vol. I), Crakow, 1911. See pp. 57 f. for the list.

[2] *Notices et Extraits de Divers Manuscrits Latins pour servir a l'Histoire des Doctrines Grammaticales au Moyen Age* (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, XXII (1868), 1–592).

[3] *The Arts Course*, pp. 33–66.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[5] Paetow, *The Battle of the Seven Arts* (*Memoirs of the University of California*, vol. IV, No. 1, 1914), p. 28. This work is reprinted in Paetow's *Two Mediaeval Satires on the University of Paris* (the other satire being the *Morale Scolarium* of John of Garland), issued by the same press in 1927.

Maximian,[1] but Maximian is only one item in the programme of reading in the mediaeval school. The names of Cicero, Caesar, Seneca, Horace, and other authors are used by Alexander as illustrations,[2] and various of his illustrations come from pagan poetry.[3] Few pagans and few humanists to-day would regard the omission of a second-rate author like Maximian as a blow to the ancient cause. The work of Alexander does not present a recommended list of authors, but it certainly was used to accompany or precede the ordinary programme of reading, with or without Maximian. Grammar in the narrow sense was not cultivated for its own sake in the Middle Ages. It was a part of grammar in the larger, the ancient sense — literature. Alexander's chief purpose was to supply the educational needs of his day with something more serviceable than Priscian — and he succeeded. The *Doctrinale* is a work of the twelfth century, having been written in 1199. I should call it a noteworthy monument of the Renaissance of that time. And surely it was not neglected in the period, and the periods, that followed.

If we divide the centuries sharply, the *Grecismus* of Everard of Béthune belongs in the thirteenth, since it appeared in 1212. It is only partly devoted to the explanation of Greek technical terms of grammar and rhetoric. Much of it is devoted merely to Latin grammar. Whatever its defects, the work as a whole is a distinctly clever specimen of metricized grammar, in which the author takes a commendable if naïve satisfaction. There is no doubt of his interest in the pagan authors, who are cited in profusion.[4] The contents of the work, as already indicated, do not nicely correspond to the author's plan as stated in the preface, and we may therefore conclude that the work, to use the words of the great authority on mediaeval grammar, 'was singularly interpolated and augmented in the schools.' [5]

[1] Lines 3–4 (ed. D. Reichling, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XII, 1893).

[2] Lines 1381 ff., 2004, 2020, 2280.

[3] E.g. line 2625.

[4] See the *Index Auctorum* in Wrobel's edition, *Corpus Grammaticorum Medii Aevi*, I, (Vratislaviae, 1887), 250.

[5] Thurot, *op. cit.*, p. 101: 'Il faut conclure que son ouvrage a été singulièrement interpolé et augmenté dans les écoles.'

Even if we regard this book as a kind of remnant of the twelfth century,— and I think it natural to put the *Grecismus* and the *Doctrinale* in the same period,[1] — there is no doubt of its popularity not merely in the thirteenth century but in those that followed.[2] The presence of interpolations — most of which, I should infer, were added in the thirteenth century — indicates an interest in the subject both active and intelligent. If the difference in date of the two works has any significance, then it is clear that approbation of the classics was not declining but increasing. It is fair, I believe, to regard the golden age of mediaeval grammar, the age of profitable invention in that art, as the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. That the thirteenth century as a whole still cherished grammatical studies is indicated not merely by what I have just set forth, but by the gloss *Admirantes*, commended by Thurot,[3] by the *Summa modorum significandi* of Siger of Brabant [4] and by the commentary on Priscian's Books XVII and XVIII by an archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Kilwardby, who died in 1279.[5] Naturally the philosophers of the day could not refrain from playing metaphysically with grammar, as with anything else, as appears in the *Grammatica Speculatiua* of Duns Scotus.[6] The starting-point was furnished by Everard of Béthune, who deplored the reliance on mere authority and the neglect of grammatical reasoning displayed by Priscian.[7] Surely there is nothing damningly scholastic in the endeavor to find causes for grammatical phenomena. Some of the causes assigned in the thirteenth century would not find approval to-day, but the modern attitude towards grammatical investigation originates, as Paetow declared, in the mediaeval Renaissance.[8]

[1] Haskins (*op. cit.*, p. 136) states that 'by the thirteenth century grammar had fallen back into the position of being merely one of the seven liberal arts, confined to its elementary task of teaching the Latin language for practical purposes.' He associates *Doctrinale* with *Grecismus* as the 'texts of the new age.' I am quite willing to regard them as such.

[2] Thurot, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 486.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 136.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 41. P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroisme Latin au xiii^e siècle.* (2d ed., Louvain, 1911), I, 141, in *Les Philosophes Belges*, Tome VI.

[5] Thurot, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[6] Paetow, *The Arts Course*, p. 36.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 35. This point is made absolutely plain in certain glosses on *Doctrinale* written in the thirteenth century. See Thurot, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 f.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 34 f.

The golden age of Grammar in the Middle Ages was also that of rhetoric. That fact has been made especially clear of late by the noteworthy book of Faral, a worthy companion-piece to Thurot's great work on grammar.[1] There is no doubt that elaborate rhetorical doctrine, transmitted by the ancients, adapted by mediaeval scholars, and forgotten by us to-day, presupposed a most searching study of the Classical authors. One has merely to skim the texts of Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, now accessible in the pages of Faral, to see the ancients everywhere. The arts of poetry of those mediaeval scholars are as pagan, if you like, as that of Horace; he at least is their acknowledged master, whatever the innovations they introduced. John of Garland, whose *Morale Scolarium* Paetow has enabled us to understand,[2] continues this golden line; his predecessors represent the twelfth and he the middle of the thirteenth century. His Latin is less elegant than that of Matthew and Geoffrey; his veneration of the ancients is the same. If he treats *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus* despitefully,[3] it is because these works, in his estimation, fall short of the ancient norm.

According to Paetow, John of Garland was 'a lone enthusiast,' or again, 'almost a lone humanist in the University of Paris in the thirteenth century' and his *Morale Scolarium* was the 'swan-song' of humanism.[4] If this phrase is taken in its ancient sense, I think it is true; swans used to sing their immortality. John of Garland, I mean to say, is but a link in a continuous chain of humanism. Between him and the rhetoricians of the twelfth century stands Gervasius of Melkley, who wrote after 1208 and perhaps after 1213.[5] After him comes Everard the German, who, after Thurot's demonstration,[6] has ceased to be confounded with Everard of Béthune. The *Laborintus* of the German writer follows John of Garland's

[1] *Les Arts Poétiques du xii^e et du xiii^e siècle* (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, CCXXXVIII, Paris, 1923).

[2] *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland* . . . edited . . . by Louis John Paetow (University of California Press, 1927).

[3] Paetow, *Morale Scolarium*, pp. 100, 108.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 104; *La Bataille des VII Ars*, p. 16.

[5] Faral, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[6] *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, N. S., VI (1870), 259. Faral, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 f.

Homonima and precedes the *Registrum multorum auctorum* of Hugo of Trimberg (1280).

These last-named works, while deserving mention in the history of rhetoric, treat other matters as well. In fact, they cover education in general, and thus continue another line of tradition founded by Cicero and Quintilian of old and represented, monumentally, in the twelfth century by the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury and in the first half of the thirteenth century by Pseudo-Boethius, *De Disciplina Scholarium*. This last-named work is a tribute to Boethius the educator; for that ancient had passed on to the Middle Ages not only the material and the method for a new philosophy but certain standard works important for both trivium and quadrivium. The author of the mediaeval treatise wrote worthily of his master, whose name was invoked like Solomon's for proverbs and David's for psalms. The writer's own name has long been beckoning to us acrostically in a little poem at the end of the work, but nobody noticed his signals till Paul Lehmann read CONRADUS there.[1]

The teacher speaks loudly in the *Laborintus* of Everard the German. The title means not 'labyrinth' but 'misery,' *quasi laborem habens intus*, as the gloss explains. The subject is, ostensibly, the miseries in the life of a teacher — a large and human and even modern subject. Nature has created the teacher with regret, says Everard, and his pupils show him why. His own career is described, Philosophy handing him over to Grammar, and Poetry later giving him her commands. Before long we are launched in the ordinary matter of grammar and rhetoric. The picturesque setting recalls that in the *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* by Martianus Capella and in other text-books. It is a device for ensnaring the learner and should not be taken too seriously as a picture of the teacher's life or the conditions of Classical studies in the times of Everard the German — any more than we should take too seriously the sighs and scoffs of John of Garland or of Henri d'Andeli in works that are half-satires; in fact, we receive such warning from John himself.[2] In the *Laborin-*

[1] *Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters* (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, vol. XIII, Leipzig-Berlin, 1927), p. 28.

[2] *Prologus* (ed. Paetow, p. 183): 'In hoc igitur libello reprehensione satirica vitiis moralitas opponitur.' 'Two Mediaeval Satires' is Paetow's own title for these two works.

tus, when we have traversed the miseries of the preface, nothing but delight is evident in the author's voluminous descriptions of the pagan works that a well-educated lad should read. A humanist generally lives in a period that is going to the dogs. While he is arraigning the age, humbler folk congratulate the age on having such as he. I could prove my point by citations down the centuries from Lupus Servatus to Irving Babbitt.

Possibly one might infer that the work of Everard the German attests a more intensive cultivation of the Latin authors in Germany than in France during this period. Paetow shows reason for believing that there was a Classical school at Erfurt.[1] He cites the *Carmen Satiricum* of Nicolaus de Bibera and mentions, besides Everard, Hugo of Trimberg and Conrad of Mure. These are important witnesses. Of Everard it should also be said that though he was German, he taught at both Paris and Orléans.[2] Faral apparently would draw no dividing line between the humanism of John of Salisbury, of Matthew and Geoffrey, and that of John of Garland and Everard the German. In fact he regards Paris after the beginning of the thirteenth century as a rival of Orléans in the study of literature.[3]

Treatises on grammar and rhetoric were often accompanied, as we have seen, by lists of recommended authors. Such lists exist elsewhere, and, indeed, if the descriptions of the authors are ample enough, the result is a brief history of Latin literature as seen by mediaeval eyes. One may regard St Jerome, with his *De Viris Illustribus*, modelled on Suetonius, as the founder of this practice, which was continued by St Isidore and others and cultivated with special fervor in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Perhaps the most interesting — certainly the most discriminating — of all these historians is Aimericus, whose work, dated 1086, was discovered and published by Thurot.[4] Another important addition

[1] *The Arts Course*, p. 102.

[2] Faral, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 101, with N. 1: 'Mais dès le début du XIII^e^ siècle, Paris qui jusque là avait été un centre pour la philosophie, était devenue pour l'étude des lettres, la rivale d'Orléans.' He declares, apparently with the whole development in mind, 'Ainsi la base de l'enseignement était la lecture des auteurs' — along with the instruction of the teacher and the study of the written commentaries on the authors.

[4] 'Documents relatifs à l'histoire de la grammaire du moyen-âge,' *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, N. S., VI (1870), 242–251.

to the list was made by Haskins,[1] who brought to light a treatise probably by Alexander Neckam. The latter represents the close of the twelfth century, as Conrad of Hirschau (1070–1159) does its beginning. Now if the current theory were sound, we should expect in the treatises of the thirteenth century something of a diminution in the number of the pagan authors recommended and an increasing censoriousness in the attitude towards them. Nothing of the sort is discoverable. Everard the German lists more pagans than Conrad of Hirschau does, and Hugo of Trimberg has more than Alexander Neckam, though Neckam's list is copious. A critical attitude towards the ancients of course appears at times, as in Jacques de Vitry (+ 1240), who preferred to restrict the reading-programme to the works of Christians.[2] Such anti-pagan feeling crops up in any epoch in the history of the Church; it is not typical of the sentiment of the Church in general, which, as I have tried elsewhere to show, had as early as the fourth century established a programme of Christian humanism.[3]

In general, as we turn over the writers on literature whom I have mentioned, we find those of the twelfth, not those of the thirteenth century, indulging in censure of the ancients or recommending caution in the use of their works. A particular target for these animadversions is that dangerously alluring pagan, Ovid. Alexander Neckam, though permitting the reading of the *Metamorphoses*, and especially commending the poet's *remedies* of love, warns the gatherers of the flowers of poetry against the snake that lurks in the grass; and this caution he applies to satires as well as to poems on love.[4]

Conrad had been still more severe. When he comes in his list to Ovid he pauses to make him the subject of a little sermon. He lays down the principle of Christian humanism clearly enough; Statius and the satirists, for instance, figure in his list, but the line is drawn

[1] 'A List of Text-books from the Close of the Twelfth Century,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xx (1909), 75–94.

[2] See Paetow, *The Arts Course*, p. 21.

[3] *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 64 and *passim*.

[4] Haskins, 'A List of Text-books,' p. 90. The humanist in Neckam is shown by the use of a couplet from Virgil (*Ecl.* iii, 92–93) with which to administer this scourging of Ovid.

at Ovid. As Conrad puts it, pungently if unpleasantly, though gold may be found in the dung, the odor of the latter should counteract one's greed of the former.[1] The thirteenth-century writers, on the other hand, show no such scruples about Ovid. John of Garland quotes and uses his various works, including the *Amores* and the *Art of Love*, without a reprimand, and he devotes a commentary, called *Integumenta*, to the *Metamorphoses*.[2] In the battle of the arts, as portrayed by Henri d'Andeli, Ovid, and that estimable Goliard, the Primate of Orléans, bring up the rear-guard of the forces of poetry — *par nobile fratrum*.[3] Both Everard and Hugo recommend all of Ovid's works, and the former makes it clear that he is following the sanction of tradition.[4] Perhaps we may liken Ovid's career in the schools to that of Aristotle in the universities — first ostracized, then tolerated, then prescribed.

Another difference in the lists of the twelfth and those of the thirteenth century is the inclusion in the latter of various Latin works that the former had produced. The *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon, the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme, the *De Planctu Naturae* and the *Anti-Claudian* of Alan of Lille, the lively comedy, *Geta*, of Vitalis of Blois, and the even livelier *Pamphilus* of his townsman William — these and other contemporary works have now become part of the canon. I cannot believe that the writings of the moderns tended to drive the ancients out. The moderns were not revolutionists. They were firmly grounded in the classics and desirous in their various ways to continue the great tradition. The inclusion of such works along with both Christian and pagan writings is, indeed, a wholesome sign of humanism, which has always applied to the present the inspiration it has drawn from the past.

We may note a similar growth of classical interest if, now, we consider the text-books of the pagans employed for elementary instruction. The history of their use is exhibited in an important

[1] G. Schepss, ed., *Conradi Hirsaugiensis Dialogus super Auctores, siue Didascalon* (Würzburg, 1899), p. 66.

[2] Paetow, *Morale Scolarium*, p. 116, and the Index (s.v. Ovid).

[3] Lines 318–320 (ed. Paetow, p. 54).

[4] Lines 621–622 (ed. Faral, p. 359): 'Quam sollemnizat usus, tibi turba colenda/Ouidiana magis; quid ferat ille, patet.'

article by a Dutch scholar, M. Boas.[1] His results — obtained not merely from such works as we have considered but from the contents of mediaeval manuscripts — are summarized in a list of the text-books that appear in combination with the *Disticha Catonis* from the ninth century to the thirteenth.[2] In the ninth and tenth centuries, this famous set of moral maxims attracts to itself first the beast-fables of Avianus, then the only Homer that the Middle Ages knew (the *Homerus Latinus*), and then the eclogue of Theodulus or Godescalc (maybe) — that skillful debate between Christianity and Paganism in which mediaeval pupils learned Bible stories and Classic myths at the same time. In the eleventh century the senile love-elegies of Maximianus joined the group, and the five authors thus allied were the staple of initial education during the twelfth century as well. No new names were added then; in fact, in some programmes, *Homerus Latinus* was dropped from the list. In the thirteenth century, Maximianus also tends to disappear, in keeping with the sentiment expressed by Alexander de Villedieu. In his place there are noteworthy substitutions — the *Achilleis* of Statius, Claudian's poem on Proserpine, Ovid's *Remedies of Love*, and the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme.

This record of the text-books of the elementary schools is doubtless incomplete, but the general trend is plain. It is plain that in the thirteenth century the works of pagan literature were not on the wane — quite the contrary — in the development of elementary education. Of course it is true that Ovid, Statius, and other classics were part of the school programme in the twelfth as well as in the thirteenth century; the point is, that they were not among the obviously *elementary* books — the *Libri Catoniani* — exhibited by Boas. If to-day Claudian, Statius, and, let us say, Milton's Latin poems, were added to the high-school curriculum, teachers of the Classics would not feel that the times were out of joint.

Another line of approach to our goal is furnished by the catalogues of mediaeval libraries. On this broad field I refrain from

[1] 'De Librorum Catonianorum Historia atque Compositione,' *Mnemosyne*, N. S., XLII (1914), 17–46.

[2] The convenient term *Libri Catoniani* is Boas's invention. His summary list is presented *art. cit.*, p. 46.

entering, especially since the material for the thirteenth century has been only insufficiently presented. When the labors of Paul Lehmann and others in publishing the catalogues of Switzerland and Germany are completed and when works of like eminence are achieved for the other countries of Europe, we shall be better informed on the subject than we are to-day. However, even on the basis of what has been published we may draw some inferences, especially with the help of a recent doctor's dissertation inspired by Haskins.[1] The field of that dissertation is limited to the twelfth century. As to the thirteenth, I would point merely to two documents. One is the famous *Biblionomia* of Richard de Fournival, which presents the most complete picture of the intellectual interests of the thirteenth century that I know. I will leave my hearers to turn to the fascinating account of this collection in Delisle.[2] The author, who writes about 1250, plants his garden, as he says, in order that his fellow-citizens of Amiens may gather there the fruits of wisdom that inspire the learner to enter the sanctuary of philosophy. The garden is divided into plots (*areolae*) each containing a book-disk (*tabula*) on which, in the mediaeval manner, the manuscripts were laid flat. The divisions include the liberal arts as well as physics and metaphysics, the 'lucrative' sciences of medicine and law, and the 'golden' books of theology. This garden presents an amazing wealth of literature, in which Christians, pagans and moderns all are numbered. Whether the writer possessed all the books that he describes is a secondary consideration. Some of them, I have always been convinced, he must have either owned or seen, and some have recently been identified with extant manuscripts.[3] Real or imaginary, the *Biblionomia* is a notable memorial of Christian humanism, and, as the names of Walter Burleigh and Richard of Bury will suggest, only one link in a golden chain.

To match this library of Richard de Fournival we have knowledge

[1] J. S. Beddie, *Libraries in the Twelfth Century*, Harvard dissertation, 1928. Not yet published (Harvard College Library, shelf-mark HU 90. 1916).

[2] *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits* (Paris, 1874), II, 518–535.

[3] Delisle (*op. cit.*, III, 387) notes that No. 66 of the *Biblionomia* tallies with *Bibl. Nat. 16613*, and further identifications are said to have been made by Aleksander Birkenmajer, *Bibljoteka Ryszarda de Fournival i jej Pozniesze Losy* (Crakow, 1922).

of another, of whose existence there can be no possible doubt, at the Abbey of Saint Pons de Tomières, of which the catalogue, made in 1276, happens to be preserved.[1] It included three hundred books, — an enormous number for the Middle Ages, — and its contents are as variously representative as those of the *Biblionomia*. To the best of my knowledge, no such display is made by any catalogue of the twelfth century. The Abbey of Saint Pons de Tomières was hardly one of the most magnificent of the time. We have a right to infer, therefore, that there were other collections in the thirteenth century quite as impressive.

The librarian puts the reader in a proper frame of mind with an admirable preface, in which the couplet occurs:

> Disce uacans studio quasi numquam sis moriturus
> Siue carens uicio quasi uita cras cariturus.
>
> Read at your ease, as though you'd never die;
> Shun vice, tomorrow in your grave to lie.

The familiar mediaeval *memento mori* is in the second verse, the leisure of humanism is in the first. It is of interest, further, to observe that the careful custodian adds notes on certain borrowers and their borrowings. One R. de Porta Regia had out a book on the art of preaching, glosses on the Gospels, and two breviaries.[2] Lest we draw the deduction that preaching was the only interest in the Middle Ages, we may note that B. de Aqua Viva had borrowed a *Grecismus*, a Horace, a Lotarius,[3] an Ovidius *De Ponto*, certain glosses on logic, and certain decretals 'of the old series.' A man of law, perhaps — at any rate a humanist. Perhaps we might suspect a secret pagan, were not his Christian humanism suddenly rescued by the concluding item — a breviary.[4]

With the above evidence before us, that 'solitary classicist,' Vincent of Beauvais, and that 'lone humanist,' John of Garland, seem rather to be confederates in a noble company of educated men of the thirteenth century to whom the ancient authors furnished a

[1] L. Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 536–550. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 550.

[3] Is this author the same as Lisorias (see Thurot, *Doctrines Grammaticales*, p. 424), and are both spellings different corruptions of Luxorius?

[4] Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

vital part of their culture. I studiously refrain from applying the title of 'lone Puritan' to Jacques de Vitry.

The interest of the thirteenth century in the Classics is writ large in the lists of authors and the library catalogues just examined. It is writ small, but just as clearly in the numerous *florilegia* or extract-books of the time. Paetow mentions two,[1] apparently as exceptions; in reality they are mere specimens of a flourishing class. They show us what various lovers of literature in the Middle Ages regarded as wholesome and toothsome morsels for their mental nourishment. The examination of such collections has only just begun, but enough material has already been scrutinized to prove beyond question that the Golden Age of the Classical *florilegia* is the thirteenth century.[2] All of the streams of pagan culture that we have been following show a like course; they begin faintly but gather impetus as they go, swelling out most broadly in the period when they are supposed to have run dry. In the most recent article on *florilegia* that I have seen, the writer, an authority on the subject, goes so far as to suggest that the composition of such books may have been one of the forces that led to the later Renaissance in Italy.[3] That is too deep a question to discuss here. The *florilegia* are perhaps not so much an 'influence' as an expression of ideals already in the minds of those who put these works together. But this is a mere question of terms; the important fact is that the *florilegia*, with their numerous excerpts from the pagan authors, are typical of the interests of the age.

Here I may mention, in all brevity, — for I shall publish a fuller

[1] See above, p. 251. Haskins selects two manuscripts 'of the fuller sort' to illustrate the subject of *florilegia* (*Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 113). One is *Vat. Pal. Lat. 957*, of the later twelfth century, and the other is *Bibl. Nat. Lat. 7647* of the thirteenth.

[2] See Dr Eva M. Sanford, 'The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the *Libri Manuales*,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LV (1924), 190–248. See A. Van de Vijver, 'Un Travail de Philologie latine mediévale,' *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, VII (1928), 1758–1762, who shows, superfluously, that this list is incomplete; it is, however, the fruit of much labor and gives, to the best of my knowledge, a true cross-section.

[3] B. L. Ullman, 'Tibullus in the Mediaeval Florilegia,' *Classical Philology*, XXIII (1928), 174: 'This leads to the conclusion that they [the *florilegia*] had a strong influence on the culture of those centuries [i.e. the thirteenth and the fourteenth]. Is it possible that they were in some measure responsible for a wide, if not deep, knowledge of the classical authors, and thus for that movement which later became the Renaissance?'

account elsewhere, — a little discovery that I made a few years ago in a manuscript of Tours. It is a copy of the works of Ovid — all of them — made in the early part of the thirteenth century and evidently at a time when the 'bard of the tender loves' was not under the ban. At least the scribe has bestowed an affectionate care on the script and the illuminator has displayed enough of his art to make a tasteful if not a sumptuous volume. It was protected with parchment fly-leaves both at the beginning and at the end, which later were filled in with notes 'sans grand intérêt,' according to the catalogue. As I took a glance at them, they seemed interesting or even exciting for anyone interested in the condition of culture in the thirteenth century. Some lover of books had jotted down a list of authors that he had evidently studied in school or read for his own delectation. He writes a neat hand, possibly to be dated at the end of the thirteenth century, more probably somewhere in the fourteenth. There are signs that he is copying a list already drawn up. In any case, the script is considerably before the days of Italian humanism and the contents of the notes reflect the intellectual atmosphere of the latter half of the thirteenth century. The elementary books are what we should expect in a list of that time — Cato, Theodulus, Avianus, Statius, Claudian, Maximianus, *Pamphilus*, *Ysopus*, and *Tobias*. This is a goodly collection, very close to what Everard the German and Hugo of Trimberg recommend. Various grammatical and ecclesiastical text-books are then given, including a number of those of John of Garland as well as those which he thought he had transcended — those good old stand-byes, *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus*. Alexander Neckam is named, though without the title of the work. It is tempting to conjecture that it was the very one that Professor Haskins brought to light. All this preliminary training leads up to the reading of the great authors, of whom two, Statius and Claudian, had already been broached. The number is unusually extensive: more works of Statius and Claudian, the *Anti-Claudian* of Alan of Lille, Juvenal, Lucan, Persius, Petronius, Horace (all the works, *Odes* included), Virgil (all the works), Boethius, the *Consolation of Philosophy* and the supposedly Boethian work *De Disciplina Scholarium*, Macrobius, Plato '*in tymeo*,' certain

works on the quadrivium, Bernard Sylvester, Matthew again, Martianus Capella, and, for a *bonne bouche* at the end, Martial 'the Cook.' Ovid's name is not mentioned, though I think from no Puritanic scruples, since room is found for Martial and for Petronius. The list was written on the fly-leaves, I think, after they had been placed about the complete works of Ovid, and Ovid is one of the authors from whom the unknown lover of books has culled a set of passages which follow his list of authors. This is his common-place book, in which he has jotted down bits from his favorites; besides Ovid, from whose *Art* and *Remedies of Love* he has excerpted safely and sagely, we see, along with plentiful selections from the Old and the New Testaments, something from Cicero, from Virgil, from the new translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, and from the old translation of Plato's *Timaeus*. In brief, here is a little mirror of that Christian humanism which had not ceased to color the mediaeval mind at the time when that mind was preëminently occupied with conquering each last corner in the realm of thought.

I return to the question raised at the beginning of this paper. How can we account for the acquaintance with the Classics shown by such authors as the writers of the *Romance of the Rose* and the *Divine Comedy?* The answer may seem easier now. The training that these poets had received, I am tempted to infer, was no exceptional affair. If the University of Paris excluded the ancients from its curriculum, the University of Toulouse welcomed them.[1] There must have been some sort of schools in which the liberal arts were cultivated, with *grammatica*, as in the earlier establishments at Chartres, laying the foundation. Everard the German, Hugo of Trimberg, and Brunetto Latini were somewhere informing youth *come l'uom s'eterna*. That the ruling passion of the age was dialectic, it would be absurd to deny. Yet along with the philosopher's contempt of 'mere literature,' along with the call of the practical, the revolutionary, and the modern, grammar and the old authors were still recognized as the portal of sound education. Hugo of Trimberg could wisely adjust himself amidst the clash of the schools, the courts, and the mart:

[1] Paetow, *The Arts Course*, pp. 55–60.

Tot sunt dialectice modi, tot tumultus
Tot immutat facies, tot assumit cultus,
Ut iam dicat aliquis animo consultus
Quo teneam nodo mutantem Protea uultus?

'In philosophy we see
Many fads and furies;
In her face or in her frocks
Something ever newer is.
He will say who's in the thrall
Of dialectic worries,
"How shall I ever lasso this sleekest of Protean houris?" '

Non contempno studium dialecticorum;
Non contempno gloriam iuris peritorum;
Vos ad exercitium inuitans ethicorum;
Scilicet est cupidus studiorum quisque suorum.

'Surely I would not contemn
Dialectic's mazes,
Nor the lawyer's high renown,
Nor the fees it raises.
But *I* can give you moral truth
Culled from ancient phrases.
What a man's called to profess is surely the thing that he praises.'

So, then, he adds, if one cannot hope to be a perfect *artista*, or from lack of funds, a *decretista*, one can at least aspire to the calling of an *auctorista*, that is to say, a not inglorious *Latinista*.[1] *Chacun à son goût*, old-timers still preserving an *aequa mens* amid the din of modernity.

It may further be suggested that the universities which went in for philosophy or for law or for medicine may be compared to our graduate schools, thus presupposing, not opposing, a liberal training in the authors. In fact, there is a requirement precisely of this kind in the statutes of the University of Toulouse — in the fourteenth century, to be sure, but presumably indicative of conditions in the thirteenth as well. A proper training in literature (*grammatica*) with *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus* for grammars, was prescribed

[1] John Huemer, 'Das Registrum multorum auctorum des Hugo von Trimberg,' *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, CXVI (1888), 158 (ll. 35–46).

at Toulouse as a qualification for the course in arts; it was given in schools called *studia*, or 'in other places.' [1] Not many years ago, I received a letter (in excellent Latin) from a former pupil who was preparing for Greats at Oxford. He had been rebuked by one of his tutors for reading Greek and Latin poetry, and for writing it, instead of devoting himself to history and philosophy as his programme demanded. If this letter should be found in coming ages and the rest that we know about Oxford should be forgotten, a future historian might well infer that Oxford in the twentieth century had abandoned the poets — though all the time they had been intensively cultivated as a precursor to Greats in the preparation for Honor Mods. Whatever the precise programme in the authors or the precise institutions for teaching them, the same principle was recognized in the thirteenth century, as it had been since Cicero and Plato. Or perhaps we should say, the Oxford principle descends from the thirteenth century, from Cicero and Plato.

If the training of Dante and the authors of the *Romance of the Rose* was not essentially different from that of Hildebert of Lavardin and Bernard Sylvester, an essential difference appears in the use to which they put their knowledge. Many authors of the twelfth century most naturally expressed themselves in Latin. The literature thus produced is notable. The poets of that day, Hildebert in particular, show a surprising acquaintance with the technique of Ovidian elegiacs. Some of their productions deservedly acquired, as we have seen, a place in the school programmes of the following century, and may have even seemed to some mediaeval readers more interesting than the Classics of old.[2] But there is absolutely no proof that they were substituted wholesale for the ancients and thus drove them out.[3] When the moderns are added, the ancients are increased.

[1] Thurot, *Doctrines Grammaticales*, p. 102, N. S. (statute of 1366): 'Scholares, antequam ad determinandum in artibus admittentur, congrue sint in grammatica edocti, et *Doctrinale* et *Grecismum* audiuerint, dummodo in studiis aut aliis locis aut grammaticalia didicerint dicti libri legantur.'

[2] Paetow (*La Bataille des VII Ars*, p. 30) cites a remark of Henry of Ghent (*ca.* 1295), to this effect.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 29: 'Just as the pagan poets were often crowded out of the schools by the early Christian poets, such as Prudentius and Sedulius, so the works of the mediaeval authors frequently displaced the classics or at least were read side by side with them.' The alternative represents the truth.

I appeal, for instance, to the evidence of the unknown compiler of that little note-book in Tours. The production of new literature attests the power of the Classics to inspire creditable imitation. The Classics remained to inspire more. In the thirteenth century this imitation is more brilliantly exhibited in the vernacular literature of the day. But neither did this drive out the Classics. Neither Dante nor his readers conceived that he had put out of commission that *buon maestro* who had inspired his *bello stile*. Nor did Jean de Meung or Guillaume de Lorris imagine that Ovid would be read no more after the appearance of the *Romance of the Rose*. Both of these poets, and others, paid their homage to antiquity in works essentially new and significant for their own times. The eminence of the ancients was brighter, not more obscure, for their use by the creators of a literary art in the vernacular that, as we view it to-day, deserves its own place among the Classics of all time. The outcome of it all is not that the thirteenth century saw the ancient letters engulfed in the passion for dialectics, but that in the various ways above described the influence of the Classics grew steadily broader and deeper. The thirteenth century, boldly proclaimed by some as the greatest of centuries, had a rich and varied culture, in which, though old and new engaged in mighty conflicts, the new did not banish the old but drew from it, as ever, part of its own strength for progress.

AN ENGLISH KNIGHT OF THE GARTER IN THE SPANISH CHAPEL IN FLORENCE

SISTER MARY AQUINAS DEVLIN

THE frescos which adorn the Spanish Chapel of the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence have for almost six centuries challenged the attention of even a casual observer. For the student of mediaeval art they hold a wealth of interest. Ruskin, appreciating that this series of paintings has a background of religious interpretation, in his *Mornings in Florence* called the Spanish Chapel the 'Vaulted Book.'

The vaulted roof of the Chapel is divided into four triangular parts, each one containing a painting. On the north, directly facing the entrance to the Chapel, the 'Resurrection' is represented; on the south, the 'Ascension'; to the left, on the west wall, the 'Descent of the Holy Ghost'; opposite, on the east wall, 'Christ Saving Saint Peter from Shipwreck.' Beneath these on the corresponding walls is another group of four frescoes: under the 'Resurrection,' the 'Procession to Calvary'; under the 'Ascension,' the 'Life of Saint Peter Martyr'; on the west wall, the 'Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas'; on the east wall, the 'Church Militant and Triumphant.' This fresco, according to Venturi,[1] is the climax of the series of paintings in the Chapel in which the artist, Andrea di Bonaiuto, represented graphically some of the ideas expressed in the *Specchio di Vera Penitenza* of Fra Jacopo Passavanti, Prior of Santa Maria Novella, and friend of Buonanimo di Lapo Guidalotti, a Florentine, who in 1350 erected for the friars the chapter house, later known as the Spanish Chapel.

Since the Chapel belonged to the Dominican friars, Saint Dominic and his followers are prominent in several of the frescos. In the 'Church Militant and Triumphant' they are conspicuous in their activities of preaching to the people and confuting heresy. In the lower left-hand part of the fresco, against the background of the

[1] A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, v, 792. A complete discussion of the interpretation of these frescoes may be found in this volume, pp. 778 ff.

Brogi phot.

PLATE I

FLORENCE (SPANISH CHAPEL OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA NOVELLA)
'CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT,' painted by ANDREA DI BONAIUTO

In the centre of the group in front of the church, Pope Urban V and the Emperor, Charles IV. Left, next to the Pope, Cardinal Giles Albornoz. Right, standing in back row, Pierre de Lusignan; Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy; Boccaccio. Front, right of centre, Piero degli Albizzi, Edward le Despenser.

Alinari phot.

PLATE II

DETAIL OF THE 'CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT'

Left, Piero degli Albizzi. Centre, Edward le Despenser, Knight of the Garter.

Alinari phot.

PLATE III

DETAIL OF THE 'CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT.' EARTHLY PARADISE

Left, Prior, Fra Jacopo Passavanti, seated; Buonanimo di Lapo Guidalotti, kneeling. Right, Petrarch and Laura, seated.

Alinari phot.

PLATE IV

DETAIL OF THE 'CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT.' GROUP OF CHURCHMEN AND RELIGIOUS

Left, with cross on his cloak, Frère Raymond de Bérenger. Right, next to the Pope, Cardinal Giles Albornoz.

cathedral of Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore, sit enthroned the spiritual and temporal authorities, the pope with his pastoral staff, and the emperor with his sword and a skull (Plate I). At their feet lie the faithful, represented as a flock of sheep, guarded by black-and-white dogs, *domini canes*, symbolizing the early play upon the word *Dominicani*. To the left of the pope are church dignitaries; cardinal, archbishop, bishop, priests in their ecclesiastical robes, monks and nuns in the habits of the various orders. To the right of the emperor stand the temporal authorities: kings, princes, marquises, dukes, and with them lawyers, pilgrims, and women. Many of these are said to be portraits of real people.[1] The portrait of the pope is usually conjectured to be that of Benedict XI (1303) and that of the emperor to be the Emperor Henry VII (*ca.* 1269–1313), Dante's 'savior of Italy.' But a comparison of the portraits of Pope Benedict XI and Pope Urban V, and of the Emperor Henry VII and the Emperor Charles IV,[2] however, leaves no doubt that the pope and the emperor in the fresco are Pope Urban V and the Emperor Charles IV.

This representation of the pope and the emperor together as the heads of Christendom has a singular appropriateness. In the history of the Church during the fourteenth century, the pontificate of Urban V stands out with unusual significance because of the friendly relations which existed between the pope and the emperor. In October, 1367, Pope Urban V, yielding to the wishes of the Emperor Charles IV, returned from Avignon to Rome. On October 17, 1368, Emperor Charles IV joined Urban at Viterbo, and four days later they entered Rome together, the emperor leading the mule on which the pontiff rode. On November 1, of that year, the emperor acted as deacon at the Mass at which Urban crowned the emperor. This

[1] Grant Allen, *Florence* (London, 1906), p. 51.

[2] Cf. picture of Henry VII in Hans Prutz, *Staatengeschichte des Abendlandes* (Berlin, 1885), II, 160, and that of Charles IV, *ibid.*, II, 269. For Charles IV see also Gerald Walsh, *The Emperor Charles IV* (Oxford, 1924), frontispiece, a facsimile of the illuminated Golden Bull upon which appears a miniature of the emperor. Cf. also the pictures of Benedict XI, *Lives and Times of the Popes*, retranslated from the *Vies des Papes* by the chevalier Artaud de Montor (New York, 1911), IV, frontispiece; and the picture of Pope Urban V, in Prutz, *op. cit.*, II, 287.

In favor of the identification of the emperor as Charles IV is the fact that Charles IV, who was exceedingly zealous in collecting relics, possessed the skull of Saint Wenceslaus, his patron saint by baptism. This may account for the skull which the emperor holds in the picture.

was an occasion of unusual significance, since for over a century pope and emperor had not appeared thus in unity.[1] It is easily conceivable that the fresco was designed to commemorate this unity.

If the pope and the emperor are contemporary portraits, we may logically suppose that the artist has included other portraits of persons who were associated with them in promoting the interests of the Church about the time that the fresco was being painted. A study of the events of the later years of the pontificate of Pope Urban V suggests certain persons who were eminent in his service, several of whom likewise had interesting associations with the Florentines. The most satisfactory and convincing means of identifying the people in the picture would be to compare contemporary portraits of famous people of that time with the faces in the picture; but where we can find no genuine portraits, other means of identification must be used, such as significant details of dress or the symbols which they carry.

Let us consider one of the most interesting figures in the foreground. Prominent among the group who stand near the emperor is a man in a short, flowing cloak of white with a small pattern in gold. The face, which is shown in profile, is thin, with a short beard, reddish and pointed; the head is enveloped in a hood, folded gracefully beneath the chin and wrapping the throat (Plate II). With no proof supporting the conjectures, he has been variously identified as Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens; [2] Agnolo Gaddi,[3] son of Taddeo Gaddi, the artist; and Cimabue.[4] A conspicuous detail of the attire of this gentleman, however, is a golden garter which he wears on his left leg.[5] Since the Order of the Garter was an institution peculiar to England, the natural suggestion is that the artist included an English knight of the Garter among the distinguished persons whom he portrayed.

The question at issue is who this knight was and what he did that entitled him to gain a place of prominence in a picture in which are

[1] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, 215; article, 'Urban V.'

[2] Austin Layard, *Italian School of Painting* (London, 1907), pt. 1, p. 109.

[3] Selwyn Brinton, *The Awakening of Life* (London, 1907), p. 66.

[4] G. Vasari, *Lives of the Painters*, edd. E. D. and E. W. Blashfield and A. A. Hopkins (New York, 1909), I, 13.

[5] To Professor Edith Rickert, who remarked this detail as significant and conjectured that the portrait might be that of Edward le Despenser, I am indebted for suggesting this investigation of the identity of the knight presented.

represented ecclesiastical and secular personages eminent in the affairs of the Church during the pontificate of Urban V (1362–70). Since all the knights of the Garter are known, we turn our attention to members of this order who were in Italy about the time that the picture was painted.

Four knights of the Garter, Sir Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Lionèl, Duke of Clarence, Sir Ingelram de Coucy, and Sir Edward le Despenser are known to have been in Italy during the later years of Urban's reign.

The first of these, Sir Humphrey Bohun, was the principal person in the embassy sent in 1368 to Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, to negotiate for the marriage of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and Violante, daughter of Galeazzo.[1] Lionel went to Milan in 1368, where his marriage to Violante took place in June. He died in Italy the following October.[2] Both Sir Humphrey Bohun and Prince Lionel may be dismissed as possibilities, for there is no evidence that they had any significant connection with Pope Urban V, or the affairs of the Church.

Sir Ingelram de Coucy, Earl of Bedford, later Count of Soissons, son-in-law of Edward III, went to Lombardy in 1369, when war between France and England was renewed. Since both the king of France and the king of England had claims upon his allegiance, he probably thought that he would extricate himself from the difficult situation by retiring to Italy. Here he lived for a considerable time at the court of the Duke of Milan.[3] In the war waged against the Visconti in 1372 and the years following in behalf of Gregory XI, successor of Urban V, Sir Ingelram de Coucy was captain of part of the pope's army.[4] But there is no evidence that he had any close connection with Urban himself or with the Florentines.

The history of the fourth knight of the Garter, Sir Edward le Despenser, however, deserves careful consideration.

Despenser was a prominent member of the magnificent retinue which in May, 1368, accompanied Lionel, Duke of Clarence, to Milan on the occasion of his marriage to Violante.[5] When Lionel died,

[1] George Frederick Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1841), p. 149. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 131. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[4] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, IV, 120–123, 128. See also Beltz, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[5] Froissart, *Chroniques* ed., Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1867–77), VII, 246.

October 17, 1368, suspicion arose that he had been poisoned. To avenge the death of Lionel, Despenser, now in command of the English forces, waged a war with the aid of some English knights and archers, against the Duke of Milan.[1] About the same time the Emperor Charles IV made war against the Duke of Milan in the cause of the Church, because the Duke had rebelled against Pope Urban. In this war, Despenser apparently allied himself with the forces of Urban. The English chroniclers of the time record the fact that in 1369 Despenser performed distinguished service in the papal army:

> During the same period the pope was supporting a war against the lords of Milan, who for a long time tyranically and unjustly held the lands, grants, and fortresses belonging to the estate of the pope. In behalf of the pope fought Lord Despenser, who conducted himself in a praiseworthy manner there after the death of the Duke of Clarence, with whom he had gone to those parts.[2]

The continuator of the *Polychronicon*, who evidently was familiar with the affairs of the English court and is a trustworthy authority, attributes the succession of Henry Despenser, brother of Edward, to the bishopric of Norwich in 1369–70, to the favor with which the pope regarded Edward because of his service in the papal wars.

> In the same year died the bishops Master Henry Percy of Norwich, Master Louis Cherleton of Hereford, and Lord John Granston of Exeter; to them succeeded by papal authority Master William Curteneye, son of the Earl of Devon, to the church of Hereford, Master Henry le Despenser, because of the favor of his brother with the pope in the wars at that time, to the church of Norwich.[3]

The esteem in which Urban V held Despenser is evident in a letter which the pope wrote in March, 1370, to John, Duke of Lancaster,

[1] Froissart, *Chroniques* ed., Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1867–77), VII, 252.

[2] 'per idem tempus, Papa fouebat guerram contra Dominos Mediolanensis, qui ipsi tyrannice et injuste terras, redditus, et castella de Patrimonio Beati Petri longo tempore detinebant. Pro Papa uero militauit Dominus de Spencer qui laudabiliter se gessit ibidem post mortem Ducis Clarenciae cum quo peruenit ad partes illas.'— Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, I, 309. See also *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 64, and Higden, *Polychronicon*, VIII, 371.

[3] 'Eodem [anno] magister Henricus Percy Northwycensis, magister Ludouicus Cherleton Herefordensis, et dominus Johannes Granston, Exoniensis, episcopi obierunt; quibus auctoritate papali magister Willelmus Curteneye, filius comitis Devoniae in ecclesia Herefordensis, magister *Henricus le Despenser*, fauore fratris sui cum papa in guerris suis tunc temporis existentis in ecclesia Norwicensis . . . successerunt.' — Higden, *Polychronicon*, VIII, 369.

'commending through him to the king, Edward Lord of Despenser, knight, of the diocese of Hereford, who has won a glorious name in the battles of Lombardy, and in whose favor the pope is writing to King Edward.'[1] This sentence alone in strong language shows that the pope himself regarded Despenser as a staunch defender of the Church.

It is probable that late in 1369 Despenser aided the Florentines against Sir John Hawkwood. In 1369 Perugia revolted against the pope. Bernabo Visconti, to whom the Perugians had appealed, placed Sir John Hawkwood and his free lances at their disposal. In June, Hawkwood was defeated and taken prisoner by the pope's forces, but was ransomed at once by the Pisan republic. Hawkwood, as soon as he regained his freedom, collected his scattered army and marched to Montefiascone, where the pope was. Urban fled to Viterbo. The Florentines during this time were loyal to the pope. Bernabo Visconti, therefore, induced San Miniato, a town very close to Florence, and subsidiary to Florence, to revolt, and placed a garrison in San Miniato. Florence sent an army of 4000 men under Giovanni Malatacca of Reggio to reduce the place. On his way, Malatacca was defeated at Cascina in December, by Hawkwood.[2]

We have no direct evidence where Despenser was at this time, but we have a letter to him from Pope Urban dated January, 1370, at Rome, in which Urban tells Despenser not to come to him until the affairs of the Florentines are in a better and safer condition.[3] This letter strongly implies that Despenser was with the Florentines.

Other known facts about the life of Edward le Despenser suit the picturesque figure under discussion, who appears to be about thirty or thirty-five years old and a person of considerable charm and distinction. Despenser, who was born about 1338, would have been between thirty and thirty-five years old at the time that he was in

[1] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, IV, 28.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 237. Article, 'Sir John Hawkwood.'

[3] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, IV, 28. Despenser remained in Italy until the summer of 1372 (*Polychronicon*, VIII, 378). For more than two years, according to Froissart, he remained at Venice and fought against the Visconti (Froissart, *op. cit.*, VIII, 112, 113). In 1372, the Duke of Lancaster, who was assembling a large army to send into France, asked him to return to England, and he left Venice soon after he received the Duke's command.

Italy. He was one of the most eminent knights at the court of Edward III, and if we may judge from the account of Froissart, who knew Despenser very well,[1] he was a man of great charm. Froissart describes him as the most handsome, the most courteous, and the most honorable knight of his time in England, and adds naïvely that the most noble ladies considered no social function perfect if the Lord le Despenser were not present.[2] Moreover, his prominence in the pope's wars, his favor with the pope, his connection with the Florentines, and his probable presence in Florence during the time that the fresco was being painted give strong support to the argument that he is the person represented. The garter which the figure wears points indubitably to a knight of the Garter. Since, then, all the knights of the Garter are known, and since of the four who were in Italy during the pontificate of Urban V, Despenser alone performed distinguished service for him, and, moreover, was probably in Florence in 1369, we may safely conclude that the knight of the Garter portrayed in the fresco is Edward le Despenser.

There can be no doubt that the fresco the 'Church Militant and Triumphant,' which was begun in 1365, was being painted while he was in Italy. On December 30, 1365, the prior and convent of Santa Maria Novella rented to Andrea di Bonaiuto '*dipintore*' the house

[1] Froissart says that in his youth he was on very friendly terms with Edward le Despenser (*op. cit.*, II, 106). In the September of 1366 he was in the company of Despenser in the Castle of Bercler (*ibid.*, II, 86). It is worthy of note that Froissart is the only writer who tells of the exploits of Despenser. We know from the *Joli Buisson de Jonece* that Edward le Despenser was one of his benefactors (*ibid.*, XXII, 81).

[2] Froissart, *op. cit.*, II, 106. Froissart's chronicle of the military and political events of the time shows that Despenser was a conspicuous figure in them. In 1355 he made his first military expedition with the Black Prince into Gascony. He was in the skirmish near Romorantin and took a prominent part in the battle of Poitiers. In 1359, he was on the staff of Edward III on his expedition into France. In the following year he was one of the nobles at Calais who swore to the observance of the treaty of Bretigny (Froissart, IV, 9, 90). In 1360–61, Despenser was invested with the Order of the Garter and was given the stall in the royal chapel next to that of the king.

Shortly after his return to England from Italy in 1372, Despenser attended Edward III and Prince Edward on their voyage to France when they were forced by contrary winds to return to England (*ibid.*, VI, 21). In 1373, he commanded the rear guard of the army, which under John of Gaunt and the Duke of Brittany ravaged Artois and Picardy, and was defeated at Ribemont (*ibid.*, VI, 63). He returned to England in 1374, and in the next year went into active service in the expedition of the Duke of Brittany. After the truce in 1375, he was ordered back to England, where he died at Cardiff Castle, on November 11 of the same year (Beltz, *op. cit.*, p. 142).

he then occupied for 65 gold florins, to be deducted from the cost of 'la dipintura del nostro capitolo' during the next eighteen months, beginning the next January. He was to receive enough to live on; and he was to finish the painting of the whole chapter house two years from that January, i.e. by January, 1368.[1] The fresco the 'Church Militant and Triumphant,' like several of the other paintings in the Chapel, is a masterpiece of such scope and detail that we may safely conclude that the artist did not keep within the prescribed limits of time.

Since there are three almost certain contemporary portraits in the picture, we may suspect the presence of others. If so, the title of the fresco suggests that they were of persons who either fought for the Church or did other significant service for it. Of great importance, then, are the two kings or princes at the left of the emperor, one of whom holds an orb surmounted by a cross and wears a turban instead of a crown; the other holds a sword (Plate I). Who would be so likely to be represented as the two most picturesque crusaders of the day, Pierre de Lusignan, known also as Peter I of Cyprus, and Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy? It is to be noted, moreover, that both of the crusades in which these men engaged took place while the fresco was being painted.

In 1362 Peter I, urged by the papal legate, Peter Thomas, and by his own chancellor, Philippe de Mézières, visited the principal countries of Europe in the hope of receiving aid for a crusade against the Turks. Pope Urban V extended a magnificent welcome to him at Avignon. Urban's example was followed by John the Good of France, Edward III of England, Casimir, King of Poland, and the Emperor Charles IV. Everywhere Peter was tendered fair promises, but in June, 1365, he embarked at Venice with scarcely any but his own force. He was the hero of the siege of Alexandria in 1365. In 1367, he pillaged the ports of Syria, Laodicea, and Jaffa, thus destroying the commerce of Egypt.[2]

[1] Codice *Liber Nouus* de Fr Zenobi Guasconi Priore de Santa Maria Novella, fol. 40, 41. See article by P. Innocenzo Taurisano, 'Il Capitolo di Santa Maria Novella,' in *Rosario — Memorie Dominicane*, XXXIII, Ser. 3, iii (1916), 217. For this reference I am indebted to Professor Edith Rickert.

[2] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 533; article, 'Crusades.'

Not only was Pierre de Lusignan a likely person to appear in the fresco, but he actually was in Florence. In 1368 he was magnificently entertained there at the expense of the city. He visited Santa Maria Novella and gave to the monastery his lance and his royal mantle with his portrait and that of his son embroidered upon it.[1] In view of these facts it would seem that his portrait was included and that it was painted either from the portrait which he left or from life.[2]

At the solicitation of Pope Urban V, Amadeus VI also undertook a crusade. In 1366, his fleet seized Gallipoli; then, after rescuing the Greek Emperor, John V, who was held captive by the Bulgarians, he returned to the West.[3] When the pope came back to Rome from Avignon in 1368, an imposing cavalcade, headed by Amadeus VI and other princes, escorted him into the city. Granted the subject of the fresco, and the likelihood of many portraits, one is certain that Amadeus VI would have to be included because of his participation in the crusades and also because of his place of eminence in the escort of the pope.

Thus far, if any identifications can be made, these seem inevitable. But is it possible to go further? There are other striking figures who challenge attention. Who, for example, is the man talking to the knight of the Garter (Plate II)? The person whose name immediately suggests itself is Piero degli Albizzi, who until 1371 was chief of the faction in Florence known as the 'Paperini.' It was the most powerful faction in Florence at this time, and, as its name suggests, supported the pope. According to Machiavelli, when Piero degli Albizzi was in power, 'he was of all the citizens the most feared and honored.'[4] As early as 1366 he was outstanding as the leader of the party which furthered the interests of the pope.[5] In 1367, although the Florentines knew that the pope would like them to form a league against Bernabò Visconti, they did not join the league formed

[1] *Cronaca Fiorentini di Marchionne di Coppo Stefani*, ed. Giosne Carducci e Vittorio Fiorini, vol. xxx, pt. 1, fasc. 83, p. 268. See also Nicolae Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (Paris, 1886), p. 368.

[2] As far as I have been able to discover, there is no portrait of Pierre de Lusignan nor any *authentic* portrait of Amadeus VI known.

[3] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 533; article, 'Crusades.'

[4] Machiavelli, *History of Florence* (London: Bohn, 1847), p. 140.

[5] François Tommy Perrens, *Histoire de Florence* (Paris, 1880), V, 60.

through the efforts of Cardinal Albornoz between the pope, the emperor, the king of Naples, and the lords of Padua, Mantua, and Ferrara.[1] In 1369, however, Piero degli Albizzi influenced the Florentines to enter into a league with the pope 'for the common defence of all Italy.'[2] The preëminence of Piero degli Albizzi in the political life of Florence, together with his position as leader of the 'Paperini' and his service to the pope, would entitle him to the prominent place in the fresco which this interesting figure holds.

About some of the other figures in the picture one may form interesting conjectures. At the right side of the picture, at the end of a group of four persons who are sitting in what seems to be an earthly paradise, is a melancholy figure in a flowing gown (Plate III). Around his head is a fillet; his chin rests in his hand; he is absorbed in deep thought. There is such similarity between his features and those of Petrarch in the early fifteenth-century fresco by Andrea Castagno[3] that he may possibly be intended for Petrarch. If he is Petrarch, may not, then, the lady beside him with a small animal of some kind in her lap be Laura?[4] Next to this group sits a Dominican friar blessing a layman who kneels at his feet (Plate III). It is logical to suppose that the artist has here represented Buonanimo di Lapo Guidalotti, a pious Florentine, who gave 850 florins for the erection of the chapter house, and in 1355 left to the prior and convent of Santa Maria Novella 325 florins of gold for the painting of the chapter.[5] The friar may possibly be his friend, Fra Jacopo Passavanti, who was for a time prior of Santa Maria Novella, and vicar general of Florence, and afterwards bishop of Monte Cassino. He died in 1357. The fact that this friar is seated upon what may represent a confessional suggests that perhaps the artist is carrying out in symbolism the title of Fra Jacopo Passavanti's chief work, *Specchio di Vera Penitenza*, which Venturi believes was the source of the artist's inspiration for the frescos.

[1] François Tommy Perrens, *Histoire de Florence* (Paris, 1880), v, 64.

[2] *Ibid.*, v, 72.

[3] See Oscar Kuhns, *Great Poets of Italy* (New York, 1903), p. 120.

[4] Vasari, in his description of the fresco, says that Laura is represented in the earthly paradise. He locates Petrarch among the group of the Church next to the knight of Rhodes (Vasari, *op. cit.*, I, 104).

[5] J. Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella* (Edinburgh, 1902), p. 146.

In the group of laymen near the emperor, beside Amadeus VI, stands a man holding a book (Plate I). He wears a close-fitting striped hood with a cape of the same material. There is some resemblance between him and the portrait of Boccaccio in the fresco by Andrea Castagno.[1]

At the pope's right hand sits a cardinal with a book (Plate IV). The most influential cardinal of that time was Cardinal Giles Albornoz. He founded the College of Saint Clement at Bologna, which fact may account for the book which he has. Of all the ecclesiastics of the time he was the most able in the management of the affairs of the Church, and he was especially powerful in restoring papal authority in the states of the Church. It was he who made possible the return of Pope Urban V to Italy. Because of all these facts it is very probable that the cardinal in the fresco is Cardinal Giles Albornoz.

In the same group is a knight of Rhodes who wears the white cross of the order on his mantle (Plate IV). The Grand Master of the knights of Rhodes, 1365–74, was Frère Raymond de Bérenger. He took part in the siege of Alexandria with Pierre de Lusignan. In 1367 the knights of Rhodes and Pierre de Lusignan formed a league into which the republic of Genoa entered. They captured Tripoli, Tortosa, Laodicea, and Bellenas. At the news of these victories the sultan made great preparations for war. Frère Raymond de Bérenger thereupon sent word to all the knights in Europe to buy arms and horses and he also convoked a chapter general at Avignon to hasten on the opposition to the sultan. When Pope Urban V decided to return to Rome, Raymond brought him on the galley of the order.[2] It is obvious, therefore, that if the artist wished to represent a knight of Rhodes, Frère Raymond de Béranger is the one whom he would choose to portray.

For Chaucer scholars the fresco has considerable significance. Chaucer, no doubt, saw it when he went to Florence in 1373. Even if he did not meet Petrarch and Boccaccio while he was in Italy, their protraits must have been pointed out to him. He must have had a special interest in the picture of the knight of the Garter, for

[1] See Oscar Kuhns, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[2] Felix de Salles, *Annales de l'Ordre de Malte ou des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, Chevaliers de Rhodes et de Malte* (Vienna, 1889), pp. 61, 62.

in the royal household he had probably often seen Sir Edward le Despenser. He was at Calais in 1360 during the negotiations in which Despenser took a prominent part. The portrait of Pierre de Lusignan must likewise have had a great deal of attraction for Chaucer. At the court of Edward III Chaucer may have participated in the magnificent celebration which marked the entertainment of Pierre de Lusignan, Peter I of Cyprus, when he visited England in 1363. His interest in both of these men is reflected to some degree in the *Canterbury Tales*. The siege of Alexandria of which Peter I was the hero is one of the expeditions in which Chaucer's Knight took part; in the 'Monk's Tale,' Chaucer considered the career of Peter a fit subject for tragedy. It is likewise worthy of note that it was Despenser's brother, the bishop of Norwich, who led the 'chivachye' in Flanders, Artois, and Picardy, in which Chaucer's Squire participated.

It is a well-known fact that artists of the fifteenth century used historical people and events even in their representation of religious subjects, as such pictures as Botticelli's 'Adoration of the Magi' and Benozzo Gozzoli's 'Journey of the Magi' bear witness. To Fra Angelico (1387–1455) is given the credit of being the first to paint faces of individual character by his introduction of portraits of his friends, and therefore of promoting the art of portrait painting.[1] The fourteenth-century fresco, the 'Church Militant and Triumphant,' is significant because it is one of the first in which it has been recognized that the artist by painting portraits of real persons has made use of historical background.

The work of identification of portraits in this fresco might perhaps be carried further, although there are few trustworthy contemporary portraits. I hope, however, that I have proved the certainty of some contemporary portraits and the likelihood of others. If so, the picture is almost a re-creation of the group of persons preëminent in the Church, 1365–70, and is, therefore, of even greater historical importance than has been supposed.

[1] George F. Young, *The Medici* (New York, 1925), I, 117.

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THE FOUR SENSES OF SCRIPTURAL INTERPRETATION AND THE MEDIAEVAL THEORY OF PREACHING

By HARRY CAPLAN

GUIBERT DE NOGENT, in his *Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat*, which forms his *Prooemium ad Commentarios in Genesim*, a work designed to supply the preacher with sermon materials, urges [1] the preacher to use for his moral aim any or all of the four senses of Scriptural interpretation. A late Dominican tractate [2] professing the influence of St Thomas Aquinas, which is a complete and highly organized *Ars Praedicandi* and a more representative manual than Guibert's *Prooemium*, contains the same precept in its natural place in a topical system of amplification, such as mediaeval preachers used to fill out the analytical design of their sermons. As a means of *dilatatio*, and even in its own topical division into four, the principle of employing the kinds of explication may be considered to belong in a theory of rhetorical *inuentio*, as understood and applied by the classical rhetoricians.[3]

The compiler of the 'Aquinas'-tract offers nine methods of expanding a sermon: (1) through concordance of authorities, (2) through discussion of words, (3) through explanation of the properties of things, (4) through a multiplication of senses, (5) through analogies and natural truths, (6) through marking of an opposite, (7) through comparisons, (8) through interpretation of a name, (9) through multiplication of synonyms. At present we are concerned only with his development of the fourth method.

[1] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLVI, 25, 26.

[2] In a volume of incunabula in the Cornell University Library, press No. 2964 E 51 (Hain, No. 1354): Tractatulus solemnis de arte et uero modo praedicandi ex diuersis doctorum sacrorum scripturis, et principaliter sacratissimi cristiane ecclesie doctoris Thome de Aquino ex paruo suo quondam tractatulo recollectus, ubi secundum modum et formam materie presentis procedit. Translated by H. Caplan, 'A Late Mediaeval Tractate on Preaching,' in *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of J. A. Winans* (New York: Century Co., 1925), pp. 61–90.

[3] See H. Caplan, 'Rhetorical Invention in Some Mediaeval Tractates on Preaching,' SPECULUM, II (1927), 284–295.

Senses are multiplied in four ways: (1) according to the *sensus historicus* or *literalis*, by a simple explanation of the words; (2) according to the *sensus tropologicus*, which looks to instruction or to the correction of morals. It is well to introduce the ways of the world, in order to dissuade the hearers from vice. This sense may be used either mystically or openly. Openly: 'Just as David conquered Goliath, so ought humility to conquer pride.' Mystically: 'Let thy garments be always white' (*Eccles.*, ix, 8) is explained: 'At all times let thy deeds be clean'; (3) according to the *sensus allegoricus*. Exposition by this sense is exposition by a 'sense other than the literal.' 'David rules in Jerusalem,' which according to the literal sense is to be interpreted exactly as the words sound, by the allegorical sense signifies that 'Christ reigns in the Church Militant.' The *sensus allegoricus* uses exemplification by simile, as when the life of Christ, or lives of the Saints, are introduced, with an injunction that the hearer follow in their footsteps. With (4) the *sensus anagogicus*, used mystically or openly, 'the minds of the listeners are to be stirred and exhorted to the contemplation of heavenly things.' So, 'Blessed are they that wash their gowns in the blood of the Lamb that they may have right to the tree of life' (Vulg. *Rev.*, xxii, 14), in the mystic use of this sense, means 'Blessed are they who purify their thoughts that they may see Jesus Christ, who says: "I am the way, the truth, and the life"' (*John*, xiv, 6). Openly, explain it as 'Blessed are they of clean heart, for they see God.'

In similar fashion Guibert illustrates how to interpret the word 'Jerusalem.' Literally, it is the city of that name; allegorically, it represents Holy Church; tropologically, it signifies the faithful soul of whosoever aspires to the vision of eternal peace; anagogically, it denotes the life of the dwellers in Heaven who see God revealed in Zion.

Considering how common this method of hermeneutics was in the exegetical theory of the Middle Ages, one as a matter of course expects thus to find its rôle in the theory of preaching equally important. The purpose of a multiple exposition was for the most part so obviously persuasive that its adoption into oral discourse was a very natural procedure. Thus Gregory the Great justifies the multiple method (in his case, tripartite) by its effect upon the hearer:

First we lay the foundations in history; then by following a symbolical sense, we erect an intellectual edifice to be a stronghold of faith; and lastly, by the grace of moral instruction, we as it were paint the fabric in fair colors. . . . For the word of God both exercises the understanding of the wise by its deeper mysteries, and also by its superficial lessons nurses the simple-minded. It presents openly that wherewith the little ones may be fed; it keeps in secret that whereby men of loftier range may be rapt in admiration.[1]

Even in the schools — surely this was true in the twelfth century — these multiple senses were used as separate artistic disciplines, the tropological or moral being considered as the especially useful instrument of the preacher. In his system of instruction Hugh of St Victor utilized the arts of the trivium and the quadrivium in support of his larger principle of the threefold criticism of divine science.[2] Should an extended study of mediaeval sermons be made, with the aim of learning how general the use of the four-fold sense of Scripture was in the actual practice of preaching, I venture to predict that the results would show a greater correlation between theory and practice than was admitted by Diestel to be true of exegetical practice in the large. Diestel says: 'Doch wird in der exegetischen Praxis diese Vierfachheit selten durchgeführt.'[3]

The prevalence of the multiple method is traceable to Alexandrian philosophy and theology,[4] in which, in the reconciliation of Christianity and Platonism, allegory [5] was long regarded as essential

[1] I use the excellent translation by F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought* (New York, 1905), I, 193, of Gregory, *Epp.* 5, 53a (the dedication of his lectures on the Book of Job, the *Magna Moralia*, to Leander of Seville).

[2] See G. Robert, *Les Ecoles et L'Enseignement de la Théologie pendant la Première Moitié du XII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1909), pp. 103 ff., treating the method of Hugh of St Victor; and Hugh of St Victor, *De Sacramentis, Prologus*, chap. vi, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXVI, 185.

[3] Ludwig Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena, 1869), p. 163.

[4] See F. W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* (London, 1886), lectures 2 to 5; A. Sabatier, art. 'Herméneutique,' *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses* VI, 210–219; G. Heinrici, art. 'Hermeneutik,' *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3d ed., VII, 718 ff.; A. Immer, *Hermeneutics of the New Testament*, tr. A. H. Newman (Andover, 1890), pp. 29 ff.

[5] Clement sought authority in *Psalms* lxxviii, 2: 'Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to naught;' and in *1 Cor.* xi, 6: 'I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old.'

to the attainment of *gnosis*.[1] Ultimately, of course, allegory in hermeneutics must be referred to Jewish haggadic exegesis, which had had an established history of allegorical interpretation for several generations before Philo viewed persons and things in the Old Testament as τρόποι of the soul, and sought to prove that Greek philosophical ideas, through the ὑπόνοια, underlay the story of the Old Testament; although Philo was also influenced by Stoic rules [2] of interpretation that had evolved from the study of Homer. I recall Philo [3] because of his influence on Origen. Origen, great allegorist of Christianity, brought the multiple sense of Scripture to the Christian Church, and firmly fixed the nature of Scriptural exegesis for succeeding centuries. From a double division of *sensus historicus* or *literalis*, and *sensus spiritalis*, he developed a trichotomous scheme: the literal, σωματικόν; the moral, ψυχικόν, ἡ τροπολογία; and the spiritual, πνευματικόν, ἡ αλληγορία, ἡ ἀναγωγή.[4] Augustine [5] and Jerome [6] continued the practice of multiple explication. Indeed, Augustine used four topics: *historia; aetiologia*, which considers causes; *analogia*, which studies a text from the point of view of congruence of the Old and New Testament; *allegoria*, which is figurative interpretation. But this was not the quadruple system we have in our treatises and which persisted in the Middle Ages. Rather, when the Augustinian topics were considered, as they were by St Thomas Aquinas,[7] the first three topics were comprehended under the first. But, on the other hand, the quadruple method of the kind noted in our tractates on preaching

[1] W. Sanday, *Inspiration* (Bampton Lectures, London, 1893), p. 39, says that in the earliest known commentary on a book of the New Testament, that of the Gnostic Heracleon (about 170 A.D.) on St John, the allegorical method is already full-blown.

[2] Such as were applied by Crates of Mallus. See D. W. Bousset, *Jüdisch-Christliche Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom* (Göttingen, 1915). On Philo and Heraclides Ponticus, see F. W. Farrar, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[3] See C. G. A. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alten Testaments* (Jena, 1875), and Z. Frankel, *Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die Alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (Leipzig, 1851).

[4] E.g., *De principiis* IV, 11 ff., ed. Lommatzsch, *Origenis Opera Omnia*, XXI (Berlin, 1849), 500 ff. Origen classed Philo with the Christian Fathers.

[5] *De Utilitate Credendi* V ff., ed. J. Zycha, *C.S.E.L.* XXV (1891), 7 ff.

[6] See p. 287, n. 3.

[7] *Summa Theologica* I, art. 10, Reply obj. 2.

was used by Cassian,[1] Aldhelm,[2] Hrabanus Maurus,[3] Bede,[4] John of Salisbury,[5] St Thomas Aquinas,[6] Dante,[7] and many others.[8] Hugh of St Cher compared the four senses to the four coverings of the tabernacle, the four winds, the fourfold cherubim, and the four rivers of Paradise.[9] Sabatier[10] says that the first to introduce our quadruple method, which was merely another arrangement of the same elements as appear in Origen's triple scheme, involving the separation of *anagoge* from *allegory* — the first to set the style for the Middle Ages — was Eucherius of Lyons (died *circa* 449); but in the Preface to his *Formulae Spiritalis Intellegentiae*,[11] Eucherius writes as if others had made the same classification. We do see it exemplified in his contemporary Cassian; but it must go back at least to Greek theologians of the fourth century. Alardus Gazaeus, the seventeenth-century editor of Cassian, gives these verses, still extant in his day (but made famous by Nicolas of Lyra and perhaps used by others before him), which are characteristic of the scholastic method, and no doubt served as a mnemonic aid to invention:

> Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
> Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.[12]

[1] *Collationes* XIV, 8, *De Spiritali Scientia*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XLIX, 962. Cassian's exposition is very clear. He has the usual two primary classes: historical interpretation and spiritual intelligence. The last three senses are placed under spiritual knowledge.

[2] *De Virginitate* IV, ed. Ehwald, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, XV, 232.

[3] To *Gal.* 4, 24, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXII, 330.

[4] See C. Plummer, ed. of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Oxford, 1896), I, Introd., lvi ff. Bede uses both a threefold (*Opp.* vii, 317), and a fourfold (*Opp.* vi, 96, 97), system of classification, and identifies 'typical' with 'allegorical' (*Opp.* vii, 246, 247).

[5] *Policraticus* vii, 12, ed. C. C. I. Webb, II, 666a.

[6] *Summa Theologica* I, art. 10, Reply obj. 3. St Thomas accords with Cassian and the usual custom of placing the last three senses under the head of the spiritual.

[7] *Convivio* Tract. II; and the letter to Can Grande.

[8] See the very valuable article by E. v. Dobschütz, 'Vom vierfachen Schriftsinn,' in *Harnack-Ehrung* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1921), pp. 1–13.

[9] Farrar, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

[10] *Art. cit.*, p. 212.

[11] Ed. by C. Wotke (Vienna, 1894), *Praefatio*. The literal sense 'inculcat ueritatem nobis factorum ac fidem relationis;' the tropological 'ad uitae emendationem mysticos intellectus refert'; and 'anagoge ad sacratiora caelestium figurarum secreta perducit.' 'Sunt etiam qui allegoriam in hoc scientiae genere quarto in loco adiciendum putent, quam gestorum narratione futurorum umbram praetulisse confirment.'

[12] Cassian, *ed. cit.*, p. 962. *Speres* sometimes appears for *tendas;* see v. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff.

Thus also Hugh of St Cher in the thirteenth century taught: *historia docet quid factum, tropologia quid faciendum, allegoria quid intellegendum, anagoge quid appetendum.*[1]

Now one can readily see that multiple distinctions, by their subjective nature, in the practice of arbitrary preachers, could easily breed confusion. Nor is a wide reading of mediaeval sermons necessary to prove as true of that era Farrar's indictment:

> Homiletics have been to an incredible extent the *Phylloxera Vastatrix* of exegesis, and preachers, with their habit of thrusting into texts an endless variety of commonplaces which have no connection with them, have become privileged misinterpreters. They have ploughed with the unequally-yoked ox and ass of science and sermon-making, and made texts an excuse for saying this or that as it pleased them, with no thought of the real meaning of them.[2]

That the categories of allegorical and tropological, and allegorical and anagogical, might overlap was known to some observers in the Middle Ages;[3] but that ambiguity and equivocation were created by the multiplicity was denied by St Thomas Aquinas:

> The multiplicity of these interpretations does not cause ambiguity or any sort of equivocation, since these interpretations are not multiplied because one word signifies several things; but because the things signified by the words can themselves be types of other things.[4]

We might perhaps grant St Thomas the truth of his contention with regard even to a fourfold interpretation, yet a denial of ambiguity and equivocation would surely seem of little avail concerning the 'septem sigilli' of Angelom of Luxeuil[5] (ninth century): (1) *historialis;* (2) *allegorialis;* (3) a combination of *historialis* and *allegorialis;*

[1] v. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 12.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 246, n. 1.

[3] Gazaeus discloses this in studying the method of Jerome, *Epist. ad Hedibiam, quaest.* 12, *Ezech.* xvi, and *Amos* iv. See Cassian, *Collationes* XIV, 8, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XLIX, 962.

[4] *Summa Theologica*, I, art. 10, Reply obj. 3.

[5] *Enarrationes in libros Regum, Praefatio Apologetica*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXV, 245 ff. Angelom does admit that an original triplicate division is the source of his seven 'sigilli.' The *Zohar* has as secondary to the four senses an additional three: numerical value of the letters, mystical allegory, higher inspiration. See Louis Ginzberg, art. 'Allegorical Interpretation,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. I.

(4) with respect to the intimation, proper or tropical, of Deity; (5) *parabolaris*, when one thing is written in Scripture, and something else is meant; (6) with respect to the two comings of the Savior, when either the first or the second is prefigured, or both; (7) the method (allied to the *allegorialis*, but differing from it in serving morals proper rather than faith in general) which possesses a twofold preceptive quality, in that it both points a definite moral to correct living, and also carries a figure of a larger life meant to be foreshown. And Martin Marrier, seventeenth-century editor of Odo of Cluny, studies [1] that abbot's work through eight senses of interpretation: (1) *litteralis*, or *historicus* (as used by Jerome); (2) *allegoricus*, or *parabolicus* (as used by Gregory); (3) *tropologicus*, or *etymologicus* (as used by Ambrose); (4) *anagogicus*, or *analogicus* (as used by Augustine); (5) *typicus*, or *exemplaris* (as used by Basil and Bernard). Thus Christ refers to John the Baptist as *Elias* (*Matt.* xi, 14); (6) *anaphoricus*, or *proportionalis* (as used by Pope Clement), based on temporal relativity. The story of Isaac and Ishmael portends the relations of the Church and Synagogue; (7) *mysticus*, or *apocalypticus* (as used by Gregory of Nazianzen), *sensus totus diuinus . . . atque ineffabilis;* (8) *boarcademicus*,[2] or *primordialis* (as used by Jewish Cabalists), in which the point of view is that of eternal bliss and salvation. No conscious use of these eight senses is observable in Odo's works (indeed one may not expect cabalistic influences in Christian works at a time when the Cabala was not yet in being), nor does Marrier suggest such a conscious use in Odo's method. Yet this extension towards overrefinement is worth noting. We may, on the other hand, be certain that the belief in an unlimited sense of Scripture by John Scotus Erigena represents on the part of that great allegorist rather a refusal to yield to the mechanism of a formula than a desire to extend the number of *topoi*. To Erigena 'the sense of the divine utterances is manifold and infinite, just as in one single feather of the peacock one sees a marvelous and beautiful

[1] Introd. to Odo's *Moralium Epitome S. Greg. in Job*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXXIII, 105 ff.

[2] In reply to a request for information concerning this unusual word, which I have found nowhere else, Professor Louis Ginzberg of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America suggests that it must represent בְּאוּר קַדְמוֹן (*beur cadmon*), almost literally: *sensus primordialis*.

variety of innumerable colors.'[1] One may compare, in Jewish exegesis, the Zohar's seventy aspects of the *Torah*.[2]

It is not surprising that the attitude of the Reformation was antipathetic to the use of the four senses. Melanchthon[3] regards it as the trifling and vicious recourse to a monstrous metamorphosis on the part of inept illiterates, who have no science of speaking, and who do not even appreciate that *ἀναγωγία*, meaning *petulantia*, may not be used for *ἀναγωγή*.

Philo's rôle in the history of Christian exegesis is characteristic of the relation between Jewish and Christian hermeneutics through the long and rich histories of both, especially in the Middle Ages. In Jewish Biblical hermeneutics, there was a Midrashic, homiletical, type of interpretation which aimed at moral instruction. There was a similar long quarrel as to stress upon the *peshat* or primary sense, or upon the *derash*, or Midrashic sense. There were, especially from the thirteenth century on, Jewish scholars who drew upon Christian exegetical methods,[4] and works criticizing Christian methods.[5] There was prevalent[6] the fourfold interpretation: *peshat*, *derash*, rational-philosophical, and cabalistic-mystical, and in the Zohar[7] (which first appeared in the thirteenth century in Spain) there are found the almost exact equivalents of the patristic four senses: פשט *peshat*, דרש *derash*, רמז *remez* (allegorical), and סוד *sod*

[1] *De Div. Nat.* IV, 5, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXII, 749 c. Cf. Henry Bett, *Johannes Scotus Erigena* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), pp. 152 ff.; and R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought* (London, 1884), p. 67.

[2] See W. Bacher, 'L'Exégèse Biblique dans le Zohar,' *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XII (1891), 35.

[3] *Elementa Rhetorices, De Elocutione II, De Quatuor Sensibus Sacrarum Scripturarum:* 'Sed has nugas commenti sunt homines illiterati, qui cum nullam dicendi rationem tenerent, et tamen uiderent scripturam plenam esse figurarum non potuerunt apte de figuris iudicare. Itaque coacti sunt nouam quondam rhetoricam comminisci.' 'Errant autem in hac uoce cum dicunt *ἀναγωγίαν* pro *ἀναγωγή*, significat enim *ἀναγωγία* petulantiam, seu feritatem morum, ab *ἀνώγαγος*, quod est intractabilis et petulans.' 'Et hoc modo omnes uersus prodigiosa metamorphosi quadrifariam interpretabantur, quantumuis interdum dictum aliquod repugnaret illi metamorphosi.'

[4] E.g., Isaac Abravanel (end of fifteenth century).

[5] E.g., Abraham Ibn Ezra's (twelfth century) Commentary on the Pentateuch (*Seferha-Yashar*).

[6] E.g., the Commentary on the Pentateuch by Bahya ben Asher (Saragossa, end of thirteenth century). See P. Bloch-K. Kohler, art. 'Bahya,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. II.

[7] I. Broydé, art. 'Zohar,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. XII, calls *remez* 'the sense for allusion,' *derash* 'anagogical,' and *sod* 'mystical.'

(mystical), which W. Bacher [1] thinks were probably modeled upon the Christian arrangement.[2] On the other hand, it was seen above, in regard to Odo's editor, that one sense-topic was borrowed from the Jewish Cabala.[3]

In the light of this interrelationship in Biblical exegesis and of the natural use of preaching as a general medium of hermeneutical practice in the religious activity of both Christians and Jews in the Middle Ages, more information than we have on mediaeval Jewish rhetoric, sacred and secular, would be very welcome.[4] We know there were scholars among the Jews who used rhetoric derived from Arabic sources,[5] and scholars who applied rhetoric to sacred eloquence.[6] Great homiletical collections were extant, and highly elaborated sermons expounding the Pentateuch text were delivered by the Darshanim, among whom several great figures appeared in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, particularly in Spain. Such considerations, as well as the frequent intercourse between Jewish and Christian scholars in the Middle Ages, and the attention generally given by Jewish philosophy to alien thought, suggest that there was an interaction between these two religious systems, not only in hermeneutics, but also in other departments of sacred rhetoric.[7] A comparative study of Jewish and Christian preaching in that epoch would prove fruitful.

[1] See art. 'Bible Exegesis,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. III; and also D. Philippson, art. 'Homiletics,' *ibid.*, vol. VI.

[2] On the *pardes*, see W. Bacher, 'Das Merkwort Pardes in der jüdischen Bibelexegese,' in D. B. Stade, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XIII (1893), 294–305. See also A. Schmiedel, *Studien über jüdische Religionsphilosophie* (Vienna, 1869), p. 229; W. Bacher, 'Die Bibelexegese (Vom Anfange des 10. bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts)' in J. Winter and A. Wünsche, *Geschichte der rabbinischen Literatur* (Trier, 1894), II, 239–339. For Jewish-Christian interrelationship in Biblical exegesis, see L. I. Newman, *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* (New York: Columbia University Oriental Studies, vol. XXIII, 1925), p. 183, n. 27; for Jewish influence upon Nicolas of Lyra, *ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.

[3] See A. Jellinek, 'Christlicher Einfluss auf die Kabbala,' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala* (Leipzig, 1852), pp. 51–56; Newman, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 ff.

[4] So also, for a later period, one would like to see a comparison of Judah Messer Leon (the *Nofet Zufim*, ed. by A. Jellinek, Vienna, 1863) and his contemporary Reuchlin in their dependence on the rhetorical theory of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian.

[5] E.g., Abulwalid Ibn Ganah (ninth century).

[6] E.g., Moses Ibn Ezra (twelfth century) in his Rhetoric (*Kitab al-Muhadarah*).

[7] See S. Maybaum, *Jüdische Homiletik* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 1–22.

Cornell University.

MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY EXCAVATIONS AT CLUNY

By KENNETH JOHN CONANT
Research Associate in Archaeology of the Mediaeval Academy

III

Drawings and Photographs of the Transept

THE existing transept of the abbey church at Cluny is of profound interest because it is so good a witness for the destroyed portions of the great edifice. The Mediaeval Academy expedition therefore measured and photographed the structure with care in 1927 and 1928, and the preliminary drawings presented here have been made in order to serve as a basis for the projected series of restorations. They are the first drawings to approach completeness and accuracy. The interiors generally published are derived from Aymar Verdier's work of 1850, a section showing the interior only, and that not quite correctly. It is believed that the elevations are the first to be published.

Fortunately for the study of the building, the transept comprises a northern bay closely resembling the typical bay of the destroyed nave, a middle bay with a tower and a cloister vault similar to three others which have disappeared, and a southern bay related to the west end of the nave; adjoining the transept on the western side there remain a bay, nearly complete, of the outer aisle of the nave, and a tapering square tower containing a chapel like that which formerly existed over the Great Portal of the church. Beside the tower is a barrel-vaulted rectangular sacristy, one of the rare examples of the period.

The fabric of the transept is of limestone, partly squared and sculptured blocks, partly *moellon* (small trimmed stone), partly rubble set in abundant lime mortar. The stone came from the Carrière des Moines near Cluny. It is cream-colored when quarried, but turns buff and pale orange-brown on exposure. On the interior

it is still of this color, but on the exterior, exposed to the weather, it has long since turned a pleasant warm grey. The stone has suffered from frost; damage of this kind was well restored in the eighties of the nineteenth century and poorly repaired (with stucco and bits of tile) in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The barrel vaulting is covered by tighes or *laves* set directly on the web of the vault. These are now protected by modern roofs of tile. The cloister vault is protected by the tower roof of slate on wooden trusswork, the latter rebuilt about forty-five years ago, but following in general the form, and reëmploying some of the timbers, of an earlier reconstruction by Jean de Bourbon, abbot between 1457 and 1480. The slate used to cover Jean de Bourbon's pyramid was the first to be brought to the region, and we may surmise that the original roof was of flat red tile; doubtless its pitch was less steep. The curved roof over the smaller tower is a work of the seventeenth century, and by a singular chance its trusswork is laid out in the present writer's monogram.

Cut stone is used in the exterior walls only for quoining and other parts having definitely the character of architectural membering. The window-head arches have stuccoed soffits in the eleventh-century manner. Elsewhere the exterior is in trimmed stone brought only approximately to a true surface, laid in courses neither entirely regular nor strictly horizontal. Since the surface of the cut stone is not set forward of the other, the exterior was probably not planned to be stuccoed. On the interior the walls of the northern and middle bays are of trimmed stone, stuccoed and probably intended from the first for stucco. The walls between the four great arches of the middle bay and the spring of the cloister vault, together with the inner facing of the northern bay, are in cut stone, and all of the architectural membering of the interior is of course in cut and sculptured stone. The vaulting is entirely covered with stucco, but its arched supports are in cut stone.

Those unversed in architecture will recognize, and architects will appreciate, the virility of the design as a whole and the boldness of the vaulting, which is prepared for with skill in the ground plan, and contrived with great address. The statical problems were studied with evident care and intelligently solved. The distance between

the walls in each of the three bays is greater than the diameter of the vault at the spring; this is managed by applied arches in the southern and middle bays, and by clever corbelling in the triforium and clearstory of the northern bay. The slope of the roof and the curve of the vaulting are so chosen that the thrusts are received into a heavier mass of masonry than is usual, though it occurs at the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (1077–1122), where also there are columnar and boldly projecting spur buttresses like those to be remarked at Cluny.

There is no reason to suppose that the transept was not built according to the plan put into execution in 1088. Accumulating evidence places its actual construction largely between 1095 and 1100. This dating has been a matter of dispute. Some authors consider that the transept was complete in 1095. Others, clinging to old-fashioned ideas about the architecture of the eleventh century, place it after 1100 — even after 1125, which is quite inadmissible.

Accompanying the line drawings will be found a series of reproductions of M. Loury's photographs of the capitals of the interior of the transept. The relative scale of the objects has been preserved as far as possible, at a reduction to about one seventeenth of the dimensions of the originals. The largest of these are two feet, eleven and one-half inches high from the top of the astragal to the bottom of the impost moulding; the smallest measure nine inches. There are sixty capitals and corbels in the series, a small fraction of those formerly in the church (the whole church, interior and exterior, had over fifteen hundred), but they admirably suggest the profusion, the variety, the beauty, and the interest of those which have been lost. It will be noted that some of the large capitals are closely studied from the antique, though with interesting variations. Others are free compositions using the subject material of the classical capital, while still others have animal forms carved with real competence, which is apparent even through the layers of whitewash and dust which the centuries have deposited upon them. It is only fair to note the full and confident modelling, the purity of the classic feeling where that is the keynote, and the abounding vitality of the Romanesque feeling in the freer designs.

There is a certain inconsistency of scale between capitals of similar size which suggests that they were not carved in or for their particular places, but there is only one capital, numbered C 113, which fails to attain the general high standard. The older school of archaeologists is much more willing to assign this capital to the eleventh century than the others. Capital C 113 was perhaps the work of a rustic stone-cutter which had to be introduced in order to avoid delaying the progress of the construction. It can be shown again and again that capitals at Cluny were carved at the time of setting; otherwise this capital might be thought of as one merely blocked out when it was set, and overlooked when, at some later time, the capitals were finished. The capital in question does indeed represent the grade of competence of contemporary rustic work in Burgundy; but at Cluny we have to do with a noble school evidently assembled over a wide area in view of the vast sculptural program of a preeminent building. The atelier must have been at work by 1090.

The carvings as a whole are very high in quality and bear close-at-hand inspection far better than one would expect. This is a very strong argument in favor of dating the capitals from the time of the construction, 1095–1100. Had the smaller capitals been merely blocked out at the time of setting, they might have been left so, for they would have looked perfectly well from the pavement fifty-odd feet below. What we actually find is delicate carving with undercutting and details which are all but invisible from the floor of the church. The grace and finish of this work give the sculpture a feminine character which serves as an admirable foil to the ruggedness of the structural fabric.

Harvard University.

FIGURE 1

EAST ELEVATION

FIGURE 2

WEST ELEVATION

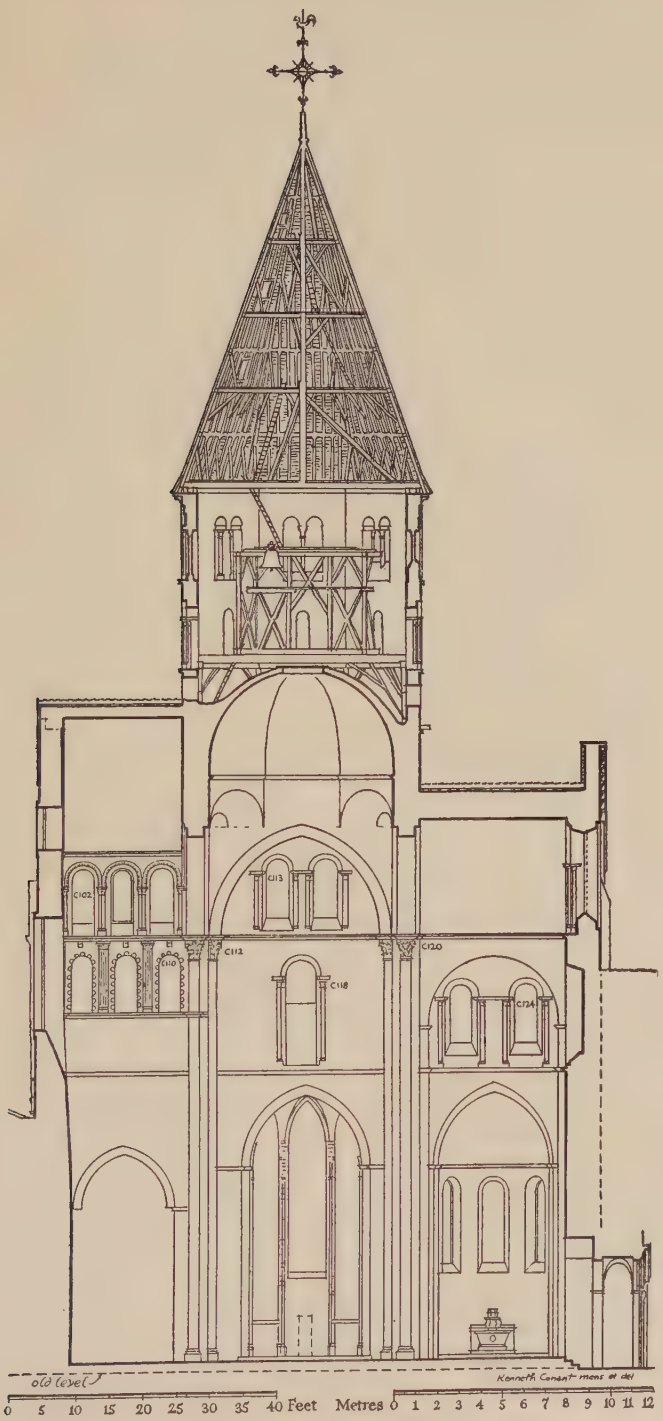


FIGURE 3

LONGITUDINAL SECTION, LOOKING EAST

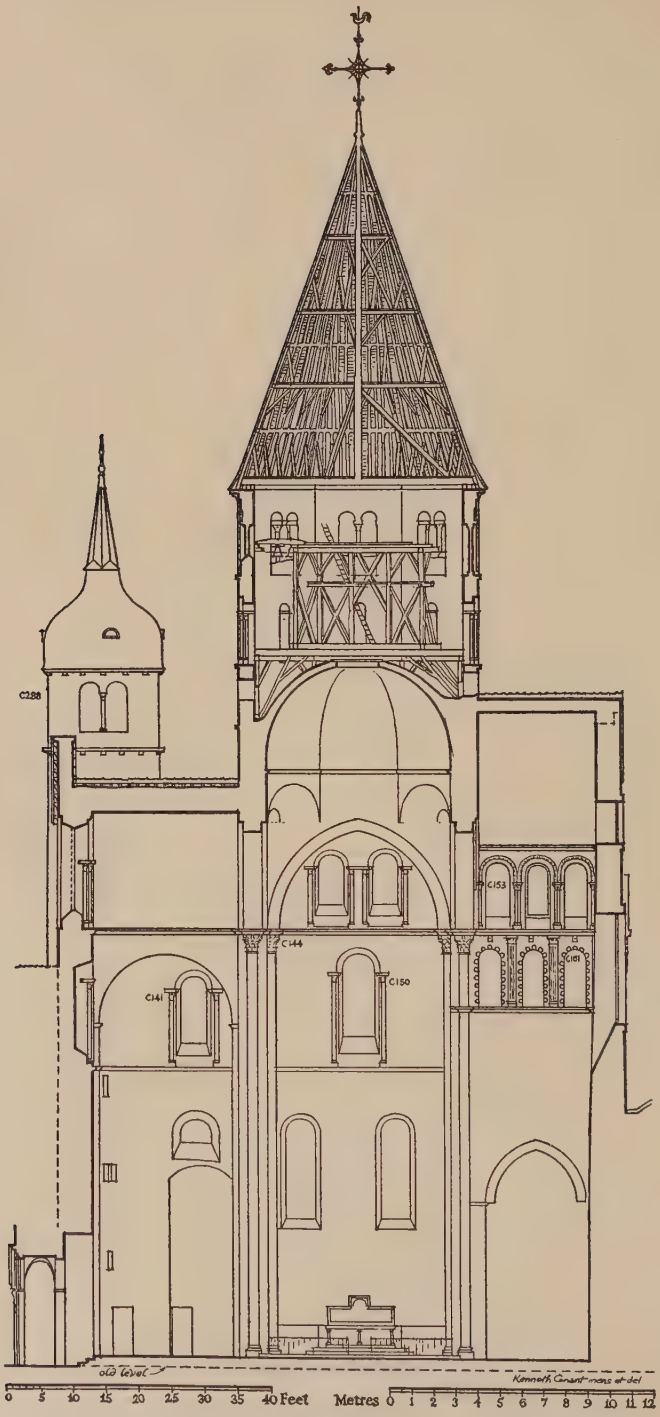


FIGURE 4

LONGITUDINAL SECTION, LOOKING WEST

FIGURE 5

TRANSVERSE SECTION OF NORTHERN BAY, LOOKING SOUTH

FIGURE 6

TRANSVERSE SECTION OF MIDDLE BAY, LOOKING NORTH

DIMENSIONS OF TRANSEPT

Exterior

Approximate measurements from old level of interior pavement

	Feet Inches	Metres
Height of octagonal tower to tip of lightning rod	204′–10″	62.43
" " " " " " " pinnacle	189′–4 ″	57.70
" " " " " eaves	132′–1 ″	40.26
" " square tower to tip of pinnacle	140′–3 ″	42.75
" " " " " eaves	104′–10″	31.95
" to original ridge — northern bay	100′–6 ″	30.63
" " " " — southern bay	87′–0 ″	26.52
" " eaves — northern bay	88′–4 ″	26.92
" " " — middle bay	91′–5 ″	27.86
" " " — southern bay	72′–2 ″	22.00
" " " — Romanesque chapel	34′–10″	10.62
" " clearstory string course	65′–8 ″	20.01
" " impost of inner aisle	39′–5 ″	12.01

FIGURE 7

TRANSVERSE SECTION OF SOUTHERN BAY, LOOKING SOUTH

DIMENSIONS OF TRANSEPT

Interior

	Feet Inches	Metres
Length, wall to wall at the pavement level	74′–3 ″	22.63
Width, wall to wall — northern bay	27′–0 ″	8.23
" " " " — middle bay	32′–4½″	9.85
" " " " — southern bay	32′–5 ″	9.86
" " " " — nave aisle, east to west	22′–11″	6.99
" " " " " " north to south	19′–5 ″	5.92
Height, old pavement to present pavement level, about	1′–7 ″	0.49
" present pavement to highest point under vault — northern bay	96′–9½″	29.50
" " " " " " " " — middle bay	103′–6 ″	31.55
" " " " " " " " — southern bay	81′–8 ″	24.89
" " " " top of impost moulding — northern bay	76′–9½″	23.41
" " " " " " " " — cloister vault	88′–1 ″	26.85
" " " " " " " " — southern bay	64′–1 ″	19.53
Minimum thickness of vault — northern bay — about	1′–6 ″	0.46
" " " " — middle bay	1′–1 ″	0.33
" " " " — southern bay — about	1′–6 ″	0.46
Height, from present pavement to top of clearstory string course	64′–1 ″	19.53
" " " " " " " triforium string course	52′–5½″	16.09
" " " " " impost of aisle arches — about	23′–5 ″	7.14

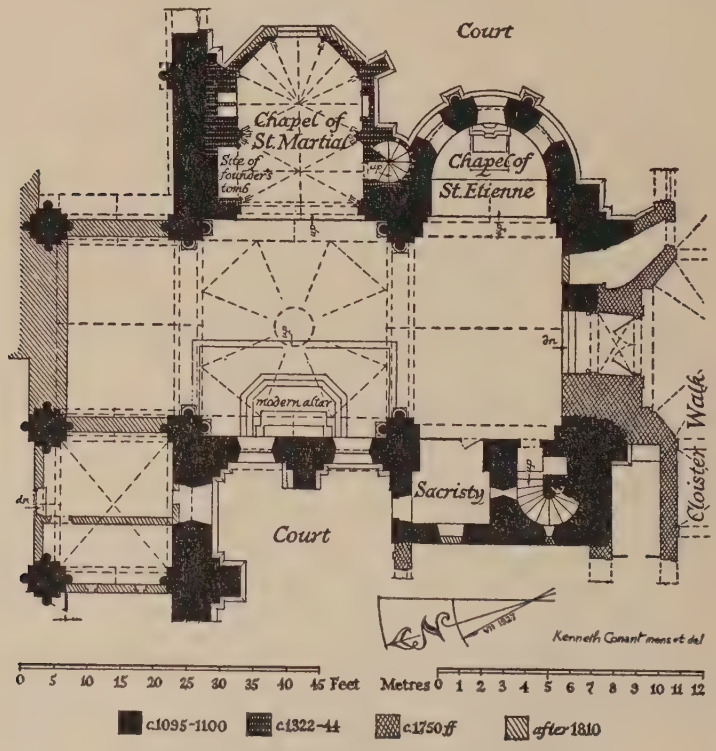


FIGURE 8

PLAN OF THE TRANSEPT

PLATE I

LARGE CAPITALS, EAST WALL

C 111

C 112

C 119

C 120

PLATE II

LARGE CAPITALS, WEST WALL

C 143

C 144

C 151

C 152

PLATE III

CLEARSTORY, EAST WALL

C 102

C 103 *a*, *b*

C 104 *a*, *b*

CLEARSTORY

C 105

TRIFORIUM, EAST WALL

C 106

C 107

TRIFORIUM, EAST WALL

C 108

C 109

C 110

PLATE IV

MIDDLE BAY, EAST WALL

C 113 C 114 C 115 C 116

MIDDLE BAY

C 117

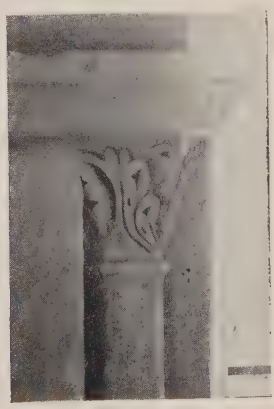
C 118

SOUTHERN BAY

C 121

SOUTHERN BAY, EAST WALL

C 122



C 123

C 124

PLATE V

SOUTH WALL, UPPER RANGE, EASTERN HALF

C 125 C 126 C 127 C 128 *a*, *b*, C 129

WESTERN HALF

C 130 C 131 *a*, *b*, C 132 C 133 C 134

PLATE VI

SOUTH WALL, LOWER RANGE

C 135

C 136

C 137

C 138

C 139

SOUTHERN BAY, WEST WALL

C 140

C 141

C 142

PLATE VII

MIDDLE BAY, WESTERN WALL

C 145

C 146

C 147

C 148

C 149

C 150

EAST — TRIFORIUM STRING COURSE — WEST

M 4

M 7

CLEARSTORY, WEST WALL

C 153

C 154 *a*, *b*

C 155 *a*, *b*

CLEARSTORY

C 156

TRIFORIUM, WEST WALL

C 157

C 158

TRIFORIUM, WEST WALL

C 159

C 160

C 161

SOME PHASES OF GRAMMATICAL CONCORD IN CERTAIN MEROVINGIAN CHARTERS[1]

By HENRY MILLER MARTIN

THE period from the sixth to the eighth centuries is with much propriety spoken of as the time when the Latin tongue sank to its nadir of corruption.[2] Among signs of linguistic decadence[3] none is more conclusive than failure in grammatical concord. Yet no comprehensive study of concord as such in late authors has been made. No article of the kind has appeared in the *Archiv*, while Bonnet, Goelzer, Pirson,[4] Carnoy and others of necessity discuss the subject only casually, if at all. The following article is, therefore, devoted to a study of that feature in certain instruments issued under the hand of the Merovingian Kings from 625–752, approximately. No examples illustrate more strikingly than they the decomposition which underlay the formation of the Romanic tongues.

[1] As a result of the destructive reviews by K. F. Stumpf ('Ueber die Merovinger-Diplome,' *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXIX [1873], 343 f.) and Th. Sickel (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomatum Imperii, Tomus* I, *Besprochen*, Berlin: Fr. Vahlen, 1873), Pertz's edition of the Merovingian *diplomata* has fallen into discredit, and no satisfactory text of those documents as a whole now exists. True the reviewers and others have amended some errors, but they have touched the charters only here and there, and their criticisms, scattered in various journals, e.g. *Neues Archiv der Gesellsch. f. ältere D. Geschichtsk.*, have never been unified. In 1908 appeared the facsimile edition, *Les Diplômes Originaux des Mérovingiens*, ed. Ph. Lauer et Ch. Samaran (Paris: Leroux, 1908), containing 38 *diplomata*, which furnishes a reliable text for that number. On these, therefore, the present study is based. Of the remaining 83 charters printed as genuine by Pertz, Nos. 2, 5, 6, 8 (Stumpf, *art. cit.*, p. 368; Sickel, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 63, 64), and No. 31 (W. Levison, 'Die Merowingerdiplome für Montiérender,' *Neues Archiv*, XXXIII [1908], 754) have been shown to be spurious, while Nos. 15, 27, 28, 38, 42, 44, 55, 63, 80, 90, 96, 97, and many others, are referred to as genuine. Authentic also are Nos. 55–59, 65, and 77, in Pertz's *diplomata spuria* (Sickel, *ibid.*, pp. 64–68). Keeping in mind, then, the present uncertainty of the text, the author has based every point, with one exception, on the facsimiles. The others, however, are freely invoked to illustrate or to confirm. For having pointed out the situation just mentioned, the writer is indebted to Professor C. H. Haskins of Harvard University. References to the facsimiles are given by page, column and line; to Pertz's edition, marked *M*, by page and line.

[2] W. P. Ker, *The Dark Ages* (N. Y.: Scribner, 1904), p. 24.

[3] H. O. Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* (N. Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, 1901), p. 34; D. C. Munro, *The Middle Ages* (N. Y.: Century Co., 1921), p. 13; Henri Goelzer, *Etude Lexicographique et Grammaticale de la Latinité de St-Jérôme* (Paris: Hachette, 1884), p. 11.

[4] J. Pirson, *La Langue des Inscriptions Latines de la Gaule* (Brussels, 1901), pp. 161–169; cf. Jeanne Vielliard, *Le Latin des Diplômes Royaux et Chartes Privées de l'Epoque Mérovingienne* (Paris: Champion, 1927), pp. 177–180.

I. The Subject

It is a commonplace that in Vulgar Latin the forms of the nominative and accusative were blended. The popular character of these *diplomata* is well illustrated by the widespread use of the accusative as the case of the subject: *vel reliquas reddebucionis . . . exigebatur*, 16, 1, 14; *adseruit quod ipsas donacionis . . . veracis aderant*, 21, 1, 22.

The pronoun *nos* is erroneously treated as subject of the impersonal verb *constat*, which is confused with *consisto* or *constituo: Propterea nus, una cum nostris procerebus, consteti decrevisse*, 8, 2, 33; *Proinde nus taliter, una cum nostris procerebus . . . constetit decrevisse*, 23, 1, 33. A hint for that interpretation is gained from the correct *nobis . . . constetit decrivisse*, *M.*, 70, 48; cf. *neque heres meus neque heredive meor*[*um*], *neque cuiquam licivit*, *C. I. L.*, XIV, 166.

After a long digression the subject may be repeated in a resumptive way, with or without an introductory word: . . . *vestra cognuscat industria quod nos* (4 lines) . . . *nos ipsa villa . . . concessemus*, 12, 2, 23; *Idcircum venerabilis vir Magnoaldus, abba* (3 lines) . . . ; *sed ipsi vir Magnoaldus . . . petiit*, 18, 2, 16; 19, 2, 20.

The subject may be left unsupported [1] because of a sudden shift in thought: *ejus manus dicuntur tripedare illi calamus*, 10, 1, 6 (*calamus* seems pendent); (*qualiter*) *et nus . . . opinio bonis et premium sempeternum adcriscat*, 18, 2, 15. Such examples, however, illustrate slovenly execution only and not functional disturbance. Finally cases occur where an unnamed subject [2] must be inferred from the context: *Qui ipse Amalgarius taliter dedit in respunsis, eo quod ipsa terra . . . inter ipso Amalgario vel genetore suo . . . semper tenuerant*, 12, 1, 15; *fuerat adetum aut meliorare potibu*[*nt*], 24, 1, 22; *sicut constat antedictus princeps . . . concessit, et hoc . . . adimplire vedintur*, 26, 2, 28 (i.e. *reges* of line 19); cf. *item legitur de evangeliis, ubi passionem dicit*, in *Sanctae Silviae Peregrinatio* (W. Heraeus and H. Morf, Heidelberg: Winter, 1922), p. 43, 16.

[1] A. A. Draeger, *Histor. Syntax der Lat. Spr.*, I (2d ed., Leipzig, 1878), 195 f.; anacoluthic sentences are frequent in the *Peregrinatio;* cf. E. A. Bechtel, '*Sanctae Siluiae Peregrinatio*,' *Studies in Class. Philol.* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press), VII (1907), 153.

[2] R. Kühner, *Ausführl. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.*, II (Hannover: Hahn, 1912), 1, 29, Anm. 6.

II. The Predicate

1. *Omission and repetition.* Although the *diplomata* were official documents, which legally confirmed rights and privileges, and therefore demanded accuracy, the sentence is occasionally anacoluthic. Moreover the omitted verb can be readily supplied only by one familiar with the technical terminology: *Quotienscumque peticionebus . . .* (no verb) *eas . . .* [*libenter volum*]*us obaudire*, 5, 2, 18; *nobis sogesserunt, eu quod farinario illo . . . quaem a longo tempore antecessoris sui ad villa . . . semper posiderunt* (no verb), 23, 1, 6; cf. *decernimus . . . ut neque vos, neque juniores . . .* (10 lines) [*exigere non praesumatis?*], 13, 2, 14; cf. 24, 2, 30–44.

The same verb may appear at the beginning and at the end of the sentence, and therefore become redundant. Accuracy is thus attained at the expense of style: *Idio cognuscat magnetudo seu utilitas vestra, quod nos . . . confirmassae, vestra cognuscat solercia*, 24, 2, 26.

2. *Number* (*a*) *Singular subject and plural verb and vice versa:* The crude writer might mistake both the number and person of a compound subject even overlooking a plural in juxtaposition with the verb. In either case inconcinnity results:[1] (*decernimus*)*ut neque vos, neque juniores . . . ne quislibet de judiciaria potestate acinctus, ipso tilloneo . . . perrexirent*, 13, 2, 15 (if *ubi et ubi* is an adverb); *ubicumque, telleneus, portaticus . . . vel reliquas reddebucionis . . . exigebatur*, 16, 1, 13; (*ut*) *rotaticus vel reliquas redebucionis . . . nullatenus requeratur nec exigiatur*, 25, 2, 5; cf. *ut ipsi monachi sub quieto ordine viventes . . . exorare delectet, M*, 78, 31.

The neuter relative *quod* when referring to a plural antecedent, as was possible in popular speech,[2] regularly takes a singular verb in

[1] Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 171 (*ult.*); E. Slijper (*De Formulis Andecavensibus*, Amsterdam: H. Eisendrath [1906], p. 79) prefers to explain many errors of the kind on phonetic principles; cf. *in palacio occiduntur Gurdianus cum de Partis triumpharit*, in *La Compilation Dite de Frédégaire* (G. J. J. Monod, Paris, 1885), p. 54, 22; *His quattuo plagis . . . predictae a Domino . . . impletur, ibid.*, p. 61, 24; *M. Sempronius Hymnus suo et . . . fili sui nomine . . . restituerunt, C. I. L.*, II, 3570; *P. Popilius Priscinus sevr sol. se vio posurunt, ibid.*, V, 7465; (*Optatus*) *vivi sibi fecerunt, ibid.*, XII, 5214.

[2] Max Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris: Hachette, 1890), pp. 394 and 509; Vielliard, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

the *diplomata;* [1] an occasional writer, however, vaguely felt that in those circumstances a plural verb was necessary, as the following example shows: *seu reliqua, facul[tatem vel] villas illas, quo[d] . . . nuscuntur perveniss[e]*, 5, 2, 26.

(*b*) *Multiple Subject:* The elementary principles of concord are well observed. For example, when the combined subjects represent persons, the verb is usually plural; [2] but the notaries must have trusted much to their momentary impression, for the singular may stand, although the subjects are apparently of equal rank: *jam dicta Leudesinda vel pars ipsius monasthiriae suae Argentoiali aut congregacio . . . valiat habire concessum*, 20, 2, 6; cf. *pater et mater memoriam fecit, C. I. L.*, XII, 3347. When the nouns represent inanimate things, they approximate a single idea,[3] and the singular stands. Exceptions, although infrequent, occur, which tend to show that the writers had no reasoned grasp of the matter: [4] *cum omne integretate vel soledetate sua, ad se pertenentis*, 13, l. 25; cf. *ut. electio vel dispositio . . . debeant concordare, M*, 15, 13 (No. 13, Stumpf, *art. cit.*, p. 388).

Observe the varied agreement when several subjects of different persons are connected by *neque — neque.*[5] Only the verb changes in the stock expression: (*ut*) *neque vos, neque junioris seu soccessoris vestri, nec quislibet . . . infiscare non praesummatis*, 11, 2, 33; 25, 2, 18; *ut neque vos, neque junioris . . . nec quislibet . . . generare penitus non praesumatur*, 17, 2, 14; 19, 1, 6–18; the verb may even appear in the third person plural overleaping the nearest subject in the singular: *ut neque vos neque iuniores vestri . . . vel quislibet . . . non praesumant, M*, 45, 49. The text is correct (No. 50; cf. Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Stumpf, *art. cit.*, p. 377).

A singular subject connected with another noun by *cum* tends to

[1] . . . *telleneus, portaticus, pontatecus, rotaticus vel reliquas redebucionis, quod a judicebus publicis exigetur*, 25, 2, 5; *vaccas cento soldaris, quod . . . sperabattur*, 26, 2, 13; *mansus duos . . . quod . . . pervinit*, 21, 2, 21.

[2] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 44, par. 13, 1, 2 and 3; Vielliard, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[3] Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 175, par. 102; B. L. Gildersleeve–G. Lodge, *Lat. Gram.* (Boston: Heath, 1922), par. 285, 2; Pirson, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[4] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 51, 2. It should be borne in mind that at this period disjunctives have lost their force; cf. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 315; B. Linderbauer, *Sancti Benedicti Regula Monachorum* (Metten: Benediktinerstift, 1922), pp. 130, 140 and 202, 5.

[5] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 46*a*); Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 178, par. 105; Gildersleeve–Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 182, par. 285, 3, n. 1.

take the singular throughout the Vulgar field, so far as we know it.[1] The charters show that this was the usage to the end. Only the following exception, and that not definitive, has been noted: *ipsa villa Nocito, una cum omnem mereto vel integritati sua . . . omne tempure habiant evindegatas*, 15, 1, 7; cf. *Quapropter ipse episcopus abba eorum una cum ipsis monachis nobis . . . petierunt adfirmare, M*, 28, 36 (No. 29, Levison, *art. cit.*, p. 758, n. 1); *ubi venerabilis vir Leutbertus abba una cum norma plurima clericorum deservire videntur, M*, 79, 3; *ubi ipse abba cum turma plurima monachorum . . . conversare videntur, M*, 75, 33 (No. 85; see Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

(*c*) *Construction according to sense.* It has become apparent that, when the sentence was long, these uncouth writers fell into irregularities. Obstacles of no moment to the trained mind proved invincible for them. Accordingly a singular subject, if it be limited by a plural noun or followed by a number of terms, may take a plural verb by misconception, because the plural idea persisted in the author's mind:[2] *Et ut hec precepcio firmior habiatur, vel per tempora conservintur*, 17, 2, 48. The influence of such a series of nouns may extend beyond their own clause, and into a new one with singular subject causing its verb to be in the plural: *seu reliqua, facul[tatem vel] villas illas, quo[d] . . . ad eodem nuscuntur preveniss[e]*, 5, 2, 26.

The collective nouns *pars, congregatio, caterva, turba* in the *diplomata* take a singular or plural verb according to the passing fancy

[1] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 27, 5; Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Pirson (*op. cit.*, p. 162) gives one example of the plural from inscriptions of Gaul. Two are found in the *Peregrinatio: ubi habitaverant primo Thara cum suis*, p. 25, 26 (W. Heraeus, Heidelberg: Winter, 1921); *omnis populus usque ad unum toti cum episcopo ymnos dicentes*, 47, 31; *Historia Apolloni* furnishes one: *Quam videns Apollonius cum filia sua et genero corruerunt*, p. 106, 12 (A. Riese, Leipzig: Teubner, 1893); Fredegar, three: *Ille pavore perculsus cum avia . . . properant*, p. 625, 38 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. LXXI); *Exercitus post tergum eorum cum ducibus insequens . . . exspoliant*, p. 654, 31; *Flaochatus cum Chlodoveo rege . . . accesserunt*, p. 662, 34; *La Compilation Dite de Fréd.*, one: (*cum*) *et Tholomeus cum sociis . . . tenerintur*, p. 71, 7; Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.*, three: *Childebertus autem . . . cum Theudeberto . . . voluerunt*, p. 265, 11 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. LXXI); *coniunctus rex ipse cum Guntchramno fratre suo, Mummolum eligunt*, p. 308, 4; with plural adjective: *Tunc stupefactus episcopus, cum praefecto et omni populo sequentes Malchum, venerunt ad speluncam*, p. 20, 17 (W. Heraeus & H. Morf, Heidelberg: Winter, 1922); p. 851, 28 (A. Arndt and B. Krusch, Hannover: Hahn, 1884–85).

[2] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 29, Anm. 6. Such errors are committed even by reputable modern authors; cf. *La extremada dulzura con que trataba a las discípulas le granjearon pronto su cariño y hasta su adoración*, Palacio Valdés, *Marta y María* (Madrid: Suárez, 1906), p. 156.

of the author. The plural with that class was avoided by writers [1] of the classical period, and to some extent even by those of the decadence.[2] If we may judge from the number of cases, the singular is preferred also in the charters; but apparently either the plural may stand with no justification, or several nouns connected by *vel*, closely following the collective, may create, or aid in creating, the effect of a plural.[3] The examples, it will be noted, come almost exclusively from one instrument, and therefore represent the mannerism of a single notary: *pro eo quod ipsa villa firmissimo jure pars ipsius domni Dionisii . . . debirent possidire, 17, 2, 10; pars fisci nostri ipsus solidus trecentus . . . perennis temporebus, debiant recipire, ibid., 2, 36; unde ipsa congrecacio pro stabelitati rigni vel salute patriae . . . debiant exorare, ibid., 2, 42*; cf. *neve quisquam rem aliam at decuriones referunto, C. I. L.*, II, 54, 39[1, 5, 34].

The disturbing force of plural nouns seems clearly proved when *pars* with them commands the plural, and later without them the singular in one and the same sentence: *ut nec posthia, nec tunc, pars fisce . . . nullus teleneus ad ipsus homenis . . . non exigintur nec tollintur, sed hoc pars predicte baselice . . . habirit, 22, 1, 19.* A dependent noun in the genitive plural should, and sometimes does, exert the same influence: [4] *et congregacio ibidem consistencium soledus docentus*

[1] Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 179, 'Bei Caesar fehlt diese Abnormität'; L. Kühnast, *Livianische Syntax* (Berlin: Weber, 1872), p. 61.

[2] O. Haag, 'Die Latinität Fredegars,' *Roman. Forsch.*, X (1899), 926. The plural is rare in the *Peregrinatio: Nam totus populus ante ipsum respondentes semper*, p. 39, 4 (Heraeus); *et inde omnis populus . . . ducunt episcopum*, p. 45, 35; 46, 37; Gregory of Tours in the *Historia Francorum* uses the plural three times with *uterque: uterque . . . ad bellum contra se properant*, p. 286, 1 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. LXXI), and p. 539, 6 and 10; Fredegar shows three examples: *Langobardorum gens . . . dissolvebant*, p. 635, 1 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. LXXI); *uterque in invicem pugnarunt*, p. 651, 20; *exercitus post tergum cum ducibus insequens . . . exspoliant*, p. 654, 31; Jordanis, none; *La Compilation Dite de Fréd.*, four: *Rome populus . . . insurgunt*, p. 57, 27; *Gens Chunorum pace rupta . . . ruunt*, p. 63, 34 and p. 105, 15; *Caesa sunt . . . nimia multitudo*, p. 133, 10; from inscriptions: *ordo . . . statuam equestrem decrevere, C. I. L.*, II, 2131, 2344.

[3] The plural persisted both in Spanish and Old French, usually so with *la gent;* cf. H. Suchier in G. Gröber's *Grundriss d. Roman. Philol.*, I (2d ed., Strassburg: Trübner), 815, sec. 84; A. Bello–R. Cuervo, *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* (Paris: Chernoviz, 1918), par. 818 (b).

[4] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 24, Anm. 1. Spanish affords an interesting parallel. The collective noun alone requires a singular verb, but if it is limited by *de* + a plural noun, e.g. *parte de los habitantes*, the plural verb is correct, Bello-Cuervo, *op. cit.*, par. 819 (c); cf. in French *la plupart des citoyens sont fidèles.*

. . . *relaxsassint*, 17, 2, 5; *vel turba plurima monachorum . . . noscuntur* [*consistere*], *M*, 87, 41 (No. 97; cf. facsimile edition, *Pref.*, p. v, n. 3). The unsystematic thinking of the secretaries, however, is indicated by the use of the singular [1] under identical circumstances: *aut congregacio ibidem consistencium . . . valiat habire concessum*, 20, 2, 7; cf. *in quibus caterva bestiarum germinat*, *M*, 22, 35 (No. 22, Sickel, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 and 55); (*ut*) *congregatio inibi consistentium quiete deberet possidere*, *M*, 58, 4 (No. 55, Levison, *art. cit.*, p. 754). Indeed numerous examples of the singular in Gregory of Tours and other late authors after collective nouns so modified show that in their minds the genitive plural was not a determining factor.[2]

(*d*) *The so-called Greek construction after neuter plurals.* The use of a singular verb after pronouns, and perhaps nouns, in the neuter plural, is occasionally found in the *diplomata*. The examples seem authorized, though not convincing. It would be unreasonable, however, to assume that writers so uncultured were influenced by the Greek except indirectly through translations of the Bible.[3] That is possible. There is reason to believe, also, that the secretaries did conceive of a neuter plural as an entity. Hence they felt, it would seem, no glaring discord when they introduced such words into some formula or hackneyed expression, and failed to make necessary changes: *quatenus de caduces rebus presente secoli aeterna conquiretur*, 24, 2, 6 (if *conquiro* be passive); *ea quae profectum aeclisiarum pertenit*, 13, 2, 3; cf. *et quae pro timore Dei . . . postulatur, ponatur procul dubium ad effectum*, *M*, 87, 33 (No. 97, Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 58); *debe(n)t nec benefacta mori*, *C. I. L.*, v, 3653.

(*e*) *Agreement with predicate noun.* In classical Latin the verb may agree with the predicate noun, especially if the latter precede.[4]

[1] Of course the plural is common in the next sentence: . . . *ut, dum ipsa congrecacio . . . ipsus solidus trecentus, quod consuetudinem . . . habuerunt recipendi*, 17, 2, 31; cf. Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 24, *Anm.* 2.

[2] . . . *pars Vandalorum . . . succubuit*, Greg. of Tours, *H. F.*, II, 3 (p. 191, 42, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. LXXI); *te elegit pars maxima populorum, ibid.*, p. 273, 32; *haec multitudo pauperum me diligit, ibid.*, p. 276, 13; *Gotthorum magna legatio . . . accedit, ibid.*, p. 410, 38; *Apium ibi turba . . . repperitur*, Jordanis, *Getica* (Th. Mommsen, Berlin: Weidmanns, 1882), p. 58, 19.

[3] H. Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata* (2d ed., Marburg, 1875), p. 435; J. Durel, *Commodien* (Paris: Leroux, 1912), p. 124; Vielliard, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[4] Kühner, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 3 and 40, 6; Draeger, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 and 181, par. 107; Kühnast, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

No positive examples have been noted in the cartularies with the following remarkable exception: *id sunt* (*hoc sunt*) may be written for *id est*, when the predicate is a plurality; the latter is, therefore, no longer exclusively parenthetic.[1] The author of the *Peregrinatio*, with whom *id est* is a favorite locution, did not take that liberty, while Gregory of Tours wrote *quod fuit*,[2] but went no further. The survival of the peculiar *id sunt* through intervening centuries, and its passage into Old French, are indicated by: *il sont III choses:* [3] It is possible that the plural noun immediately preceding the statement of identity, in addition to the one or ones following, may favor the change from *est* to *sunt: in villas, id sunt: Simplicciaco, Tauriaco*, etc., 10, 2, 28; (*quantumcumque*) . . . *cum appendiciis suis, id sunt: Baidalingo, Mathulfo villare*, *M*, 173, 31 (No. * 55, Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 65); cf. *donamus . . . hoc sunt villas*, *M*, 102, 23 (No. 112, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 58); *hoc sunt terris, aedificiis*, *M*, 102, 35; *Id sunt per diversis locis loca denomenata*, *M*, 109, 4; 108, 1 (Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 59, *ult.*).

3. *Person.* When a multiple subject represents different persons,[4] clear impression of the first or second person may be obliterated by modifiers interposed between the subject and the verb. The extreme is reached when *nos* connected with a noun by *cum* takes its verb in the first, or even third person singular. In the first case the writer lost his impression of the entire group in favor of *ego: Propterea nus, una cum nostris procerebus, consteti decrevisse*, 8, 2, 33. In the second, *nos* is loosely construed as *nostra industria, nostra celsitudo, nostra benignitas*,[5] etc., phrases frequently used in ceremonious address: *Proinde nos taliter, una cum nostris procerebus, constetit decrivissae*, 26, 1, 13; 16, 2, 50; 21, 1, 28. Cf. *ut neque vos neque iuniores vestri neque successores, vel missi de palatio nostro discurrentes, vel quislibet* . . . (3 lines) *minuere non praesumant*, *M*, 45, 49 (No. 50, Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 55); *Proinde nos taliter una cum nostris proceribus, in*

[1] Ed. Wölfflin, 'Zur Geschichte der Pronomina Demonstrativa,' *Archiv*, XI (1900), 378; Einar Löfstedt, *Phil. Komm. zur Per. Aetheriae* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1911), p. 91; *Sancti Benedicti Regula Monachorum, ed. cit.*, p. 51; A. H. Salonius, *Vitae Patrum* (London: Oxford Press, 1920), p. 230.

[2] Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

[3] Ferd. Brunot, *Histoire de la Langue Française*, I (Paris: Colin, 1905), 346; E. Slijper, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[4] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 44, 2 a.

[5] . . . *climenciae rigni nostri sogessit*, 26, 2, 11; [*Tunc re*]*galis celsitudo* . . . *conroborat*, 24, 1, 2; *abba petiit celsitudinem nostri*, 18, 2, 22.

quantum inluster vir . . . testimoniavit, constitit decrevisse, M, 39, 24 (No. 42, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 57).

4. *Gender.* Little explicable material is found here. Remoteness of the adjective from the noun or nouns seems the decisive factor: (*nisi*) *per hanc auctoretati plinius . . . confirmatus liciat ei . . . donare*, 11, 2, 35. Yet even in the simplest cases disturbance arises. Accordingly where we might expect to find the neuter plural, the feminine may stand: *ipso strumentum seu et precariam . . . in presentem ostendedit reli[gen]das*, 14, 2, 20; *pluris placeta inter se pro ac causa habuerunt initas*, 16, 2, 26; (*ut*) *ins[trume]n[ta] . . . vacuas et inanis permanirent*, 10, 2, 5. Loss of the neuter is foreshadowed in such cases. Note further a participle in the feminine plural referring to but not agreeing with *villa* modified by a *cum* phrase: *ipsa villa Nocito, una cum omnem mereto vel integritati sua . . . habiant evindegatas*, 15, 1, 7. Here surely *villa* and *integritas* were reckoned as coördinate. Elsewhere the influence of feminine nouns in an intervening clause may operate: *mansellus . . . quicquid . . . ibidem sua fuit possiessio vel domenacio . . . habiat evindegatas*, 21, 2, 30–41.

In pure Latin, as we have seen, the verb agreed with the predicate noun only infrequently, if the latter followed. Therefore the apparent attraction of *nuncupans* (*cognominans*) into the gender and number of the following geographical names would seem exceptional.[1] The irregularity, however, is doubtless fictitious, because those participles evidently belong to *loca* preceding. At this time present participles had been reduced to one termination, and the writer was relatively unfamiliar with the neuter[2] form: *in loca nunccupantis Childriciaecas et ad Taxmedas*, 21, 2, 7; *in loca noncopantis Saocitho, Muntecellis*, 11, 1, 6; *quod loca noncobantis Nialcha, Childulfo villa*, etc., 14, 1, 5; cf. *loca cognominantes Nartiliaco et Coconiaco, M*, 109, 8 and 13. Observe also the participle in *ad Deo timentis homenibus*, 18, 2, 24; *de reliquis Deo timentis homenibus*, 19, 1, 12; (*cum*) *apendiciis ad se pertenentis*, 26, 1, 21.

[1] In the examples cited by Kühner (*op. cit.*, p. 40, 6, par. 41) affecting proper nouns, those invariably precede the verb or participle, e.g. *ludi fuere, Megalensia appellata*, Livy, XXIX, 14, 14; Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[2] C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston: Heath, 1908), par. 374; cf. *et alia plures monasteria aedificavit*, in *La Compilation dite de Frédégaire*, p. 98, 35; *plures prelia . . . iniaerunt, ibid.*, p. 139, 16.

III. The Adjective

(*a*) *With* nos *used as the plural of modesty* (*majesty*). Writers of all periods inaptly reverted to *ego* and *meus* in the same sentence,[1] and lapses in that particular are of course common in charters.[2] An occasional sign of disturbance in the appositive relation, also, appears in the literature. Note, for example: *confidens quod epistula longior vobis, domnis meis, . . . placeret*, Apoll. Sidon., *ad Rur.*, p. 306, 29 (rec. Lütjohann, Berlin: Weidmanns, 1887), where *vobis* refers to a single person; but the attribute, we may safely say, remained steadily in the plural [3] both with *nos* and *vos*. In the charters of the cruder sort that is not always true. The singular adjective referring to *nos*, expressed or implied, does occur, if seldom. Mitigating circumstances such as proximity of the adjective to *ego*, its separation from *nos* or the verb, usually prevail: *Accidit etiam ut quodam tempore domnus pontifex invenisset nos in pago Miliduninse . . . gravi egritudine correptum*, *M*, 5, 39 (No. 3, Stumpf, *art. cit.*, pp. 369, n. 1 and 382, n. 1; Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 48*). Note also: *Nos igitur Clodulphus dux Austriae Mosellanicae . . . volumus esse notum, quod sancti David prophetae incitatus et motus verbis, dicentis . . . decrevimus conferre*, J. Pardessus, *op. cit.*, p. 84, 11 f.; . . . *ego Karolus, . . . Rex et rector regni Francorum . . . salutem. Considerans* (line 16) . . . *una cum Sacerdotibus et Consiliariis nostris, abundantem in nos nostrumque populum Christi Regis clementiam* (no verb). *Quapropter placuit nobis vestram rogare solertiam . . . Quapropter et nostros ad vos direximus Missos* (line 36), Ferd. Walter, *Corpus Iuris Germanici Antiqui*, II (Berlin: Reimer, 1824), 66, 11 f.

[1] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 87, 3 and 4; Draeger, *op. cit.*, par. 9, p. 25; L. Bayard, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Venantius Fort. ed. F. Leo (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), *Index Gram.*, p. 422.

[2] Irregularities like the following occur in charters not in the facsimiles, however: *Idcirco ego Karlemannus, maiorum domus . . . donamus*, 102, 19; . . .*donum quod a nullo percipere potui medicorum. Ideo nos . . . donamus*, etc., 5, 44; *Nos Martinus . . . notum facio*, J. Pardessus, *Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, Leges*, II (Paris, 1849), 161, 7; cf. L. Beszard, *La Langue des Formules de Sens* (Paris: Champion, 1910), p. 74; J. Sasse, *De Numero Plurali qui vocatur Maiestatis* (Diss., Leipzig: Hoffmann, 1889), pp. 32 and 34; E. Chatelain, 'Du Pluriel de Respect en Latin,' *Rev. de Phil.*, IV (1880), 136, 138, 139.

[3] In the nature of things the statement may not be absolutely accurate. For the literature the author has been compelled to rely on works of reference and the *Indices* to a variety of books consulted; but he has made an extensive search in cartularies, and in epistles of the Popes (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vols LIV, LVIII, LXIII, LXIX).

(*b*) *The past participle with habere.* Of the abundant examples of that usage in the charters all, or nearly all, denote state or condition. While in most cases the participle is declined, as was true in the best period, it is invariable in at least one, which therefore assumes some interest;[1] but the order of words is not yet the same as in French: . . . *vel quod boni homines . . . dederunt, aut inantea dederint, haec habuisset concessum*, *M*, 86, 37 f. (A.D. 743; No. 96, Facsimile edition, *Pref.*, p. v, n. 3); *Ipsa silva ad integrum, sicut fiscus noster fuit . . . jam dicta Leudesinda vel pars ipsius monasthiriae . . . aut congregacio . . . valiat habire concessum adque indutum*, 20, 2, 7 (A.D. 697). Add to these: *tributa Saxones . . . habent indultum*, Frédégaire, III, 158, 24 (*Roman. Forsch.*, X, 893). The neuter participle repeatedly occurred in agreement with *hoc* and *quod* in certain legal formulae: *ipsus mansellus, . . . hoc . . . habiat concessum adque indultum*, 11, 1, 18; . . . *vel mansus suos, . . . hoc habiat concessum adque indultum*, 27, 1, 20–24; *quicquid . . . omne tempore habiat evindecatum*, 18, 2, 2. Crystallization was the result. An occasional copyist would then naturally neglect to adapt the participle to plural words: *villa . . . quem apostholicus vir . . . visus fuit dedisse, et postia . . . fuit conces[s]um*, 17, 1, 26–31; *ipsus mansellus . . . habiat evindegatas*, 21, 2, 30–41; cf. *haec habuisset concessum*, *M*, 86, 39 (No. 96). Obviously in the original example the author mechanically wrote in the neuter participle used at other times with *hoc*, *quod*, etc. The error then would seem to be nothing more than failure in adjustment. Apart from explanation, however, accuracy could not prevail in the general laxity[2] indicated by the following: . . . *ipso strumentum seu et precariam, per quod . . . possedibat . . . ostendedit reli[gen]das*, 14, 2, 20.

IV. Apposition

The content of *res* or of a clause introduced by *quicquid* is often specifically defined in a series of appositive nouns, e.g. *silva, garo,*

[1] Ph. Thielmann, 'Habere mit dem Part. Perf. Pass.' *Archiv*, II (1885), 372, 509; 'Nachträge,' *ibid.*, III (1886), 532; Thielmann (*ibid.*, II, 547; III, 534) records only two examples of the invariable past participle; cf. Grandgent, *op. cit.*, pars. 121–123; O. Haag, *art. cit.*, *Roman. Forsch.* X, 893.

[2] An excellent illustration, not found in the *diplomata*, however, is *natio* and *multitudo* with a masculine participle in supposed agreement in certain late writers: *Quem Gepidarum cernens natio . . . invidia ductus arma in parentes movet*, Jordanis, *ed. cit.*, p. 82, 94; *nimia multitudo . . . trucidatus est*, *La Compilation Dite de Fréd.*, p. 125, 26.

etc.; frequently, also, the latter are in the ablative with or without *in* (*cum*): *mansellus . . . quicquid . . . ad eum pervinit, una cum mans*[*i*]*s, terris, domebus*, etc., 21, 2, 33; *hoc est, in terri*[*s, d*]*omebus, mancipi*[*is*], 4, 2, 18; *hoc est terris, dommebus, edificiis*, 17, 2, 23. In such a series the expression *greges cum pastoribus* is found incorporated without change, probably because the termination *ibus* could not be repeated so soon without cacophony: (*medietate*) *una cum terris, domebus . . . gregis cum pasthorebus*, 26, 1, 18. The continuation of the ablative after the expression proves that *gregis* is a member of the series: *Lemauso, una cum adjecencias . . . farinariis, gregis cum pastorebus, presidiis*, 21, 1, 11. Note the correct form in *gregibus cum pastoribus*, *M*, 154, 35, in a charter ranked as genuine by Stumpf (*art. cit.*, p. 402).

In place of direct apposition we find *id* (*hoc*) *est* inserted to state the identity of a substantive with several others. After *id* (*hoc*) *est*, we expect, and find, the same case as before: *in villas, id sunt: Simplicciaco, Tauriaco*, 10, 2, 28; (*cum*) *integritate sua, hoc est terris*, 17, 2, 23; *illa fructa, hoc est vinus vel annonas*, 19, 2, 47. That practice seems faithfully followed, also, in the *Peregrinatio*, and by Gregory of Tours.[1] The rare exceptions in the *diplomata* seem unnatural, because the meaning of *id est* is forced: *sancta loca . . . hoc est, in terri*[*s d*]*omebus*, 4, 2, 18; *quicquid . . .* [*fir*]*matum, hoc es*[*t terr*]*is, domebus . . . movile*, 10, 1, 18 (i.e., the property consists in land, etc.).

The royal secretaries, it is now clear, infringed on every hand, the principles of concord. Yet a very few wrote with astonishing purity. The latter are responsible for most of the examples of classical usage. The less efficient by following natural laws of thought frequently obeyed grammatical laws also. More often they fell into corrupt usages, which have in part survived in the Romance. It is the seventh century. Through the rigidity of lifeless formulas already is visible the directness which to-day characterizes French. The old world's loss is the modern world's gain.

[1] . . . *subiacere monti Dei, id est sancto Syna, Peregrinatio* (Heraeus and Morf), p. 6, 41; *faciens iter cum sanctis, id est presbytero et diaconibus, ibid.*, p. 12, 11; *misit tres episcopus ad filium . . . id est Arthemium*, etc., Greg. of Tours (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXI, 471, 26).

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NOTES

THE LATINITY OF THE *DIPLOMATA* AGAIN

In the light of the situation of the textual criticism of the Merovingian *diplomata* as outlined on p. 303, n. 1, above, a certain number of additional notes and some corrections to my article in Speculum, II (July, 1927), 258–267, seem to the point. In the following, F stands for Facsimile edition, *M* (*Monumenta*) for the edition by Pertz. The examples offered in substitution of those previously printed have been verified in the facsimiles.

Page 258: *templus*, 83, 13, l. 16; *bonarios*, 101, 10, l. 16 (No. 110, Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 59 **); *privilegius*, 83, 5, l. 17, rest on *M*. *Fredos*, 17, 40, l. 18, rests on *M* (No. 15, genuine; cf. Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 57); *locella*, 55, 27, l. 20; *fructus*, 24, 43, l. 22 (No. 24, genuine; cf. Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 55) are not in F. *Fretas*, 79, 53, l. 19, drops out (No. 90, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 58).

Page 259: *paludis*, 32, 6, l. 17; *pondus*, 96, 40, l. 22, are not in F.

Page 260: *alecus*, 14, 3, l. 7 (No. 11, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 47 **); *Vetus*, 40, 20, l. 17 (No. 42; cf. Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 57); *degui*, 9, 12, l. 24 (No. 7, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXI, 522, 29); *possiduit*, 66, 44, l. 26, are not in F. Example 4, 43, l. 18, is from *M* (No. 2, spurious). For *a Deo timentis hominebus*, 37, 37, l. 12, read *ad Deo timentis homenebus*, 61, 44.

Page 261: Under *vellibat*, l. 1, omit 84, 25. Under *minuo*, l. 3, read *nec nichil exinde minuare . . . non presumatis*, 63, 40; 60, 14. Example 76, 39, l. 12 (No. 86; cf. Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 60) is not in F. In l. 13, read *portaticus . . . vel reliquas*. For *ceteras*, l. 15, read *c[i]teras*. In the last line, read *faculta[tem vel] villas, quo[d]*. In Note 2, examples 15, 12; 25, 4 (No. 13, Stumpf, *art. cit.*, p. 388) (No. 24, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 55); 24, 41 (*ibid.*); 30, 43 (spurious, Levison, *art. cit.*, p. 754) and 25, 2 (Sickel, *ibid.*) are not in F. In Note 4, example 40, 15 (No. 42; cf. Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 57) rests on *M*.

Page 262: In l. 1, read *perveniss[e]*; in l. 2, for *sperare* put *uperare*, and for *sperabatur* put *sperabattur*. In lines 4–13, examples 26, 37 (No. 27); 23, 34 (No. 23); 26, 37 (No. 27) are not in F, but rest on charters pronounced genuine (Sickel, *ibid.*, pp. 55, 57). Under (*a*) *Genitive*, example 76, 41, l. 23 (No. 86, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 60), rests on *M*; 40 25, l. 26 and 40, 29, l. 28, come from a genuine, though faulty, charter (No. 42, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 57).

Page 263: Example 45, 13, l. 4, is supported by *de parte genetore suo*, 67, 39. Under *Dative*, 35, 49, l. 8 (No. 39, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 47 **), is not in F. At l. 16, for 45, 39, read *peticionebus . . . libenter obaudimus*, 74, 41. In lines 18–25, example 27, 35, l. 21, is from a charter pronounced genuine (No. 28,

Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 57); 49, 35 (No. 55, Levison, *art. cit.*, p. 754), 29, 36; 28, 24 of l. 21 (No. 29, Levison, *ibid.*, p. 758), and 47, 50, l. 22 (No. 53, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 67) are not in F; . . . *petitionibus*, 49, 35, l. 20, can be ablative; but 29, 36, l. 21 and 28, 24, l. 21 (No. 29), read *si petitionibus . . . perducemus ad effectum.* Add to this group *se peticionebus . . . effectuae mancipamus*, 61, 35. For *petiit a nobis*, l. 29 (No. 43, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 47 **), substitute *clementiam nostram petiit*, 193, 18 (No. * 77, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 67).

Page 264: Support lines 1–3 by *climenciae rigni nostri supplecavit*, 72, 20 and *climenciae regni nostri p[eciit]*, 14, 31. In l. 4, read *int[erro]gat[um]*. Example 98, 16, l. 6 (No. 107, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 59 **), is not in F. For 18, 1, l. 11 (No. 15), read *ut eis melius dilectit*, 72, 51. *Licet*, ll. 14–21, rests on *M*. Both charters, No. 15 and No. 9, are pronounced genuine (Sickel, *ibid.*, pp. 57, 56). Example 15, 21, l. 23 (No. 13, Stumpf, *ibid.*, p. 388), is not in F. Substitute for 32, 11, l. 29 (No. 33, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 55), *clementiam nostram petiit*, 193, 18 (No. 198, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 67); 75, 1.

Page 265: Example 17, 8, l. 3 (No. 15) is not in F. For *nos*, l. 3, read *nus*. Supplement 26, 36, l. 5 (No. 27, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 57) and 32, 3, l. 6 (*ibid.*, p. 55) with *climenciae rigni nostri sogessit*, 74, 45. Example 55, 24, l. 7, rests on *M*, as also 102, 31, l. 11 (No. 112, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 58), 99, 19, l. 24 (No. 108, *ibid.*, p. 59), and 49, 14, l. 26. In l. 25, read *[v]olomos*.

Page 266: In l. 1 read *mansellus . . . visi fuemus concessisse*, 43, 47; 63, 36, and in l. 4, read *A[igat]heo*. Under (*a*), l. 11, examples 94, 8; 83, 33; 50, 6 (No. 55, Levison, *l. c.*) are not in F; add *pro reverencia ipsorum marterum, vel nostra confirmanda mercede*, 20, 13; (*pro*) *adhepiscenda vita aeterna*, *ibid.*, 27 (cf. Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 751, par. 135 b) and p. 753 b) under *pro*. Examples 41, 6, l. 15 (No. 43, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 47 **); 35, 18, l. 19 (No. 38, *ibid.*, p. 57); 76, 38, l. 24 (No. 86, *ibid.*, p. 60), and 82, 45, l. 28, are not in F.

Page 267: Examples 82, 43, l. 2; 83, 1, l. 2; 28, 36, l. 5 (No. 29, Levison, *ibid.*, p. 758); 27, 5, l. 6 (No. 27, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 57); 77, 7, l. 8 (No. 86, Sickel, *ibid.*, p. 60); 84, 24, l. 9 and 10, 16, l. 15 (No. 7, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXI, 524, 14), are not in F. In l. 9, substitute for 84, 24, *fieri adfirmare rogassit*, 67, 45. In l. 10, read *fiere r[o]gassit.*

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S *HISTORIA*, BOOKS I AND II

IN the first two books of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* an attempt is made to give greater verisimilitude to the narrative by linking up the events in Britain with those taking place in the rest of the

world. Georffey gives the number of years in the reign of each of the British kings from Brutus to Cunedagius, and on nine different occasions when speaking of one of the British kings he tells us what was happening at the same time in Palestine, in Greece, or in Italy. For this he has been laughed at in our own day on the ground that it is absurdly naïve to attempt to give specific dates for legendary events, and has been criticized because his chronology cannot be brought into harmony with events which we believe to be historical. We may not find this part of Geoffrey's work convincing, but it is unsafe to assume that his contemporaries felt about the matter as we do. In all probability this is one of the things that caused his work to be accepted by so many as real history.

The standard system of chronology in Geoffrey's day was that based upon the chronicle of Eusebius as rendered into Latin by Saint Jerome. This system, accordingly, Geoffrey adopted and the events which he mentions are nearly all contained in Jerome's chronicle. But in all probability he did not get them directly from this work. If he had, it would have been practically impossible for him, no matter how careless he was, to make some of the mistakes he did, for Jerome's arrangement with a column for each country and a line for every year makes it easy to keep in mind the proper relationship. But this work must have been cumbersome to use and costly to own, and what Geoffrey probably had before him was the abridgment of it made by Prosper Tiro or Prosper of Aquitaine. From this many of the events are omitted, and the remainder are all compressed into a single column, not always in the proper order, and specific dates are not given beyond stating the number of years in the reign of each king with an occasional cross reference from one series of reigns to another. This in itself makes it difficult to discover who was reigning in Italy while any certain king reigned in Judea, and when errors in the numerals crept into the text — as could very easily happen with Roman numerals — the task must have become well-nigh impossible, and readers must have come to assume merely that events placed next to each other in the chronicle occurred at about the same time.

Several of the events which Geoffrey takes from Jerome's chronicle do not appear in that of Prosper (at least in any of the modern editions), but they are of just the sort that might be copied into it by some one with an interest in profane history who was comparing his own manuscript with a copy of the fuller chronicle from which it was originally taken. This may have been done by Geoffrey himself or by some other owner of the manuscript, or it may have been done in an earlier copy and the additions may have crept into the text of the manuscript that Geoffrey was working with.

A comparison of what Geoffrey probably had before him, and what he made of it will show his method of composition.

Prosper of Aquitaine [1]	Geoffrey of Monmouth [2]
Labdon annis VIII.	
Cuius principatus anno tertio Troia capta est.	Eneas post Troianum bellum excidium urbis cum Ascanio filio suo diffugiens, Italiam nauigio adiuit.
Eiusdemque Labdon anno octauo Latinis regnauit Aeneas annis III.	Denique suprema die ipsius superueniente, Ascanius regia potestate sublimatus, condidit albam super Tiberim, genuitque filium cuius nomen erat Siluius.
Ascanius regnat Latinis annis XXXVIII.	
Samson annis XX.	
Cuius anno tertio Ascanius Aeneae filius Albam urbem condidit.	Brutus, the son of this Silvius, leaves Italy at the age of 15, and after a period of wandering reaches Britain.
Post Ascanium Siluius Aeneae postumus filius annis XXVIIII, a quo Albanorum reges Silvii appellati.	Brutus reigned 24 years after coming to Britain (II, 1)
Heli sacerdos annis XL.	
Hectoris filii Ilium receperunt expulsis Antenoris posteris Heleno sibi subsidium ferente.	Regnabat tunc in Iudea Heli sacerdos, et archa testamenti capta erat a phylisteis. Regnabant etiam in Troia filii Hæctoris, expulsis posteris Antenoris. Regnabat in Italia Siluius Eneas Eneæ filius auunculus Bruti Latinorum tertius.
Mortuo Heli sacerdote arca testamenti ab alienigenis possidetur.	
Samuhel et Saul annis XL.	
Primus rex Hebraeorum Saul ex tribu Beniamin.	Locrinus reigned 10 years (II, 6.)
	Guendoloena reigned 15 years (II, 6)
	Maddan reigned 40 years (II, 6).
Cuius regni anno nono Latinis regnat quartus Aeneas Silvius annis XXXI.	Tunc Samuel propheta regnabat in Iudea et Silvius Eneas uiuebat adhuc et Homerus clarus rethor et poeta habebatur.
Homerus secundum quorundam opinionem his fuisse temporibus uindicatur...	
	Mempricius reigned 20 years (II, 6).
In Lacedemone regnauit primus Eurystheus an. XLII.	Tunc Saul regnabat in Iudea et Eristeus in Lacedomonia.
Post quem regnat Latinus Siluius annis quinquaginta.	Ebraucus reigned 40 years.[3]

[1] The text of Prosper Tiro is taken from the edition of Mommsen in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, IX, 390 ff.; see also Migne, *Patr. Lat.* LI, 540 ff. The passages in italics are added, as nearly as possible in the proper places, from J. K. Fotheringham's *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones* (London: Milford, 1923), 103 ff. This is Jerome's Latin version of Eusebius.

[2] The quotations from Geoffrey's *Historia* are based upon rotographs of *Cambridge MS. 1706*, and of the *Bern MS.*, loaned me by the Rev. Acton Griscom.

[3] The *Bern MS.* gives the reign of Ebraucus as forty years in II, 8, and thirty-nine in II, 7; the *Cambridge MS.* has sixty years in the latter passage and thirty-nine in the former.

Ab initio principatus Moysi usque ad ortum regni David anni CCCCXXXVIIII.

David ex tribu Iuda primus apud Hebreos regnavit annis XL.

Quo tempore Abiathar pontifex clarus habebatur.

Hac aetate prophetabant Gad, Nathan, et Asaph.

Salomon filius David annis XL, qui templum Hierosolimis aedificare coepit consummavitque annis VIII.

Eodem tempore Sadoc Hebreorum sacerdos clarus habebatur.

Anno regni Salomonis X Latinis regnare incipit sextus Albanus Silvius annis XXXVIIII.

Roboam annis X et VII.

Post mortem Salomonis regnum Hebraeorum seditione diuisum est, uocabanturque qui in Samaria erant Israhel, quibus primus regnauit Hieroboam.

Roboam filius Salomonis regnauit in Hierusalem duabus tribubus sibi subiectis, quae uocabantur Iuda ob reges Iudaeorum ex stirpe Iudae.

Hoc tempore apud Latinos Aegyptus Siluius septimus regnat annis XXIIII.

Septimo anno regni Roboae Susachin rex Aegypti contra Iudeos dimicans templum spoliat.

Abia annis tribus.

Hebreorum pontifex Abimelech inlustris habebatur.

Asa iustus annis XLI.

Prophetabant autem Achia Sameas Ieu Ioed Azarias, qui et Addo, et Anani.

Huius regni annis XII apud Latinos Capys Siluius regnat octauus annis XXVIII.

et deinde nonus Carpentus Siluius annis XIII.

Tunc Dauid rex regnabat in Iudea, et Siluius Latinus in Italia, et Gad, Nathan, et Asaph prophetabant in Israel.

Has omnes [the daughters of Ebraucus] direxit pater in Italiam ad Silvium Albam qui post Silvium Latinum regnabat.

Brutus Viride Scutum reigned 12 years (II, 9).

Leil reigned 25 years (II, 9).

Tunc Solomon cepit edificare templum Domino in Ierusulem et regina Saba uenit audire sapientiam eius, et tunc Siluius Epitus patri Albe in regnum successit.

Rud Hud Hudibras reigned 39 years (II, 9).

Tunc Capis filius Epiti regnabat, et Aggeus, Amos, Ieu, Iohel, Azarias, prophetabant.

Iosaphat annis XXV.

Prophetabant apud Hebreos Abdias Ieu Ozias Micheas.

Latinis regnat decimus Tiberius annis octo,

undecimus Agrippa Silvius annis XL.

Ioram annis octo.

Quo tempore prophetabant Helias et Eliseus.

Anno regni Ioram octauo Helias rapitur.

Hoc tempore Homerus poeta in Grecia claruit.

Ionadab filius Rechab clarus habebatur.

Ozias anno uno.

Gothola mater annis VII.

Ioas annis quadraginta.

His temporibus apud Hebreos Ioiada insignis pontifex erat, qui solus post Moysen uixit annis CXXX.

Hoc tempore Azarias propheta occiditur.

Zacharias quoque propheta a rege Ioas interficitur.

Heliseus propheta moritur.

Hoc tempore Lycurgus Lacedaemonius insignis fuit.

Latinis XII Aremulus Siluius regnauit annis XVIIII.

Post quem XIII Auentinus Siluius regnauit annis XXXVII, a quo Mons Auentinus.

Post quem XIIII Procas Siluius annis XXIII.

Post quem XV Amullius Siluius annis XLIII.

Amasias annis XXVIIII.

Azarias qui et Ozias annis quinquaginta duobus.

Bladud reigned 20 years (II, 10).

Tunc Helias orauit ne plueret super terram, et non pluit annos tres et menses sex.

Leir reigned 60 years (II, 11).

Huius regni sextus agebatur annus, cum reges Assyriorum defecerunt imperio in Medos translato.

Apud Hebreos autem prophetabant Osee, Amos, Esaias et Ionas, cum esset annus regni Azariae siue Oziae uicesimus primus.

Quadragesimo uero et nono eiusdem anno constituitur Olympias prima. Elii agunt quinquennale certamen quattuor mediis annis uacantibus: et hoc certaminis tempus Olympiadem uocauerunt auctore Ifito.

Ioatham annis XVI.

Prophetabant Osee, Iohel, Esaias et Oded.

Achaz annis XVI.

(*Roma parilibus qui nunc dies festus est condita.*)

Huius regni anno V Romulus Roma condita regnare orsus est.

Romulus regnavit annis XXXVIII.

CORDEILLA reigned 5 years (II, 15).

CUNEDAGIUS reigned 35 years (33 as king) (II, 15).

Tunc Ysaias prophetabat, et Roma condita est, XI kalendas Mai a geminis fratribus Remo et Romulo.

After the reign of Cunedagius it is impossible to follow the parallel so closely since Geoffrey does not give the number of years that the succeeding kings reigned, but nine reigns plus a period of civil wars brings us to the capture of Rome by the Senones Galli under Brennius (*Historia* III, 9), a period of about 360 years according to Prosper, which is not by any means impossible or even improbable, nor is the great number of kings with which Geoffrey fills the period between the capture of Rome and Caesar's invasion of Britain wholly unreasonable in view of the disturbed state of the country implied by his narrative.

In regard to the period of time between the coming of Aeneas into Italy and the coming of Brutus into Britain, Geoffrey is not very definite. If Ascanius begat Silvius about the time he came to the throne and founded Alba, this would have been from three to six years after he came to Italy with his father Aeneas. Brutus the son of this Silvius could hardly have been born less than twenty years after the arrival in Italy, and it was fifteen years later that he was expelled from his home. Again the period of his wandering is not specified, but we may assume that the arrival of Brutus in Britain could not have taken place less than forty years after the coming of Aeneas to Italy; since Aeneas reigned three years and Ascanius thirty-

eight years, Geoffrey probably intended us to assume that Brutus arrived in Britain after Silvius the 'late-born' son of Aeneas came to the throne, and that after a reign of twenty-four years he died before Silvius, who reigned for twenty-nine. This gives us a fairly definite date as a starting point for our computations.[1]

In connection with this Silvius, son of Aeneas, a difficulty exists, for Geoffrey refers to him as '*auunculus Bruti*,' which he certainly was not, and even if we assume that by '*auunculus*' Geoffrey meant '*patruus*,' as he clearly does in III, 19, this does not solve our difficulty. The early Welsh translators of the *Historia* felt it and made attempts to avoid it. The text found in *Jesus MS. 19*, at Oxford, has, at what corresponds to I, 18, 'Silvius, son of Ascanius, son of Aeneas . . . the uncle of Brutus,'[2] while that of *Havod MS. 2*, which calls Silvius 'uncle of Brutus, his father's brother,' makes the father of Brutus 'son of Aeneas by Lavinia [his wife], daughter of Latinus, King of Italy,'[3] and has him brought up by Ascanius his brother, who is the one who asks the wizards in regard to the expected son of Silvius, and who on his death leaves the kingdom to his brother, this same Silvius.[4] It may be that Geoffrey himself first intended to make Brutus the grandson of Aeneas, but realizing that this would not fit his story he made the change without carrying it through. If he had been familiar with the work of Jerome at first hand he would have known that on the death of Ascanius his son Iulus was still too young to reign and therefore it would be absurd to assume that his grandson Brutus was already a famous warrior. Geoffrey was not concerned, indeed, whether his story was true, but he seems to have been quite anxious to make it appear true.

And except for this one matter of Silvius and Geoffrey's failure to distinguish between 'Siluius Aeneae filius' and 'Aeneas Siluius' the story does hang together well. Careful checking with the chronicle of Prosper may reveal the fact that some of Geoffrey's dates are as much as fifty years out of the way, but any comparison which the ordinary reader might have made would have served only to corroborate the statements of the *Historia*. Geoffrey undoubtedly counted on this part of the work to lend an air of verisimilitude to his story, and this was probably one of the things that caused the *Historia* to be so readily accepted by the reading public.

[1] The '*quattuor generationes de exulibus Troie ortas*' I take to mean, not 'four generations,' but four 'tribes' or 'septs.' Certainly this is the sense in which it was taken by the early Welsh translators who rendered it 'pedair cenedl' (*Myvyrian Archaiology*, 2d ed., p. 437, *Red Book Bruts*, p. 53), or 'pedeyr gwelygord' (*M. A.*, p. 480).

[2] *M. A.*, p. 439.

[3] *M. A.*, pp. 483 and 476.

[4] The text in the *Red Book* (*R. B. B.*, p. 59) has the same translation for '*auunculus*' but makes no change in regard to Silvius in *Historia*, I, 3.

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'RERUM DOMINIS PIETAS SEMPER AMICA'

Im *Dante-Jahrbuch* (x [1928], 203 ff.) habe ich versucht die interessante Phrase, '*Romanum imperium de fonte nascitur pietatis*,' der wir bei Dante zweimal begegnen (*De Mon.*, ii, 5, und *Ep.* v, 3. 31), auf ihre antiken Wurzeln, zurückzuführen. Der Ursprung dieses merkwürdigen Satzes ist bekanntlich völlig ungeklärt; es steht aber m. E. ausser Frage, dass er *antiker* Herkunft ist.

'*Recte dictum illud scriptum est*,' heisst es ja auch bei Dante, und mittels einer Anekdote der *Legenda Aurea* gelang es, die Phrase bis ins IV.–V. Jh. zu belegen. 'In jenem geheimnissvollen und nicht selten missverstandenen Satze der *Monarchie* — schreibe ich in meiner Notiz, S. 204 — hat sich vermutlich ein Stück Sentenzweisheit antiker politischer Theorie in ihrer unsprünglichen Formulierung erhalten. In der antiken Sentenz lebt die *antike* Idee der *Humanitas:* die allmächtige Staatsgewalt wurzelt in der zartesten aller menschlichen Gefühle: in der milden, liebevollen Nachsicht des Stärkeren, der sich bezähmt. Das ist die *pietas Romani imperii*.'

Ich möchte hier zu meiner Miszelle eine Kleinigkeit nachtragen. Einige Sätze der *Gesta Ernesti Ducis*, hgg. v. P. Lehmann, bestärken mich in der Annahme, dass unsere Phrase im späteren Mittelalter auch eine allgemeinere Fassung erhielt. Es hiess nicht mehr allein: 'Das Römische Kaiserreich ist auf Nachsicht und Milde gegründet,' sondern: 'Die Milde ist eine Fürstentugend.' S. 34 der Lehmannischen Ausgabe [1] lesen wir:

> Mane diei sequentis, quia natiuitas sacrosancta Dei et hominis Christi tunc illuxit, imperator se de more regalibus induit processurus in publicum, quem tota curia cum laudibus est prosecuta ad ecclesiam coronatum. Igitur post ewangelium solempnis misse, cum antistes declamaturus in aures populi in ambonem conscendisset et summum ab omnibus silencium fieret, ecce laneus et discalceatus dux accurrens procidit ad plantas Augusti, protinus a principibus et tota curia instanter acclamatum interpellatum est pro eo. Imperator, *uictus precibus* et clamoribus eorum flexus ad *pietatem*, dixit se pro honore Ihesu Christi et ob eorum preces eum de terra leuare. Quem eleuatum osculatus est, nec dum enim eum cognouit. Cum autem denotasset eum in facie et eum cognouisset, mox caput dimisit et demutata est facies eius. At principes uiriliter succlamabant, quia non decet regium uerbum immutari, et, quia rerum *dominis pietas semper amica, clemencia sodalis est, se ipsum uinceret inuictus* et, quod semel bene fecisset, ratum id esse dignaretur. Ille iterum hiis superatus: 'Ex quo,' ait, 'omnes ita iudicatis, *quod imperialem maiestatem hec deceant, animo nostro nos ipsi imperantes modum imponimus et huic plenitudinem gracie nostre redonamus*.' Tunc remisit ei ex animo, quidquid contra se, contra imperium malorum uel egisset uel commeruisset et suscepit eum paterne.

Das starre Recht wird durch die Milde des Herrschers dem Leben angepasst; der unerbittlichen *iustitia* geht die *pietas* (*clementia*) vor. Das,

[1] Abhdlg. der Bay. Akad. d. Wiss., xxxii, 5 A., 1927.

was wir heute ziemlich vag 'soziale Gerechtigkeit' nennen, war für das Mittelalter die auf aristokratischer Grundlage seit Jahrtausenden fortentwickelte Doktrine von der *pietas*.[1] Die Überzeugung, dass 'der Herrscher von Gottes Gnaden' neben gerechter Strenge auch christliche Barmherzigkeit walten lässt, war offenbar ein Trost für die Menschheit. Diese Übereugung spiegeln die Gemeinplätze: '*Romanum imperium de fonte nascitur pietatis*' und '*pietas amica.*'

[1] Die *pietas* wird im röm. Kaisertum allmählich zur Staatsräson: vgl. z. B. Vergil, *Aen.* VI, 855.

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A BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

A few years ago the Library of the University of Illinois acquired by purchase a Greek manuscript, or rather a collection of parts of manuscripts brought together in a modern binding. At the time of the purchase nothing could be learned about the provenience of the volume. The manuscript is an octavo and contains two hundred and twenty folia, which have been trimmed by the binder to a fairly uniform size of 21 by 15 cm. The folios are paper throughout and the fourteen different manuscripts from which the volume has been made up can readily be distinguished by differences in the quality and texture of the paper, as well as by the style of the handwriting. The hands are all late, *saec. xv–xvi* or later. Upon examination the book was found to contain a miscellaneous collection of excerpts from late Greek authors. Some selections are complete, others are the merest fragments. In order to make the material more available for any student of Byzantine letters, who may possibly find something of interest in the variegated collection, the following brief résumé of its contents has been prepared.[1]

I. Fol. 1^r–8^v. The pages of this section have suffered from close trimming, and parts of the text have been cut away at the top of the leaves. They are numbered in pencil from 238 to 245. The Greek number λε appearing in the lower right-hand corner of the first page indicates that we have here a complete quaternion from the original manuscript.

Contents: Theological and liturgical.

Fol. 1^r–2^v: A statement and short exposition of a Creed.

[1] The manuscript is available for study in the Library of the University of Illinois under the call-number 882 C685. Any interested student may address inquiries to Professor W. A. Oldfather, Department of Classics, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Fol. 2v: *ἑρμηνεία τοῦ Πάτερ ἡμῶν.*

Fol. 2v–3v: A short commentary of St John Chrysostom on the Lord's Prayer.

Fol. 3v: A brief exposition of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity by Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem: *ἐκ τοῦ συνοδικοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σωφρονίου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων οὗ ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.*

Fol. 4r–8v: Excerpts from a Service Book.[1]

II. Fol. 9r–10v. The two folia are numbered in pencil, 165 and 166, on the upper right-hand corners.

Contents: Historical. The passage gives a brief account of the attempt of John Asan II (1218–1241), king of the Bulgars, to restore an independent patriarchate in his territory and of the proceedings of the synod called to adjust the disputes arising from it. The passage begins: *ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀσάνη κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος κατὰ τὴν Ζαγορὰν καὶ κρατήσαντος καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κάστρα. . .* and closes: *. . . τὴν προήκουσαν παίδευσιν καθηρημένον ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου.*

III. Fol. 11r–24v. The pages are numbered in pencil from 246 to 259. Titles and initial letters are in red. The greater part of the last page has been cut away and repaired with modern paper by the binder. Fol. 24v has accordingly been left blank.

Contents: Poetical works of Symeon *ὁ νέος θεολόγος* and Symeon *ὁ λογοθέτης.*

Fol. 11r–14v: A homily (?) on Moses, closing with the usual Doxology. It is incomplete at the beginning.

Fol. 14v–19r: *τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεὼν τοῦ νέου θεολόγου. περὶ νοητῆς ἀποκαλύψεως τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τοῦ θείου φωτὸς καὶ ἐργασίας νοερᾶς τε καὶ θείας τῆς ἐναρέτου.* Inc. *Ἐάσατε τῇ κέλλῃ με μόνον ἐγκεκλεισμένον.* 219 verses.

Fol. 19r–20r: *ἀλφάβητος κατὰ στοιχεῖον διπλοῦς.* Inc. *Ἀρχὴν ποιήσας Χριστὸν καὶ θερμὴν πίστιν.*[2] 48 verses.

Fol. 20r–21v: *τοῦ μακαρίου Συμεὼν τοῦ λογοθέτου καὶ μεταφράστου θρῆνοι κατὰ ἀλφάβητον.* Inc. *Ἀπὸ χειλέων λόγους σοι ποίους προσοίσω, Λόγε.* 72 verses.

Fol. 22r–24r: *διδασκαλία εἰς μοναχούς.* Inc. *Ἄφες κόσμον ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἐν κόσμῳ.*[3] 94 verses.

[1] For assistance in identifying liturgical passages I am indebted to my friend, the Rev. C. Morkides of the Greek Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, Omaha, Nebraska.

[2] Published by P. Maas in *Beiträge zur Gesch. des christlichen Altertums u. der Byzantin. Literatur* (*Festgabe Albert Ehrhard zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht*) (Schroeder: Bonn & Leipzig, 1922), pp. 334, 335.

[3] Published by Maas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 331–335.

IV. Fol. 25^{r}–84^{v}. Pencil numbering runs from 439 to 498. The titles, initial letters, and rubrics are in red. Quaternion numbers of the original manuscript appear as follows: 32^{v}–*νs*; 36^{v}–*νζ*; 44^{v}–*νη*; 52^{v}–*νθ*; 60^{v}–*ξ*; 68^{v}–*ξα*; 76^{v}–*ξβ*; 84^{v}–*ξγ*.

Contents: Material on St Clement of Achrida.

Fol. 25^{r}–35^{r}: Troparia in honor of St Clement.

Fol. 36^{r}–^{v}: Blank.

Fol. 37^{r}–84^{v}: Pseudo-Theophylaktos' *Life of St Clement.*[1]

V. Fol. 85^{r}–100^{v}. These pages numbered in pencil 23 to 39 form two complete quaternions. The original numbers, *δ* and *ϵ*, appear on fol. 92^{v} and 100^{v}.

Contents: A collection of short theological excerpts. Among the authors represented by short fragments are Barsanuphius, Gregory of Nyssa, Anastasius of Antioch, Maximus Confessor, and others.

VI. Fol. 101^{r}–106^{v}. The selections are written in a very late hand on modern paper. Titles and initial letters are in red.

Contents: Works of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos.

Fol. 101^{r}–103^{r}: *περὶ τῆς ὑπακοῆς, τοῦ κονταρίου, τοῦ ἐξαποστειλαρίου, καὶ τοῦ οἴκου πόθεν ἐκλήθησαν.*[2]

Fol. 103^{v}–106^{v}: *Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν τιμιωτέραν.*

VII. Fol. 107^{r}–111^{v}. Pencil numbering runs from 145 to 149. The original hand has added interlinear verbal glosses in red.

Contents: Odarion of Leo VI, the Wise.

Fol. 107^{r}–109^{v}: *ᾠδάριον κατανυκτικὸν ποίημα τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ.*[3]

Fol. 109^{v}: *ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ἀμήν.*

Ibid.: *ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ἀλληλουιά.*

Fol. 110^{r}–111^{v}: Blank.

VIII. Fol. 112^{r}–127^{v}. The pages are numbered from 137 to 144, followed by 39 to 46.

Contents: Miscellaneous — theological, astronomical, historical.

Fol. 112^{r}–116^{v}: A theological treatise of Manuel Korinthios, dealing with the points of controversy between the Greek Church and the

[1] *Patr. Graec.*, CXXVI, 1193 ff.

[2] The treatise has been reprinted from an earlier edition of K. Athanasiades (Jerusalem, 1868) by Papadopulos-Kerameus in *Byzantin. Zeitschr.*, II (1893), 601–602.

[3] W. Christ and M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graecorum Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 48.

Roman See. Inc. Τῷ *πανυψηλοτάτῳ καὶ ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ αὐθέντῃ* Ἰωάννῃ Νάγγοε *μεγάλῳ βοεβόδα καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι πάσης* Οὐγγροβλαχίας Μανουὴλ *ὁ μέγας ῥήτωρ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας εὐτυχῶν χαίρειν.*

Fol. 117^{r-v}: Short discussion of the signs of the Zodiac with their names.

Fol. 117^{v}–119^{r}: Cosmological: *περὶ τῆς ἐπιγείων καὶ οὐρανίων κατασκευῆς.*

Fol. 119^{r}: *περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἵσταται ἡ γῆ ἀκρατήτως.*

Fol. 119^{r-v}: Quotation from Eratosthenes relative to the size of the earth and the distance between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

Fol. 119^{v}: *περὶ μιλίων καὶ σταδίων, οὐγγιῶν.*

Ibid.: *περὶ τῶν δώδεκα ὁρῶν τῆς γῆς τῶν μεγάλων.* Incomplete.

Fol. 120^{r}–125^{r}: *χρονογραφικὸν μερικόν.* The chronicle begins with Adam and ends with the death of Alexios Murtzuphlus. Nothing is given beyond the bare dates of the rulers.

Fol. 125^{r}: Fifteen lines from Gregory Nazianzen. Inc. *Πιστὸν οἰκέτην καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπαίνει.*

Fol. 125^{v}–127^{v}: *περὶ αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου.*

IX. Fol. 128^{r}–170^{v}. Two sections of an original manuscript have been prepared for the printer by the addition of supplementary pages of modern paper, containing a Modern-Greek preface and table of contents. Fol. 137^{r}–153^{v} and 155^{r}–170^{v} formed parts of the original manuscript. They are numbered from 1231 to 1264 and from 1465 to 1495 respectively.

Contents: Two works of Gregory Palamas.

Fol. 128^{r-v}: Blank.

Fol. 129^{r}: The title of the book written in the form of a cross: *τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Παλαμᾶ τὰ εὑρεθέντα, οἷς προσετέθη καὶ ὁ τούτου βίος συγγραφεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Φιλοθέου, νῦν τὸ πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθέντα διὰ δαπάνης τῶν τιμιωτάτων καὶ εὐσεβεστάτων αὐταδέλφων κυρίων Δημητρίου καὶ Νικολάου Βαχατορίων πρὸς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν.*

Fol. 129^{v}–130^{v}: Blank.

Fol. 131^{r}–133^{v}: A Modern-Greek preface in which the editor says that the works of Gregory now for the first time to appear in print were discovered in a manuscript of Mt Athos.

Fol. 134^{r}–136^{v}: *πίναξ τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου.* It contains 70 titles inclusive of the *βίος* of Philotheos. The titles are accompanied by page references to the original manuscript.

Fol. 137^{r}–154^{r}: Letter of Gregory to his church, written from captivity in Asia.

Fol. 154^{v}: Blank.

Fol. 155^{r}–170^{r}: A short summary of the debate between Gregory Palamas and Nikephorus Gregoras.

Fol. 170^{v}: Blank except for the notation $\frac{1696}{2} = 848$.

X. Fol. 171^{r}–178^{v}. Pencil numbering runs from 182 to 189.

Contents: Selection of letters.

Fol. 171^{r}–172^{r}: Letter of Dionysios Byzantios. Dated November 7, 1671.

Fol. 172^{r}–173^{r}: Letter of Bishop Theodoret to Domnos, Bishop of Antioch.

Fol. 173^{r-v}: Letter of Ligarides.

Fol. 173^{v}–174^{r}: Letter without the names of sender or addressee.

Fol. 174^{r}–177^{v}: Letter to the monk Jeremiah.

Fol. 178^{r-v}: Blank.

XI. Fol. 179^{r}–184^{v}. Pencil numbering runs from 280 to 285.

Contents: Fragments of rules and regulations for monastic life with special reference to Mt Athos. On fol. 183^{r-v} appears a quotation from Athanasios, founder of the Lavra, and on fol. 184^{r-v} an excerpt from the life of St Sabas.

XII. Fol. 185^{r-v}. The single leaf is numbered in pencil 83. Titles are in red.

Contents: A letter and a fragment of a metrical treatise.

Fol. 185^{r-v}: Letter of Arsenios Kalludes to Bartholomaeus Syropulos. Dated in Venice, 1656.

Fol. 185^{v}: *περὶ μέτρων ἐποποιΐας.*

XIII. Fol. 186^{r}–188^{v}. Pencil numbering runs from 227 to 229.

Contents: A letter of Georgios Amerutzes to *Μιχαὴλ τὸν Κορέσσην* of Thessalonica.

XIV. Fol. 189^{r}–220^{v}. Pencil numbering runs from 152 to 183.

Contents: Modern-Greek letters and poems. Most of the letters are signed by a certain Joseph. As correspondents are mentioned Neophytos and Photios. The contents of the letters are of no interest. The poems are unsigned and have no titles.

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THE EARLIEST ALLUSION IN SLAVIC LITERATURE TO THE *REVELATIONS* OF PSEUDO-METHODIUS

In his interesting study of the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius, E. Sackur [1] suggests that the extreme popularity of this curious work, not only in the Middle Ages but also well down into the sixteenth century, was due to its prophecy of eventual Christian victory over the various races of oriental barbarians who from time to time threatened the peace and the civilization of Western Europe. From its relation to Syrian sources and from internal evidence of the familiarity of the author with conditions in Syria toward the close of the seventh century, Sackur concludes that the *Revelations* were composed in Egypt or Syria during the last years of the reign of Constantine IV.[2]

In the thirteenth century, when the Tatars were overrunning eastern Europe, ecclesiastics with some unanimity identified these invaders with the unclean peoples of Gog and Magog [3] which, according to the *Revelations* (and also notably the β-text of the Pseudo-Callisthenes and the J^2 and J^3 recensions of the *Historia de Preliis* drawing upon Pseudo-Methodius), Alexander the Great had shut up in the mountains of the north until the time when they should come forth to overwhelm mankind at the end of the world.[4] For the fifteenth-century reader, the *Revelations* again possessed special appeal, since it foretold the ultimate victory of Christendom over the Ishmaelites, who were currently identified with the then menacing Turks. Thus in 1498, at Basel, Sebastian Brandt brought out the first illustrated edition (in Latin) of the *Revelations*, of which the *editio princeps* had appeared at Cologne *ca.* 1475.[5]

As Sackur further remarks, traces of the *Revelations* are also found in the Slavic countries. They occur, indeed, with some profusion in Russian annalistic works ranging from the *Primary Chronicle*, compiled before 1116, down to *Chronographs* of the seventeenth century.[6] Russian annalists

[1] *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), pp. 5 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 45–53.

[3] Cf. the passages cited by Sackur, *ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

[4] For the Greek text of β-redaction, cf. C. Müller, in Fr. Dübner's *Arriani Anabasis et Indica* (Paris: Didot, 1846), and for characteristics of J^3 redaction, Fr. Pfister, '*Historia de Preliis* und Alexanderepos des Quilichinus', *Münchener Museum*, I (1912), 268, 269. It may be remarked that the Pseudo-Callisthenes in the Greek β-redaction stands among the earliest texts of historical nature to become known in translation among the South Slavs. Cf. M. Murko, *Geschichte der älteren südslavischen Literaturen* (Leipzig: Amelang, 1908), p. 95.

[5] Sackur, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.

[6] By the Russian *Primary Chronicle* is understood the generally uniform account of the period from the origins of Rus to the second decade of the twelfth century, which forms the introductory portion of practically all extant chronicle texts. The chronicles deal almost exclusively with Russian events, referring but briefly to external history. The *Chronographs*,

followed their Western contemporaries in identifying the Tatars with the unclean races shut up by Alexander.[1] Upon their first incursion, in 1224, a Russian chronicler thus wrote:

In this same year, because of our sins, there came upon us unknown infidels, of whom no one knows who they are, whence they came, or what may be their language, of what race they are, or what is their faith; but some call them Tatars, others *Taurmeny*, and yet others Pechenegs, while some even say they are the peoples concerning whom Methodius of Patara testifies that they have come forth from the desert of Yathrib in the northeast, for Methodius says: 'At the end of time shall appear those peoples whom Gideon expelled, and they shall reduce to subjection the whole world from the East to the Euphrates, and from the Tigris to the Black Sea, with the exception of Ethiopia.[2]

There is also preserved a late seventeenth-century South-Russian *Chronograph* including a translation of the *Historia de Preliis* from one of the Strassburg incunabula (recension J[3]), into which the list of the unclean peoples of a text of the *Revelations* corresponding to the 1496 Strassburg edition (Latin) was substituted for the list given in the *Historia de Preliis*

on the other hand, were at the outset largely based upon translations from Byzantine historians (Malalas, Georgius Hamartolus, Zonaras, Constantine Manasses), and while such compilations appear to have existed as early as the eleventh century, it is only after the fall of Kiev (1240) that they assume special importance. In northeastern Russia of the thirteenth century, they thus develop into voluminous agglomerations embodying excerpts from numerous favorite works of the Middle Ages, among them in particular *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (cf. V. M. Istrin, *Александрия Русских Хронографов*, Moscow, 1893). At Moscow, during the fifteenth century, the separate and hitherto parallel currents of domestic and foreign history unite to form an account embodying Biblical, Byzantine, and Russian materials, of which the earliest extant redaction is known as the *Chronograph* of 1512 (*Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*, vol. XXII, Leningrad, 1911).

[1] Cf. F. Pfister, 'Die deutsche Kaisersage u. ihre antiken Wurzeln,' in *Werbeschriften der Ver. des hum. Gymn. in Bayern*, No. 8 (Würzburg, 1928), p. 18: 'Im Mittelpunkt der Offenbarungen des Ps. — Methodius steht der Kampf der westlichen Welt gegen die mohammedanischen Araber. . . . Gegen diese Bedrücker der Welt, die Ismaeliten, wie der Apokalyptiker sagt, erhebt sich der Kaiser der Griechen und Römer, und nachdem er sie besiegt hat, wird Frieden herrschen. Aber der Frieden wird durch das Hervorbrechen der wilden Völker gestört, die Alexander der Grosse einst eingeschlossen hat. . . . Diese Prophezeiungen wurden bald in einem französischen Kloster ins Lateinische übersetzt und so auch dem Abendlande bekannt. Gerade unter Friederich II konnten sie wieder als zeitgemässes Trostbuch dienen, als unter dem Enkel des grossen Tschingis Khan die Tartaren von Russland und Polen aus in Schlesien einfielen. Da sah man in ihnen die Ismaeliten, von deren Besiegung Methodius sprach, und hoffte auf ihre Vernichtung. Und ganz wenige Jahrzehnte vor der Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz hat ein Bearbeiter des lateinischen Alexanderromans die Episode von der Einschliessung der wilden Völker, die er mit dem Gesamtnamen der Tartaren bezeichnet, in die *Historia de Preliis* eingesetzt, ebenfalls auf Grund der Methodius-Apokalypse.'

[2] Laurentian text, *П.С.Р.Л.*, I (Leningrad, 1846), 189; First Novgorod Chronicle, *П.С.Р.Л.*, III (Leningrad, 1851), 34; and in numerous subsidiary redactions, e.g. Troitzkaya, *П.С.Р.Л.*, I (Leningrad, 1846), 216; Voskresenskaya, *П.С.Р.Л.*, VII (Leningrad, 1856), 129; Sofiiskaya I, *П.С.Р.Л.*, V, (2d ed., Leningrad, 1926), 202.

incunabulum.[1] In any case, the fact that a much expanded redaction of the *Revelations* was prepared in seventeenth-century Russia shows that it enjoyed continued popularity even at that comparatively late date.[2]

The earliest Slavic reminiscences of the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius occur, however, in the Russian *Primary Chronicle*. In view of the fact that there is no evidence justifying the assumption that the compiler of the latter knew any Greek whatever (a knowledge of Latin in Kiev at this period is next to impossible), these reminiscences indicate that, while there were no MSS of Slavic translations of the *Revelations* older than the twelfth or the thirteenth century, the latter work was available in Russia in translation at least as early as the second decade of the twelfth century, when the compilation of the *Primary Chronicle* in its extant form was apparently brought to completion. Sackur's contention that the popularity of Pseudo-Methodius rises from its references to the barbarians harassing Christendom is especially borne out in the Slavic world by the context of two reminiscences of this work in the *Primary Chronicle*, and explains the occurrence of this earliest known use of the Pseudo-Methodius in Slavic territory.

Before examining the historical background of these reminiscences and the text itself, the relation of the extant Slavic translations to the existing Greek texts of the *Revelations* should be briefly defined. The basic classification of the extant Greek MSS, none of which is older than the fourteenth century, was made by V. M. Istrin in his authoritative work, *Откровение Мефодия Патарского* ('The Revelation of Methodius of Patara', Moscow, 1897).[3] Istrin divides the existing Greek MSS of the

[1] This *Chronograph* (Lenin Library, formerly Rumyantzev Museum, *MS. 2405*) was first described by A. Popov (*Обзор Русских Хронографов* [Moscow, 1866–1869], II, 280–286), and V. M. Istrin (*Александрия Русских Хронографов* [Moscow, 1893], pp. 313–315) noted the occurrence therein of a version of the *Historia de Preliis*. I am indebted to Professor F. P. Magoun for the opportunity to consult in manuscript the article 'Eine russische Handschrift der *Historia de Preliis*' (forthcoming shortly in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie*), in which he and Dr Boris Jarcho of Moscow, have identified and discussed the source of the Russian. The Russian version is not a direct translation, but an adaptation of a Polish original. The insert from the Pseudo-Methodius was, in the opinion of Magoun and Jarcho, introduced by the Polish translator.

[2] V. M. Istrin, *Откровение Мефодия Патарского* (Moscow, 1897), pp. 175–250.

[3] An earlier and now antiquated classification of the Slavic and Old-Russian redactions of Pseudo-Methodius was supplied by N. S. Tikhonravov in his sixth essay on mediaeval Russian apocryphal works ('Отреченныя Книги Древней Руси,' Очерк 6-ой, in *Сочин.* I [Leningrad, 1898], pp. 229, 230, and note 34, p. 68). The long life of religious superstitions in Russian is curiously exemplified by Tikhonravov's remark: 'At the time of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, these *Revelations* of Methodius of Patara were applied to the disordered and terrible period of the national war, when many credulous persons expected the end of the world and the second coming of Christ, since they looked upon Napoleon as Antichrist, and sought in his exploits the fulfilment of the prophecies of Methodius.'

Revelations into four redactions, which, for convenience, we may designate as G^1, G^2, G^3, and G^4. The MSS of the first redaction fall into two subdivisions, G^{1a} and G^{1c}. The G^{1a} text in the MSS shows great consistency, while the G^{1c} text bears signs of progressive modification which began in the prototype underlying this whole subdivision and was continued in the intermediaries from which the extant G^{1c} texts are descended. The outstanding feature characterizing texts of the second subdivision (G^{1c}) is an interpolation from the apocryphal *Vision of Daniel* (*ibid.*, pp. 68–69). Istrin also demonstrates (*ibid.*, pp. 63–64) that the G^{1c} subdivision, unlike the text of the G^{1a} series, was not directly derived from the archetype. Between the prototype of the G^{1c} group and the archetype, there existed another text, which we may designate as G^{1b}, which has all the characteristics of the G^{1c} group except the interpolation just mentioned. The G^2, G^3, and G^4 redactions are of no interest for the present study.[1]

The Slavic translations fall into three redactional groups, to be conventionally designated as S^1, S^2, and S^3. The S^1 Slavic redaction derives from the first Greek redaction, but from a text of the G^{1b} group (Istrin, *ibid.*, pp. 154–155). Linguistically, this Slavic text is a Serbian adaptation of a Bulgarian original. The S^2 Slavic redaction derives from a Greek text of the G^{1a} redaction, though apparently rather closer to the archetype than to any known texts of the G^{1a} series (*ibid.*, p. 174). The S^2 Slavic redaction is a much more literal translation than the texts of the S^1 series, and was probably made in Bulgaria during the thirteenth or the fourteenth century. The third Slavic redaction (S^3) was not translated from a Greek original, but is an independent Russian redaction from a previous translation and embodies a considerable body of additional apocryphal material (*ibid.*, pp. 231–232), prepared originally in the fifteenth century, and further expanded in the seventeenth. The earliest MS of the S^1 redaction belongs to the twelfth or the thirteenth century; of the S^2 redaction, the oldest text dates from 1345 (*ibid.*, p. 156).[2]

Since the popularity of the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius both in the Occident and in Russia arose from its promise of Christian victory over barbarian invaders, the historical background of the reminiscences occurring

[1] For Greek text of G^1 with variants from G^2 and G^4, cf. Istrin, *ibid.*, 'Texts,' pp. 1–56.

[2] The Latin text presented by Sackur (*op. cit.*, pp. 60–96) also derives from a Greek text of the G^{1b} group; cf. Istrin, *ibid.*, p. 69. For the various Slavic redactions in the original, cf. Istrin, *ibid.*, S^1, pp. 84–100; S^2, pp. 102–114; S^3, pp. 114–131.

In addition to the Latin text presented by Sackur, which in the main reproduces the translation contained in the incunabula of the fifteenth century (Sackur, *op. cit.*, p. 3, nn., 57), and, as just noted, derives from the G^{1b} Greek redaction, there exists an abbreviated Latin redaction not mentioned by Sackur (Istrin, *ibid.*, p. 109; 'Text', pp. 57 ff.), but shown by Istrin to be much more copiously represented in extant MSS than the full redaction, and to have originated in Italy prior to the eleventh century.

in the *Primary Chronicle* is of some moment. From the tenth through the twelfth century, the principality of Kiev was in constant hostile contact with nomadic tribes of Turco-Tatar origin which wandered westward from the basin of the lower Volga into the fertile pasture-land of the Dnieper valley. After the westward movement of the Avars in the course of the sixth century, the southeastern flank of the Russian Slavs had been, until the close of the tenth, temporarily covered by the prosperous Khazar state, to whom the Slavs of the Dnieper valler were largely tributary. While the latter speedily won their independence under Varangian leadership, the Khazars from this point found themselves hard-pressed on the east by the Pechenegs, a Turco-Tatar tribe which, itself impelled by the pressure of other nomads behind it, moved westward from the district between Volga and Yaik until, in 915, they eventually attacked the Slavs of Kiev for the first time. The crucial Pecheneg assault on Kiev took place in 1036, during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, who enlisted Varangian reinforcements and inflicted upon the nomads a crushing defeat. Subsequently, the Pechenegs dealt peaceably between Dnieper and Danube until they were driven into the Balkans by the onset of their racial kinsmen, the Polovcians, in the eleventh century. The Polovcians were the most dangerous foes that threatened the South-Russian state prior to the Tatar incursions, and it is to them that the reminiscences of the *Revelations* contained in the *Primary Chronicle* refer.

The first raid of the Polovcians into Russian territory took place in 1061, during the principate of Izyaslav, son of Yaroslav the Wise. Though beaten off by Izyaslav's brother Vsevolod, they returned seven years later, and routed at the Alta River the Russian force which opposed them. The monastic chronicler of Kiev consistently regards these pagan incursions as the manifestation of divine chastisement. The Polovcians were frequently impressed as allies by rebellious princes dissatisfied with the existing distribution of sovereignty and apanages. It was, in fact, the process of internal disintegration favored by the apanage system which prevented the princes of Kiev from offering effective resistence to the nomad raiders, and this constant warfare, through its interference with agriculture and the normal course of trade, impoverished the entire state. The death of Vsevolod in 1093 provoked a new series of Polovcian attacks, which were momentarily halted by the marriage of Svyatopolk, his heir, with the daughter of a Polovcian chief. This same chief himself met his death in July 19, 1096, when Prince Svyatopolk of Kiev and his cousin Vladimir Monomakh raised his siege of Pereyaslavl, a city on the Dnieper below the capital. Profiting by the occupation of the princes in this operation, Bonyak, another Polovcian leader, appeared on the following day at the very gates of Kiev, which was bare of defenders. His followers sacked and burned two monasteries

in the suburbs, and finally attacked the historic Crypt Monastery itself. The compiler of the *Primary Chronicle*, who was present at the raid, describes it with justifiable rancor as follows:

> On Thursday, the twentieth of this month [July], Bonyak, that godless mangy thief and bandit, came suddenly to Kiev a second time. The Polovcians almost entered the city, burned the suburbs, and then turned upon the monastery. After burning the monasteries of Stephen and Germanus, they came to the Crypt Monastery while we were resting in the cells after matins, and they howled about the monastery. They planted two standards before the monastery gates, and we fled, some of us behind the building and others to the various rooms. The *godless sons of Ishmael* cut down the brethren of the monastery, wandered through it breaking down the doors, and carried off whatever they found in the cells.

Of special interest in connection with the *Revelations* is the characterization of the invaders as 'godless sons of Ishmael,' which appellation is developed somewhat further on in the narrative by the sentence: 'The *godless sons of Ishmael*, who are sent upon Christendom as a chastisement, put to the sword some of our brethren.' It is the assimilation of the Polovcians to the Ishmaelites which unquestionably caused the compiler of the *Primary Chronicle* to introduce, immediately after the excerpt just cited, a brief paraphrase of an episode in the *Revelations*, of which the full context in the *Chronicle* runs as follows.

Reminiscence I

> They came forth from the desert of Yathrib in the northeast. *Four* races of them issued forth: Torkmens, Pechenegs, Torks, and Polovcians. *Methodius testifies concerning them that* eight *races fled when Gideon massacred them;* eight *fled into the desert, and* four *he massacred.* Others say that they are the sons of Ammon, but this is not true, for the Caspians are the sons of Moab, while the Bulgars are sons of Ammon. But the Saracens descended from Ishmael became known as sons of Sarah, and called themselves '*Sarakyne*,' that is to say, 'We are descendants of Sarah.' Likewise the Caspians and the Bulgars are descended from the daughters of Lot who conceived by their father, so that their race is unclean. Ishmael begot twelve sons, from whom are descended the Torkmens, the Pechenegs, the Torks, and the Kumans or Polovcians, who come forth from the desert. After these *eight* races, at the end of the world, shall come forth the unclean peoples shut up in the mountain by Alexander of Macedon.[1]

This allusion to Pseudo-Methodius reflects a passage which, in the Greek text of the *Revelations* (G^1), appears in full as follows:

> οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Γεδεὼν κατέκοψε τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδίωξε καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον Ἐτριμβον ἐξ ἧς ἐτύγχανον, καὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες δώδεκα γενεαὶ συνθήκας ἔθεντο εἰρήνην ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ

[1] *Лаврентьевская Летопись* (ed. E. F. Karski, Leningrad: Изд. Акад. Наук СССР., 1926), cols. 232–233.

τὴν ἔρημον τὴν ἐξωτέραν ἐννέα φυλαί. μέλλουσι δὲ ἐξιέναι ἄλλο ἔτι ἅπαξ καὶ ἐρημώσαι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.[1]

It is likely that the compiler of the *Primary Chronicle* is here citing from memory only, since, in the first place, the reference does not accord exactly with the phrasing of the sole extant Slavic redaction (viz. S^1) which appears to have originated as early as the late eleventh century. The *Chronicle* agrees, however, with the S^1 texts in mentioning *eight* races as having fled to the desert, in contradiction with the Greek texts of the G^1 redactions. The latter, as in the Greek excerpt cited above, state that *nine* nations thus took to flight. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the S^1 texts, while referring to *eight* races as having fled to the desert, fail to make any mention of the *twelve* tribes which the G^1 texts report as having made peace with the sons of Israel. On the other hand, the S^2 redaction which, according to Istrin (*ibid.*, p. 174), originated too late to be known to the compiler of the *Chronicle*, agrees with G^1 as to both the *twelve* tribes which made peace with the Israelites and also the *nine* which fled to the desert. It would thus appear that the compiler had been acquainted with a text giving the numbers as *eight* and *twelve*, and thus deviating slightly from the extant S^1 texts. His statement as to the slaughter of *four* tribes by Gideon would then seem to result from an erroneous conclusion based upon the difference between these two numbers — a conclusion in which the compiler was perhaps confirmed by the recollection of the four generals of the Ishmaelites whom the *Revelations* mentions as having been defeated by Gideon.[2]

The second reminiscence of the *Revelations* in the *Primary Chronicle* follows immediately upon the first and rises from an anecdote reported by the compiler concerning a fabulous nation in the remote northeast.

[1] Istrin, *ibid.*, 'Texts,' p. 14: 'Gideon destroyed their tribes, pursued them, and drove them from the inhabited world to the desert of Yathrib [Etrimbos] whence they had come. The remaining *twelve* tribes made peace with the sons of Israel, and *nine* tribes of them went away to the outer desert. But they shall come forth yet again and devastate the whole earth.'

[2] Cf. G^1 (Istrin, *op. cit.*, 'Texts,' p. 14): *'ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γεγόνασιν αὐτοῖς ἀρχιστρατηγοὶ τέσσαρες υἱοὶ ὄντες . . . ὧν τὰ ὀνόματά εἰσι ταῦτα 'Ορὴβ καὶ Ζὴβ καὶ Ζεβεὲ καὶ Ζαλμανά. οὗτοι ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν, καὶ καθ' ὃν τρόπον ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς λύτρωσιν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων διὰ Μωσέως τοῦ θεράποντος αὐτοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τότε ἐποίησεν ἔλεος μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Γεδεών, καὶ ἐλευθερώθη 'Ισραὴλ ἐκ τῆς δουλείας τῶν τέκνων τοῦ 'Ισμαήλ. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Γεδεὼν κατέκοψε τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν,'* κτλ.

'At that time, four brothers became their generals, whose names were Oriv and Ziv and Zebeë and Salmana. They fought with the Israelites, and as the Lord had freed them from the hands of the Egyptians through Moses his servant, so on this occasion he showed mercy upon them and through Gideon he saved them, and Israel was freed from the slavery of the Ishmaelites; for Gideon destroyed their tribes,' etc., as in note 1, above. S^1 is in complete agreement with this passage. Cf. *Judges*, vi, 24–25; vii, 1–21.

Reminiscence II

I wish at this point to recount a story which I heard four years ago, and which was told me by Gyurata Rogovich of Novgorod: 'I sent my servant,' said he, 'to the Pechera, a people who pay tribute to Novgorod. When he arrived among them, he went on among the Yugra. The latter are an alien people dwelling in the north with the Samoyedes. The Yugra said to my servant, "We have encountered a strange marvel, with which we had not until recently been acquainted. This occurrence took place three years ago. There are certain mountains which slope down to an arm of the sea, and their height reaches to the heavens. Within these mountains are heard great cries and the sound of voices: those within are cutting their way out. In that mountain, a small opening has been pierced through which they converse, but their language is unintelligible. They point, however, at iron objects, and make gestures as if to ask for iron. If given a knife or an axe, they supply furs in return. The road to these mountains is impassable with precipices, snow, and forests. Hence we do not always reach them, and they are also far to the north."'

Then I said to Gyurata, 'These are the peoples shut up by Alexander of Macedon. As Methodius of Patara says of them:

'"He penetrated the eastern countries as far as the sea called the Land of the Sun, and he saw there unclean peoples of the race of Japheth. When he beheld their uncleanness, he marveled. They ate every nauseous thing, such as gnats, flies, cats, and serpents. They did not bury their dead, but ate them, along with the fruit of abortions and all sorts of impure beasts. On beholding this, Alexander was afraid lest, as they multiplied, they might corrupt the earth. So he drove them to high mountains in the regions of the north, and by God's commandment, the mountains enclosed them round about save for a space of twelve ells. Gates of brass were erected there, and were covered with indestructible metal. They cannot be destroyed by fire, for it is the nature of this metal that fire cannot consume it, nor can iron take hold upon it. Hereafter, at the end of the world, eight peoples shall come forth from the desert of Yathrib, and these corrupt nations, which dwell in the northern mountains, shall also issue forth at God's command."'

The corresponding passage from G^1 (Greek) and a translation of the corresponding passage from S^1 (Slavic) are as follows:

G^1.

καὶ περιενόστησε τὴν γῆν καὶ κατήχθη ἕως θαλάσσης τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης ἡλίου χώρας, ἔνθα καὶ ἐώρακεν ἔθνη ἀκάθαρτα . . . οἳ δὲ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰάφεθ ἀπόγονοι. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν θεασάμενος ἐμισάχθη. ἤσθιον γὰρ . . . ζωήφια μυσαρά τε καὶ κίβδηλα κώνοπας μυίας κάττας καὶ ὀφεῖς καὶ νεκρῶν σάρκας καὶ ἐκτρώματα ἔμβρυα . . . τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐκ ἔθαπτον ἀλλὰ πλείους ἤσθιον αὐτούς. ταῦτα πάντα καταθεωρήσας Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐναγῶς καὶ μυσαρῶς τελούμενα, μὴ παραγένωνται ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μιάνωσιν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν μιαρῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἐδεήθη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκτενῶς καὶ συνήγαγεν ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πάσας τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἑώας γῆς καὶ κατεδίωξεν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἕως οὗ εἰσήχθησαν ἐν τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ βορρᾶ . . . καὶ προσέταξε κύριος ὁ θεὸς δύο ὄρεσιν . . . καὶ ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις ἄχρι πηχύων δυοκαίδεκα, καὶ κατεσκεύασε πύλας χαλκὰς καὶ ἐπέχρισεν αὐτὰς ἀσυγήτην, ἵνα καὶ εἰ βούλωνται ἀνοῖξαι ἐν σιδήρῳ μὴ δύνωνται, ἢ διαλῦσαι ἐν πυρὶ μὴ ἰσχύωσιν, ἀλλ'

αὐτίκα τὸ πῦρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν σβέννυται. ἡ δὲ φύσις τοῦ ἀσυγήτου οὔτε σίδηρος ὑφίσταται τὴν κατάκλυσιν οὔτε πῦρ τὴν διάλυσιν . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ 'Ιεζεκιὴλ φωνὴν καὶ προφητείαν τὴν λέγουσαν 'ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρα τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελεύσεται Γὼγ καὶ Μαγὼγ εἰς τὴν γῆν 'Ισραήλ.' οἵ εἰσι ἔθνη καὶ βασιλεῖς οὓς καθεῖρξεν 'Αλέξανδρος ἐν τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ βορρᾶ.[1]

S[1].

And he proceeded with his conquests even to the sea which is called the Land of the Sun, where he saw unclean wretches who are the descendants of Japheth, and on beholding their uncleanness, he marveled. They ate every sort of dead thing that is nauseous and malodorous: gnats, flies, cats, and serpents, dead bodies, the fruit of abortions. . . . They did not bury their dead, but ate them. Having beheld all this uncleanness in them, Alexander was afraid lest they should come to the Holy Land and pollute it with their unclean food. He therefore uttered a fervent prayer to God, and gave orders to gather together all their men, women, and children, in fact, their entire race, and led them forth from their polluted country, and conducted and pursued them until he reached the north. . . . And the Lord God commanded the northern mountains to close about them . . . and they did thus close about them except for the space of twelve ells. And he forged iron gates and coated them with indestructible metal. And if they try to destroy them with iron, they cannot do so, neither can they destroy them with fire. For the nature of this indestructible metal is such that iron cannot cut it nor fire burn it, for it is extinguished upon it. . . . At the last day, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel, at the end of the world, Gog and Magog shall come forth upon the land of Israel, they who are the kings of the nations which Alexander shut up in that region of the north.'[2]

Comparison of this second reminiscence with the corresponding passages of G[1] and S[1] confirms the impression gained from the first reminiscence that the compiler of the *Primary Chronicle* is citing from memory. It is

[1] Istrin, *op. cit.*, 'Texts,' pp. 18–20. 'And he traversed the land and came to the sea called the Land of the Sun, where he beheld unclean peoples who are descendants of the sons of Japheth. On seeing their uncleanness, he marveled, for they ate . . . both nauseous and malodorous animals: gnats, flies, cats, snakes, dead bodies, and the fruit of abortions. . . . They did not bury their dead, but ate them in large numbers. Upon beholding all these unclean and disgusting deeds of theirs, in concern lest they should enter the Holy Land and pollute it with their disgusting actions, he uttered an earnest prayer to God, and collected them all, their women, their children, and all their tribes, and led them forth out of the eastern region and drove them before him until they reached the boundaries of the north. . . . And the Lord gave commandment to two mountains . . . and they approached each other to an interval of twelve ells, and he erected brazen gates and coated them with indestructible metal, in order that if they desire to open them with iron instruments they may not be able to do so, nor be capable of consuming them with fire, for fire is extinguished upon them. For the nature of this indestructible metal is such that neither iron may penetrate it nor fire consume it. . . . In the last days, according to the voice and prophecy of Ezekiel, "at the final moment of the consummation of the world shall come forth into the land of Israel Gog and Magog," who are the nations and kings whom Alexander confined in the boundaries of the north.'

[2] Istrin, *op. cit.*, 'Texts,' pp. 89–90.

likewise impossible to state categorically that the compiler had been acquainted with a text in entire conformity with the S^1 redaction. The compiler, in this second reminiscence, returns once more to the thought of the *eight* races referred to in the first allusion. For this number, as applied to the '*gentes et reges quos inclusit Alexander in finibus aquilonis*' (Sackur, *op. cit.*, p. 74), there is no parallel either in any Greek or Slavic redaction of Pseudo-Methodius or in any text of the *Historia de Preliis*, where, in fact, the list is considerably more extensive (cf. Pfister, *Münch. Mus*, I, 267). The coincidence of the *Chronicle* with the S^1 text is one of sequence of ideas rather than of language. In view of the compiler's characteristic fondness for Biblical quotations, it is inconceivable that he should have omitted the reference to the prophet Ezekiel (cf. G^1 text above *ad fin.*), if a Slavic redaction of the Pseudo-Methodius had actually been before him as he wrote down the anecdote of Gyurata.[1]

It is also unlikely that whatever translation of the *Revelations* had been known to the chronicler was actually a Russian product. It is more probable that such a translation originated in Bulgaria toward the end of the ninth century, during the so-called 'Golden Age' of Bulgarian literature, when translations of Greek religious and apocryphal works were particularly in vogue. It is to be assumed that the Slavic translation was brought into Russia during the eleventh century, along with such works as the celebrated *Izbornik* of Symeon, which was copied in 1073 for Prince Svyatoslav Yaroslavich of Kiev. The *Revelations*, like other apocryphal works dealing with the coming of Antichrist and the end of the world, was of comparatively slight interest to the mass of early Russian Christians, among whom asceticism as a preparation for the future life was as yet of purely academic concern.[2] Hence the absence of references to it in the

[1] Cf. P. O. Potapov, in *Русский Филологический Вестник*, LXV (Warsaw, 1911), 81–110, and V. M. Istrin, in *Известия Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XXIX (Leningrad, 1924), 379–381, both of whom agree that the compiler of the *Povest* was apparently using a translation now lost. This assumption seems to me unnecessary, and Istrin's supposition that such a translation, if it existed, was of Russian origin, is equally gratuitous.

[2] V. M. Istrin (*Очерк Истории Древнерусской Литературы* [Leningrad: Наука и Школа, 1922], pp. 111, 112), suggests, however, that the earliest translation, and the one known to the chronicler, was made in Russia during the time of Yaroslav (978–1054), and then lost, to be subsequently replaced by the South Slavic versions now extant. This opinion dovetails with Istrin's theory of great activity in translation from the Greek after the establishment of the metropolitanate at Kiev in 1037. There is, however, very little evidence that the volume of such translation was considerable, and what literary activity prevailed was confined to Yaroslav's immediate circle and the Crypt Monastery. Cf. A. Brückner in *Arch. Slav. Philol.*, XLI (1927), 49. It will be recalled that the age of Yaroslav produced practically no original literature apart from the monastic admonitions of Luka Zhidyata, Archbishop of Novgorod, and Theodosius, Prior of the Crypt Monastery, along with Hilarion's *Slovo o Zakoně i Blagodati*.

earliest literature of the Kiev period apart from the *Primary Chronicle*, which thus has the distinction of carrying the first and unique Slavic allusions to a text of which the influence in the West was well-nigh universal.

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A 'LOST' CHAPTER OF WYCLIF'S *SUMMA DE ENTE*

In his edition of selected tractates of Wyclif's *Summa de Ente* M. H. Dziewicki used only the Cambridge, *Trinity College MS. B.16.2*, which was thought to contain the complete *Summa*. This large codex is, as far as the *Summa* is concerned, by far the most valuable extant. It contains, in addition to all of Wyclif's *Sermones* and his *Opus Euangelicum*, twelve tractates, arranged in two books of six tractates each, making up a philosophical *Summa*.[1] In the case of four out of the twelve, Bk. II, Tractates 1, 2, 3 and 6, this codex is unique. In the case of four others, Bk. I, Tractates 1 — 4, we have one other copy, viz., Vienna, *Nationalbibliothek MS. 4307*. Of each of the remaining four tractates we have from five to fifteen copies in various libraries in Europe, mainly, of course, in Prague and Vienna.

From Bk. I of the *Summa* Mr Dziewicki selected, because of their philosophical interest, Tractates 3 and 4. Both these tractates are written in reply to arguments advanced against his previously enounced theory of Universal Being. Tractate 3 bears the title *Purgans Errores circa Veritates in Communi* and treats of the creation and existence of eternal truths, the correspondence of Being with God and consequently Truth, and of Non-Being with Falsity. Tractate 4 has the perhaps more specific title *Purgans Errores circa Uniuersalia in Communi*. In the Cambridge MS. it occupies fol. 12C — 14C, according to the present pagination. But as a matter of fact a folium between fol. 12 and fol. 13 has been cut out, a half-inch strip of vellum remaining as witness of the vandalism. The *custos* at the lower right hand corner of the verso of fol. 12 is '*ideo breuius*'; the next folio (now fol. 13) in the codex begins '*habitudinem, predicacionem . . .*' At this point in his edition (p. 33), Dziewicki has explained the situation in a footnote:

> After *metaphysica* come the words *ideo brevius*, catchwords to a lost folium between ff. 12 and 13. There is, therefore, a considerable gap in this place, which is

[1] Bk. I contains seven instead of six tractates. Cf. R. Beer, *De Ente Predicamentali* (London, 1891), Intro., pp. v-ix. I have given further proof in a paper, 'The Order of Composition of Wyclif's Philosophical Works,' contributed to the *Sborník* (*Festschrift*) to Professor V. Novotný of Prague, to appear in 1929.

all the more regrettable as I do not think Wyclif deals with the present difficulty anywhere else.[1]

This 'considerable gap' is all except 12 ll. of cap. ii and fully half of cap. iii, as the next folio has a page-heading, 'c^{m} iii^{m}' and what remains of the third chapter is about half the average length of the chapters in this tractate.

In the course of examining *MS. 4307*[2] of the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna for a forthcoming edition of Tractates 1 and 2 of Bk. 1 of this same *Summa*, I noted that Tractates 3 and 4 seemed to be complete, yet had not been collated or even, apparently, noticed by Dziewicki.

The first part of the missing section is taken up with a proof that the demonstrative pronoun in a proposition *may* have the same value as a common noun, i.e., when it predicates Being. There follows a discussion of the three kinds of predication: formal, essential, and causal, in the approved Realist tone. To the objection that according to his definitions of predication we can say that a universal can do everything that one of its particulars can do, as that, for example, universal man may laugh or sit down, Wyclif replies by referring to Aristotle's dictum that, although in those things that exist *per se*, the subject and its essence are identical, yet that identity does not hold where the things exist *per accidens*. Though, by reason of having a particular head, a man has, in due measure, the universal head, yet the converse is not necessarily true. '*Humanitas*' cannot be white or black because it cannot be the general term '*albedo*' or '*nigredo*.' They are general terms of different categories, incapable of equation. '*Humanitas*' exists *per se*, '*albedo*' or '*nigredo*' exist only *per accidens*. This is not an arbitrary distinction, but one dictated and justified by Aristotle, the orthodox teaching of the Church on the Trinity, and the simple necessities of grammar and logic.

In the following transcription of the missing section, the Cambridge MS. is indicated by *A*, its four columns by A, B, C, D. The Vienna MS. is, where necessary, distinguished by the notation *B*. The sentences immediately preceding and following the lost folio are added, in order to make the argument more clear, but are set off from the rest by a vertical bar. The point of division for the third chapter is purely arbitrary. There is not so much as a paragraph break in the Vienna MS. from beginning to end.

[1] This last statement of the editor must be modified. The same line of argument is to be found in cap. iii of Wyclif's *De Universalibus*, as yet unpublished, and more specifically, in one of the extant fifteen MSS, *Univ. Prag. MS., VIII G. 23*, fol. 16v–19r.

[2] This codex, containing only one (out of six) non-Wycliffian item, has been described twice, viz., R. Beer, *Wyclif, De Composicione Hominis* (London, 1884), Introd., pp. vi–vii; R. Beer, *Wyclif, De Ente Predicamentali* (London, 1891), Introd., pp. v–ix, xiv–xvi.

Capitulum Secundum

Item, iuxta istam uiam sequitur quod uniuersale non sit demonstrabile per pronomen, quod est contra communem[1] modum loquendi[2] et consequencia probatur. Nam demonstrando genus animalis sic dicendo, *hoc currit*,[3] conuertitur subiectum cum isto termino *animal*. Cum ergo non solum signum sed significacio facit terminum pronomen uel[4] demonstratiuum, uidetur quod in nullo tali dicto sit demonstracio sed communis apellacio.

Sed quia ista difficultas stat partim in grammatica et partim in logica uel metaphisica,|[5] ideo breuius pertransibo concludendo quod conuenit demonstrare quecunque uniuersalia, quia aliter non possem assignare alique uniuersalia uel eorum accidencia aut distincciones unius a reliquo. Nota tamen quod sicut est dare duplicem uirtutem cognitiuam, scilicet sensitiuam et intellectiuam, sensitiuam inferiorem et intellectiuam superiorem, sic est dare duplicem demonstracionem illis proporcionalem. Et utraque subdiuiditur in confusam et distinctam. Nam sicut demonstrando albedinem uel quoduis aliud continuum demonstrantur infinite partes eius confuse sensui, sic demonstrando totum uniuersale intellectui ipsum demonstratur distincte, et partes sue subiectiue demonstrantur. Confuse tamen demonstrare non sit nisi notare uirtuti apprehendenti sicut deus demonstrat, dicit uel signat omnia, eciam forte quelibet res demonstrat, dicit et signat quamlibet. Et sic conceditur quod omnis terminus communis uere dici potest pronomen, et econtra omne pronomen potest dici nomen appellatiuum uel nomen proprium. Unde greci non posuerunt differenciam nec tot partes oracionis quot grammatici latini ponunt. Uerumtamen,[6] ut plus consonem grammaticis nostris, dico de intencione eorum est quod omne pronomen significet suum significatum racione qua est ens et non ut est in aliquo genere. Et illam entitatem vel essenciam vocant substanciam meram.

Si autem pronomen ex connotacione qualitatem substancialem uel accidentalem significauerit, hoc est, preter significacionem debitam pronomini, unde demonstrando naturam hominis ut est ens et non ut homo uel quid aut quale demonstratur pronominaliter, sed demonstrando illam ut est quale quid substanciale, sic demonstratur nominaliter. Ideo uere dicit Philosophus capitulo *de Substancia*[7] quia due substancie uidentur significare quale quid. Uniuersales enim substancie non solum dicunt sed sunt quod sunt secundum[8] quid et quale substancialiter sunt. Non ergo solum signa artificialia significant, predicantur uel subiciuntur, ut putant doctores signorum, sed quelibet res uere significat, demonstrat et dicit seipsam, et omne inferius realiter subicitur suo superiori quod uere per se predicatur de illo. Et patet quomodo contingit tales terminos demonstrare pronominaliter uel nominaliter. Si autem iste terminus 'hoc' significauerit conuertibiliter cum isto termino 'animal' utrobique quoad modum loquendi, non video quare unum eorum foret nomen uel pronomen quin per idem utrumque. Si autem non connotaret substancialem qualitatem sed signauerit abstracte essenciam, si hoc sit possibile, tunc significat dispariter a nomine generis. Stante autem prima significacione, siue utrumque uocetur pronomen siue nomen non est mihi cura, quia utrobique est demonstracio possibilis quod satis nobis, relinquendo aliam difficultatem grammaticis.

[1] *A sequitur* et necessarium.
[2] *A sequitur* de uniuersalibus.
[3] *A* hoc est.
[4] *A sequitur* terminum.
[5] *A* end of f. 120.
[6] *B* f. 186^{r}.
[7] *Meta.* v, cap. viii (1017^{b}).
[8] *Cod.* sed.

Probabile namque uidetur quod non sit possibile nobis quicquam [1] cognoscere distincte esse sub racione qua ens est et non secundum habitudinem ad formam substancialem uel accidentalem, de quo patebit tractando de quiditate materie prime et quomodo cognoscitur per analogiam ad formam. Omnis ergo appellacio uel significacio kathegorematis est demonstracio, et sic multa talia signa quibus aduersarii utuntur loco pronominum conuertuntur cum terminis communibus, et certum est quod equiuoce significant a pronominibus eorum. Et ex illa equiuocacione procedit error false opinancium de uniuersalibus. Putant enim quod si demonstrantur uniuersalia tunc demonstrantur singulariter quoad sensum, et ita intelligunt unam rem singularem esse quotlibet alia singularia. Si enim eleuarent mentem paulo superius et intelligerent quod cuilibet singulari inest esse hominem et quod esse hominem, humanitas, natura humana uel homo est communis cuilibet homini, uere conciperent et consentirent sentencie. Unde Anselmus *Monologion* 27°: 'Substanciarum [2] quedam est uniuersalis, quedam singularis. Uniuersalis que pluribus substanciis essencialiter communis est, ut hominem esse commune est singulis hominibus,' et Augustinus in *Dyalogo ad Ffelicianum* ponit aduersario capcioso exemplum de trinitate sub hiis verbis. 'Quantum [3] fieri potest in hac parte non deero. Ecce ergo homo pater habet hominem filium; est quidem commune utrique quod homo est, uni tamen quod filius, alteri uidetur proprium quod pater est; nam in utroque persona sic discernitur, ut communis humanitas non negatur, dum unus gignit aliusque gignitur.' Et eandem sentenciam reperies ubicunque Augustinus, Aristoteles uel uerus sequax eorum loquitur de uniuersalibus, ut patet superius. Et sic sentencie de uniuersalibus consenciunt omnes gentes naturaliter ymmo bruta.

Item si sunt uniuersalia, ad aliquid deseruiunt, et per consequens homo communis, cum sit quilibet homo, facit omnia facta hominum, et sic esset monstrum habens quotlibet capita cum aliis membris, et sic de quotlibet ridiculis. Sed hic solet dici quod actus semper sunt suppositorum, ideo quando putantur uerba significancia actus huiusmodi tunc limitant suppositum ad supposicionem personalem. Uniuersali autem subiecto nichil competit nisi quod competit sibi sub racione qua est illud quod est. Sed pro ampliori intellectu huius materie est aliter notandum quod triplex est predicacio: fformalis, predicacio secundum essenciam [4] et predicacio secundum causam. Et illud oportet diligenter notare cum sentencia supradicta de suposicione. Est autem predicacio formalis quando predicatum inest formaliter subiecto, ut homo est animal, persona est deus, Petrus est albus et sic de aliis. Tunc enim formaliter res inest quando racio prima eiusdem rei competit substancie ut esse substanciam corpoream competit homini et colori colorare disgregatiuo uisis competit Petro. Et patet quomodo predicacionum formalium quedam est per se et quedam per accidens. Per se dupliciter: uel quod predicatum sit pars essencialis prior substancie ut genus et differencia, uel quod sit posterior naturaliter consequens subiectum ut passio uel proprietas.

Predicacio uero secundum accidens est quando predicatum dicit primarie accidens quod inexistit substancie ut sunt nouem genera accidencium. Et patet diuisio huius predicacionis ex diuisione accidentis. Nec oportet timere instancias sophisticas quibus arguitur aliqua predicari indirecte, aliqua in obliquo, aliqua negative et alia, mediante uerbo adiectiuo, alterius temporis quam presentis. Loquimur enim de predicacione reali cui ista sunt inpertinencia.

Predicacio uero secundum essenciam est quando eadem essencia est subiectum et predicatum, sed predicatum non formaliter inest subiecto ut hic: iste homo est

[1] *sequitur '9' deletum.*
[2] *Patr. Lat.*, CLVIII, 180 (*libere laudatum*).
[3] *Patr. Lat.*, XLII, 1159.
[4] f. 186r.

species, forma est essencia que est compositum esse, natura diuina est homo et similia. Quamuis enim talia sint uera, tamen singulare non conuenit pluribus singularibus communicari nec forte qualitatiue componi sicut nec nature diuine esse corpoream racionalem.

Predicacio uero secundum causam est quando predicatum non formaliter uel ydemtice est subiectum sed causatur essencialiter ab illo. Et istomodo intelligunt quidam illud dictum Apostoli, prima *ad Corinthos* nono: 'Omnibus [1] omnia factus sum.'

Istis notatis dicitur quod nichil predicatur formaliter de forma abstracta quod appropriate inest eius supposito, ut species humana nec currit nec comedit, quamuis essencialiter loquendo sit currens et comedens intelligendo predicatum neutraliter. Omne enim uerbum et terminus adiectiuatus substanciuatus per subiectum predicatur formaliter, et sic species hominis est pater cuiuscunque filii hominis et quicunque talis filius, intelligendo predicacionem secundum essenciam et non formalem, et tamen nec generat ex semine nec generatur, et sic non est monstrum nisi aliquod eius suppositum sit monstrum, nec habet aliquod caput uel aliquod membrum singulare, quamuis sit habens quodcunque membrum hominis, neutraliter et essencialiter intelligendo. Si autem inueniantur dicta autorum sonancia in oppositum huius quod natura uniuersalis agit actus particulares, omnia sunt sic glosanda, quod natura uniuersalis est causa omnium talium actuum in suis suppositis agentibus. Sicut enim deus est causa cursus, estis et talium sine hoc quod currat, edat et sic de ceteris, ita natura uniuersalis eciam sicut est causa suppositi absque hoc quod sic agat. Et patet ad quantum deseruiunt uniuersalia deo, quia extendendo facere ad omne causare, sicut facit Augustinus *83* [2] *Questionum* questione 28,[3] concedendum est quod uniuersale substancie facit quidquid aliqua substancia facit, et tamen non substat alicui accidenti, quamuis sit quidlibet sic substans per se accidenti.

Sed obicitur contra illud per hoc quod species est primum subiectum passionis sue, humanitas ergo uniuersalis est primum et per se subiectum risibilitatis, et per consequens homo communis est per se risibilis, et ultra sequitur de possibili quod sedeat. Item sicut est dare substancias integras [4] uniuersales sic est dare substancias parciales uniuersales et accidencia uniuersalia. Cum ergo de racione partis siue uniuersalis siue particularis sit haberi a toto, et de racione cuiuscunque accidentis sit inesse, sequitur quod talia uniuersalia habentur, sed a nullo si non ab uniuersali substancie, ergo et cetera. Quamuis ergo species hominis non habet hoc caput habet tamen commune caput, et quamuis non sedet ista sessione [sedet tamen communi sessione], aliter enim non omne corpus componeretur nec de racione substancie esset subici accidentibus absolutis. Item uniuersale causat omne quod causat eius singulare per concessum, ergo infinita accidentalia sibi insunt formaliter; accidentale enim est sibi causare loquelam meam sicut accidentale [5] est sibi amari a me uel cognosci. Cum ergo non sit racio quare suscipit formaliter aliquas predicaciones accidentales quin per idem quamlibet que inest suo singulari, sequitur et cetera.

Ad ista dicitur quod nichil tale posterius specie formaliter est species sed solum illud quod per se inest tamquam pars quiditatiua, ut species humana est animal quia humanitas est animalitas, species albedinis est color quia albacio est coloracio, sed species hominis non est alba, quia tunc hominem esse esset hominem esse album uel humanitas albedo quod est impossibile, cum accidens sit posterius suo subiecto.

[1] *I Cor.* ix, 22. [2] *Cod.* 83°. [3] Cf. *Patr. Lat.*, XL, 13.
[4] *Cod. sequitur* singulares *deletum.* [5] f. 187ʳ.

Et istum sensum docet expresse Aristoteles septimo *Metaphisice* 20 dicens: 'Si[1] enim est hominem esse et album hominem esse, idem est homo albus et homo.' Scrutatur idem enim in textu illo utrum quiditas uel essencia uniuersalis rei sit singulare, et tenet ab intento quod sic, ut patet 21°. Prius tamen dubitas si quiditas uel essencia subiecti sit agregatum per accidens ut animalitas esset hominem esse album sicut homo albus est animal, et tenet ab intento quod non propter duo. Primo quia tunc idem esset hominem esse et album hominem esse, quod est inconueniens, quia, intelligendo terminos simpliciter modo suo, tunc humanitas esset albacio. Secundo quia pari euidencia idem esset musicum esse et album esse, quia humanitas esset utrumque istorum et per consequens musica esset albedo. Ideo in illis que sunt per se est idem quiditas uel essencia et subiectum, sed non in illis que sunt per accidens. Illud tamen non cognoscet debite qui non est nutritus in sentencia supradicta de ueritatibus. Unde in fine capituli quinti dicit Philosophus[2] quod redargucio sophistarum soluitur per sentenciam supradictam. Arguunt enim sophiste sic. Iste homo est albus et est natura humana, ergo et cetera. Commentator tamen format racionem sophisticam istomodo. Quiditas hominis est homo, homo habet quiditatem, ergo quiditas habet quiditatem, et sic in infinitum. Solucio Commentatoris est quod quiditas hominis est homo unomodo, alio non est homo. Est enim homo in forma hominis, dicit Commentator, quasi dicit, est humanitas uel animalitas qua homo est formaliter homo. Per noticiam ergo peruariacionis supposicionis simplicis et personalis soluende sunt argucie sophistice illius materie. Utinam negantes uniuersalia attenderent ad dictum quintum capitulum septimi *Metaphisice* cum exposicionibus antiquorum noscencium profundius sensum suum!

Capitulum Tercium[3]

Istis premissis dico quod non sequitur, species est subiectum passionis, ergo est passionata, sed est quodlibet passionatum illa passione. Humanitas ergo non est risibilis nec potest ridere, quia tunc humanitas esset risibilitas, sic enim signabunt[4] proposiciones aput recte intelligentes. Ad secundum dicitur quod omne singulare habens partem uel accidens singulare habet et suum uniuersale, quia si indiuiduum habet entitatem singularem habet et eius genus et species. Ideo capud uniuersale et albedo uniuersalis habentur a quolibet singulari capitato uel albo et sic species humana non habet caput uel pedes, sicut non est capitata uel aliter membrata. Humanitas enim non est capitacio hominis sed capitacio consequitur ad eam tamquam passio subiectum, et multo magis non est manutacio hominis cum stat mancum esse hominem, et per idem nec natura humana specifica nec aliqua species substancie est quantitatiue diuisibilis, quia tunc esset illam substanciam esse quantam et per consequens quantitas; nec sequitur ista species est et non est quantitatiue dimensionalis, ergo est indiuisibilis, quia sic humanitas esset indiuisibilitas, sed bene sequitur quod est non diuisibilis quia humanitas est et non est diuisibilitas. Sicut ergo humanitas nec est alba nec nigra eo quod nec est albedo nec nigredo sic nec diuisibilitas est nec indiuisibilitas nec iusticia nec iniusticia et sic de aliis contrariis posterioribus homine.[5]

[1] *Meta.* VII, cap. vi (1031[a]).

[2] *Meta.* VII, cap. iv (1030[a]) *Commenti Averrois in Aris. inveniuntur ed. Junt. Venetiis, 1552, in loco.*

[3] *In cod. titulus deest, nec est diuisio in tota pagina.*

[4] *Cod.* signabit.

[5] *Cod.* ho[e] (hodie?).

Et si obicitur quod talis limitacio significacionis est uoluntaria babtisacio significacionis signi sine fundacione, dicitur quod Aristoteles ubi supra, cum aliis ipsum probabiliter exponentibus, sic intelligit terminos significare.[1] Fides eciam ecclesie approbat istam logicam, concedens quod pater generat, et tamen essencia communis que est ille pater non generat. Et tercio necessitas urget sic loqui eo quod potissime inuenirent talia nomina abstracta ad signandum appropriate rem uerbi. Nec aliter haberet homo signa ad distinguendum substancias ab accidentibus uel accidencia a se inuicem. Ymmo sicut conceditur quod homo est quantus, albus, pater, currens in campo, erectus et dives, ita concedendum esset quod humanitas est albedo et cetera. Cum ergo constat quod aliud est rem esse et aliud est illam esse albam, quare non aptaremus illis diuersa nomina cuiusmodi sunt ista essencia et albedo. Conceditur ergo quod corporeitas, que est genus substancie, componitur ex materia et forma simpliciter, et ita conceditur quod idem genus est composicio que [est] tercia res indiuidui corporis correspondens spiritui sancto. Quodlibet ergo singulare corporis est tria, scilicet, subiectum, forma et eorum unio. De omnibus istis tractabitur postmodum.[2]

De differencia uero dicitur communiter quod non est species uel quiditas indiuidui, sed substancialis qualitas, ut racionalitas non est humanitas sed qualitas constituens humanitatem. Vel secundum alios fforma qua subiectum est substancialiter quale, nec differt in re talis qualitas a fforma substanciali uel a materia; solum enim habencium partes qualitatiuas sunt differencie. Verumtamen aliunde accipitur differencia pro quolibet accidente nouem generum uel agregato ex hiis; secundo accipitur proprius pro passione subiecti; et tercio pro substanciali qualitate, ut ponit Porphyrius. Verumtamen nullum horum trium est idem quo aliud formaliter, sed fundamentaliter differt a reliquo, que quidem relacio fundatur in aliqua trium differenciarum predictarum, et in ista equiuocacione decipiuntur multi. Ista autem differencia capit subdiuisionem, ut patet posterius.

Ad tercium dicitur quod infinite predicaciones accidentales insunt cuilibet uniuersali ut tangitur. Sed pro distinccione inter predicaciones suscipiendas de uniuersali et predicaciones abiciendas notandum est preter supradicta quod aliqua est predicacio ab intrinseco et aliqua secundum[3] | habitudinem. Predicacionem ab intrinseco uoco per se predicacionem uel predicacionem accidentalem que dicit motum in subiecto ut quelibet predicacio accidentis preter relacionem, etc., p. 34, *De Ente.*

This is not the only place where the Vienna codex is of assistance in bettering the Cambridge text. Throughout the tractate there are variants which show that the Vienna MS. comes from a different tradition or, in some few places where it is shorter than the Cambridge text, may have undergone serious redaction. It is quite as likely that the Cambridge text may be the one which represents the line of greater redaction by reason of its being in general more complete. I should be somewhat reluctant to accept this conclusion without more evidence, inasmuch as this codex, in other tractates where collation is possible, represents a superior tradition. In the case of this tractate, however, this superiority is not evident.

[1] f. 187v.

[2] *Hic refertur sine dubio ad tractatum adhuc ineditum 'De Trinitate' illam materiam profundius tractantem.*

[3] *A.* f. 13 A.

A comparison of a few of the more marked variant readings will aid in forming a judgment of the two MSS and at the same time establish an intelligible text in several cases.

The Cambridge MS. (*A*) as given in Dziewicki's edition leaves a gap after '*cuiuscunque*,' p. 44, l. 24. MS. *B*, supplies correctly the missing word, '*generis*,' f. 189^{r}. There is also a gap after '*ecclesie*,' p. 46, l. 34. The Vienna MS. (*B*) has the necessary words '*uiam primam*,' fol. 189^{v}. In the next line, l. 35, *A* has '*quecunque 2^{o} solum racione*,' which yields no sense at all. *B* reads '*quecunque illa que solum racione*.' On the next page of the edition, l. 17 ff., *A* reads '*Nec ista sunt formaliter* ista duo (*demonstrando singulare et suum uniuersale*) *set sunt* istud; *et sic differencia sunt ista ad istum sensum, quod ista differunt*, etc. . . .' Dziewicki has appended a footnote protesting his inability to make anything out of the use of '*ista*' and '*istud*.' MS. *B* has instead of '*istud*' the correct '*idem*,' and omits ll. 20–25 (*et tamen. . . . Et patet*) altogether. *B* also omits ll. 36–37 on this same page, a '*scilicet*' phrase. On p. 48, l. 4, for '*limitato*' *B* has the better '*habito*'; for '*licet*,' l. 11, *B* has the better '*sed*'; for '*Nulla*,' l. 13, *B* has the better '*non*.'

There are places where *A* is fuller than *B*, but this is not the case at the end. *A* ends abruptly '*Unde iste est textus Lyncolniensis*.' *B* follows this sentence with a concluding statement, intended to sum up succinctly the immediately preceding arguments:

> Cum ergo tale uniuersale non sit communius actu quam suum inferius sicut sol et mundus et cetera, non est actus communius quam iste sol uel iste mundus et cetera. Ex quibus patet ipsum sentire quod uniuersale et suum singulare distinguuntur et quod possibile est multos mundos esse saltem si deus uellet uel non superflueret.

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REVIEWS

MURRAY WRIGHT BUNDY, *The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Mediaeval Thought.* University of Illinois. Studies in Language and Literature, XII, 2–5. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1927. Paper. $3.00.

IN this book Mr Bundy undertakes the task, all the more laudable because of its difficulty, of writing a history of the theories of fancy and imagination. The present study covers the period from the earliest Greek philosophers down to and including Dante and is to be followed by a second which will present the results of his investigations into the meaning of these terms as they appear in the criticism of the Renaissance and subsequent periods. It was this problem, indeed, which directed the author's attention to the fortune of these words from the very beginning, for he found that modern critical concepts cannot be understood without taking into account their development in the ancient and mediaeval world.

The history of 'fancy' and 'imagination' as terms of reflective thought begins with Plato. By a study of the passages of the *Dialogues* in which the words φαντασία and εἰκασία appear, Mr Bundy finds a development, accepting the chronology set up by Lutoslawski, from the earlier *Dialogues*, in which there is nothing but contempt for the imagination, to the later, in which phantasy becomes 'the faculty which, rightly informed by light from above, results in visions higher than reason can attain' (p. 53), and concludes that Plato, by making a distinction between 'phantasy' and 'imagination' 'has formulated a theory of subjective art as a kind of imagination; of symbolic art as the result of a higher activity of the imagination; and finally of inspired poetry and prophecy as the product of the perfect union of divine and human phantasy' (p. 58). For Aristotle, with his emphasis, in contrast to Plato, upon the reality of things, φαντασία, as one of several mental powers all necessary to thought, was rooted in the sensory faculty. He purposely avoided the term in his *Poetics*, but in the treatment of 'phantasy' in his psychology he is at variance with Plato's conception of 'the dream as a phantasy which is given to the foolishness of man for the correction of the lower impulses and for visions of the future' (p. 76). It was the psychology of Aristotle, as developed by the Stoics, which resulted finally in the emphasis upon the unreality of the 'phantasm' and the 'phantastic' and which contributed to the later preoccupation with the dangers of the imagination and to a denial that it was a means to truth.

After a chapter devoted to the place given φαντασία by writers on rhetoric and poetic, the author discusses the views of the Neoplatonists, who on the

whole belittle 'phantasy' as concerned primarily with the lower world of sensations, and of the Christian writers, Synesius, Augustine, and Boethius, since in them one can 'study at first hand what the Middle Ages were to inherit from pagan philosophy and especially from Neoplatonism' (p. 147). In Augustine he finds two forces, the scientific and the mystical: the one deriving ultimately from the psychology of Aristotle, with a full recognition of the connection of mental powers with physical states; the other, from Plato, with a depreciation of knowledge derived from experience and the acceptance of reason as the highest faculty of the mind by which alone man may see God.

These two forces mold the theory of the imagination during the Middle Ages. Mr Bundy traces their influence in the views of such men as Nemesius of Emesa, Avicenna, Roger Bacon, John of Salisbury, Averroes, and especially Albertus Magnus, who gives to *imaginatio* the functions which Aristotle ascribed to *φαντασία* — at best a reproductive faculty — whereas *phantasia* is made the compounding and dividing power, dealing freely with the materials of experience and thus in this respect creative. This distinction comes, the author thinks, through a Stoic tradition represented by Aëtius, whom he mentions merely in passing, Plutarch, and Nemesius, whom he quotes in the Latin version of Alfano of Salerno. If these views make of *phantasia* a higher power than *imaginatio*, in the mystics (of whom Mr Bundy selects Hugo of Victor, Richard of Victor, and Bonaventura for detailed treatment), the imagination is on the whole, as in the Stoic and Neoplatonic tradition, a power always capable of error and one that may be a hindrance to the higher functions of the mind. These two streams of thought are united in Maimonides and Thomas Aquinas, both of whom insist with Aristotle upon the sensible basis of the imagination but share also the other view, Platonic in part, that it is owing to the influence upon the imaginative faculty of supernatural beings, God, angels, or devils, that man is enabled to see visions and dream dreams.

The first complete synthesis, however, of these diverse traditions Mr Bundy finds in Dante. In the *Nuova Vita* and in the *Inferno* the rôle of the imagination is that of reproducing and recollecting concrete images of sense-experience, but, beginning with the ninth canto of the *Purgatorio*, the successive images are no longer dependent upon sensation but are communicated to the *fantasia* by a power from without, and imagination no longer needs reason as interpreter and guide. The artistic expression of these spiritual realities is possible only in terms of sense through the imagination; thus for the first time a theory of imaginative symbolism is made explicit.

It is difficult for one who is not a student of philosophy to pass judgment upon a book which is concerned chiefly with very profound problems of philosophy. If proof of the thesis, that mediaeval speculations concerning

the concepts of appearance and image are largely the result of traditions having their ultimate origin in Plato and Aristotle, were needed, Mr Bundy has given that proof; but, what the reviewer, as one interested in language and literature, has felt was needed, an adequate and careful review of 'the concepts from the beginning in every field of thought in which they might have been defined' (p. 8), he does not give us. The whole story of the function of the imagination in art, for example, is not told if one omits, as Mr Bundy does, the interesting statement in Cicero, *Orator* (7 ff.), and the famous *Oratio* XII of Dion of Prusa which anticipate, in some respects at least, the views of Philostratus. Nor can the place of the imagination in mysticism be properly understood without paying more attention than the author does to the Greek teachers of the Church and the influence which was exercised through them of Platonism and Stoicism in their Jewish-Alexandrian form. The views of Origen are not considered; the one reference to Dionysius the Areopagite is due to a quotation in Bonaventura, and nothing is said of his translator, John Scotus, the very founder of mediaeval mysticism. On the other hand, in the writers who are discussed there are other passages just as important for the history of the imagination as those which are quoted. Thus there is no reference to Bonaventura's *de Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, although it contains an interesting discussion of the creative artist reminding one of Cicero and Dion; or to Boethius' commentary on Victorinus' translation of Porphyrius or the commentary on his own; or to such a passage as Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xi, 26, which is certainly as important for the meaning of the words *phantasiae*, *phantasmata*, *imaginatio* as the citation from the *Confessions*.

Such omissions may or may not be serious, but the author's dependence upon translations, many of them far from exact, and his failure to give adequate renderings for φαντασία, *phantasia*, *imaginatio*, are serious. By transliterating the Greek word and its congeners by phantasy, phantasies, phantasm, phantastic, he not only obscures nice distinctions but gives his reader, unless he has the Greek or Latin text in front of him, no definite understanding of the terms. As one reads his discussion of Plato, one would infer that to Plato φαντασία actually meant what our word 'imagination' or 'fancy' means to us, whereas the truth is, of course, that Plato had no word for imagination as a faculty intermediate between abstract thought and sense perception, and that neither to him nor to Aristotle, although they were familiar with the idea of a creative faculty, was this faculty separate or known by a distinct name. Had Mr Bundy borne this fact in mind, he would have seen that the real reason for Aristotle's avoidance of the term φαντασία in his *Poetics* was that he was a Greek and knew that φαντασία was the presentative or reproductive faculty, not the productive, with which alone he was concerned in this treatise. The case is no better

in regard to Latin words. Thus, in speaking of Augustine's avoidance of the word *phantasia* as a translation of φαντασία in its meaning of an impression derived from the senses and his use of *imaginatio*, he makes the curious statement (p. 158): '*imaginatio* was not current, at least as the Latin translation of φαντασία before the time of Cicero and Quintilian.' Neither employs the word and Mr Bundy seemingly was aware of the fact, for he adds, a few lines below, 'we have no conclusive evidence that *imaginatio* was employed before the time of Augustine.' In the passage from Quintilian, translated by Butler (p. 106), to which he refers in a note to illustrate the first statement, the Latin words which are translated 'imagination,' 'fantastic,' 'imagine,' are *animus*, *inanes*, *cogitare*, not *phantasia* or *imaginatio*, but no word is said about this use of these Latin words. If it is true, as the above statement implies, that Augustine translates φαντασία in its usual meaning of 'sense-perception,' by *imaginatio*, and uses the word *phantasia* to denote the reproductory and combinatory power, then the translation by Albertus Magnus of a passage in John of Damascus, in which the same distinction is drawn, is not 'the first instance of a distinction involving Latin *imaginatio*' (p. 194).

This book is not, therefore, the last word on the difficult and interesting problems with which it deals, but it contains much information and many wise and acute remarks. The final chapter presents a helpful analysis of its contents (pp. 257–280), there is a serviceable index, the notes are rich in learned references; but one wonders why the indispensable *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* is not included.

Marbury B. Ogle,
Ohio State University

M. Grabmann, *Der Einfluss Alberts des Grossen auf das mittelalterliche Geistesleben.* (Offprinted from *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, xxv (1928), 153–182, 313–356.

Hans von Schubert in his history of German faith contends that Albert the Great was 'less an independent thinker than a learned man; more a compiler, an encyclopedist, a schoolmaster like Rhabanus Maurus, than a productive systematic genius.' Professor Grabmann, who has devoted many years of diligent research to scholasticism in printed and in manuscript sources, considers this view contrary to historic reality. Albert was the first to introduce the immense material of Aristotelian and Jewish-Arabian philosophy and the natural sciences to scholastic thought. He was the creator of Aristotelian scholasticism which Thomas developed and perfected. His influence upon his own time and the succeeding centuries is not that of a mere compiler. He gave evident proof of his initiative as the creator of Christian Aristotelianism; as the founder of the Neoplatonism

of the German Dominican scholasticism; in his acute and independent system of ethics elaborated in his *De Bono siue de Virtutibus*, which was written twenty years before the *Secunda* of Thomas and before the Nichomachean Ethics became known in the Latin translation of Robert Grosseteste. His commentary on the *De Divinis Nominibus* of the Pseudo-Areopagite is a great and deeply speculative work which manifests his Neoplatonic thought. The unedited *Quaestiones* on the Nichomachean Ethics reveal his independent thought and volition more than his printed paraphrases of Aristotle. In his original researches and observations in the field of natural sciences, in zoölogy, botany, geography, meteorology, and cosmology, Albert gives evidence of an initiative which has merited the acknowledgment of the scientific world.

The reason for the powerful influence of Albert upon the thought of his own age and of subsequent generations must be sought in his personality. Much information regarding unpublished manuscripts of Albert is worked into this portrait which serves as an introduction to the principal part of the discussion.

In the second part of his treatise Professor Grabmann ferrets out the influence of Albert upon German scholasticism and mysticism down to the end of the fifteenth century. He adduces a long line of philosophers and theologians who drew their thoughts, and often their very words, from the works of Albert. Not content with the mere mention of names, he searches out this influence in their printed and unprinted writings. Foremost among these men, apart from his great disciple Thomas Aquinas, are: his favorite pupil, Ulrich of Strassburg; Albert of Orlamünde, the author of the *Philosophia Pauperum;* Nicholas of Strassburg; the encyclopedists, Conrad of Hablerstadt and Henry of Herford; Heimericus de Campo (Van de Velde), the principal representative of the '*schola Albertistarum*' in Cologne; Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa; and Dionysius Ryckel the Carthusian. The influence of Albert upon German mysticism is difficult to define. Baeumker saw in the Neoplatonic mysticism which arose with Albert and found a home in the Dominican Order in Germany and was especially fostered in southwestern Germany, the soil whence grew the mysticism of Master Eckhart. The connection between Eckhart and the previous Dominican scholasticism cannot be fully judged until the *Summa* of Ulrich of Strassburg is edited. Tauler followed Eckhart. Henry of Suso used Thomas Aquinas as his chief source, but did not neglect other scholastics, particularly Bonaventura. He cites the 'great master Albrecht' but once. The eucharistic writings of Albert have plainly influenced the ascetical and mystical literature of the later Middle Ages.

Sebastian Erbacher, O.F.M.,
Catholic University of America

E. J. Holmyard, ed., *The Ordinall of Alchimy by Thomas Norton of Bristoll, Being a facsimile reproduction from Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum with annotations by Elias Ashmole.* With Introduction. London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1928. Boards. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Alchemy is the greatest puzzle in the history of science, for not only its theories and methods but its very aims were frankly concealed. The alchemists wrote as confusingly as possible: 'their chiefest study was to wrap up their *Secrets* in *Fables*,' Ashmole explains, 'and spin out their *Fancies* in *Vailes* and *shadows*, whose *Radii* seems [*sic*] to extend every way, yet so, that they all meete in a *Common Center*, and point onely at One thing.'

Alchemy apparently began in China, and wandered through Alexandria to Moorish Spain, whence Robert of Chester in 1144 A.D. introduced it to Europe. Roger Bacon, in the next century, well sustained the honor of his nation in alchemical studies; and Chaucer (possibly to his posthumous surprise) actually was the impulse of an English alchemical tradition, on the strength of his *Canon's Yeoman's Tale.*

This famous story is, in body, an exposure of dupes and charlatans; but at the very end, after the Yeoman has explained what false alchemy is, he confides darkly to the Pilgrims what the truth of the matter may be. It is possible that Chaucer intended to depict a fanatic hoping against hope, even after he has beheld the stupidity and worse that lies behind the scenes; but Chaucer's alchemical followers did not read the tale so. They understood Chaucer to have cleared the ground of popular misapprehensions, and then to have pointed directly at the heart of the mystery.

In 1652 Elias Ashmole, who 'knew enough to keep silent but not to speak,' published a collection of the writings of these alchemists under the title of *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum.* The first and perhaps most important of these — certainly the most sane — is the *Ordinall of Alchimy* by Thomas Norton of Bristol, who signed his work in the initial letters of the successive chapters, and dated it in the text 1477. This is the work which has now been reproduced facsimile. As Ashmole took some pains with the decorations of some of the initials, and had engraved various illustrations, a facsimile is the most satisfactory reprint; and as Norton invoked God's curse on any who should change a syllable of his writing, perhaps it was the safest way.

Norton tells us that unless one has a special inspiration from heaven, one must seek a master; that each master is on oath never to write down the mystery in plain, unmistakable terms; and that he can confide it only to a single, well-tried disciple, who is also bound by oath. Norton had found such a master, and had won his confidence; now he is writing his treatise to warn off all ignorant seekers, and to spread his hints before those

who could understand them. By 1477, alchemical authors were quite free with their hints and specific in their warnings, unlike the earliest writers, who contented themselves with the simplest of gnomic aphorisms, which might apply to anything and everything.

Norton's *Ordinall*, consequently, is very readable. He writes ahead as sanely as alchemical tradition allowed. He tells anecdotes of this crank and that dupe; he throws in pertinent bits of autobiography; he tells what books are best to study for particular phases of the work (and among his authorities he quotes Chaucer, p. 42); he drops hints; he argues; he describes procedures. Sometimes he writes plainly; sometimes he gives metaphor as fact, or fact as metaphor; sometimes he defers to popular opinion in a paragraph, only to contradict it flatly in his last couplet (for the whole treatise is written in Tumbling Metre); sometimes his pen nearly drops from his trembling fingers as he records some apparently simple statement — his emotion being a deliberate clue; and at the end he assures us that the complete alchemical process is described, here and there, in his *Ordinall*.

Altogether, Norton's treatise is as lively and normal a treatise as one will find in all alchemical literature. It is one of the pleasantest presentations of the puzzle I know of, though Paracelsus is more cosmic, and Thomas Vaughan more poetical.

Ashmole's enthusiasm is clearly indicated in his curious notes at the end; he contributes his bit to the elucidation of the mystery (and to the further confusion of the uninitiate) particularly in his long and learned note on 'Naturall Magick,' which ends: 'and when it is wrought up to his *highest degree of Perfection*, he shall see things not fit to be written; for (may I aver it with awfull Reverence) *Angelicall wisdome* is to be obteyned by it.' Sir Thomas Browne also asserted that 'the something I have had of the Philosophers Stone (which is something more than the perfect exaltation of Gold) hath taught me a great deal of Divinity' (*Relig. Med.*, 1, 39).

Dr Holmyard, in his Introduction to the present edition of the *Ordinall*, gives no such hints; indeed, the chief reason he advances for reproducing the treatise is that it is 'a delightful book to read.' And so it is. But I cannot imagine why he should suppose that anybody would be 'reluctant' to admit that it presents 'a good picture of the average alchemist of the fifteenth century.' Certainly Norton was no fool, however quaint some of his beliefs may appear to us, who don't know what he was talking about.

S. Foster Damon,
Brown University

A. G. Little, E. Withington, edd., *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Fasc. ix, *De retardatione accidentium senectutis cum aliis opusculis de rebus medicinalibus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928. Pp. xliv + 224.

After some recent lucubrations on what may be termed the pseudo-Roger Bacon, the volume before us, devoted to making known hitherto unpublished works of the real Roger Bacon, comes as a relief, especially as its method throughout conforms to the strictest canons of historical and textual scholarship. We feel that we are once more on solid ground. The present publication fully maintains the high standards of the previous fascicles of the *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi* which have for some time been appearing under Mr Robert Steele's editorship. In this series it is numbered Fasc. ix, but it further appears in a different cover as vol. xiv of *The British Society of Franciscan Studies*.

As the preface explains, Mr A. G. Little has edited the texts and written the part of the Introduction which discusses the various manuscripts and their interrelations, and the origin and authenticity of the treatises here printed. In this he has succeeded in bringing one very close to the manuscripts. Mr E. Withington has added to the Introduction some estimate of Bacon's medical treatises, with explanatory notes later on the treatises themselves, and a very useful glossary of drugs. The texts printed will be made somewhat more available for most English readers by the running analysis of their contents in that language which accompanies the Latin in the margins.

It cannot be said that the medical texts here published reveal Roger Bacon at his best — for medicine was not his forte, as Mr Withington clearly recognizes. They are, if anything, below rather than above the average of the medical literature of that time. Nevertheless they serve to illustrate or illuminate it at many points and make by no means uninteresting reading. They further serve to illustrate Roger's characteristic intellectual idiosyncrasies and literary habits.

First we have the letter on retarding the accidents of old age which Mr Little demonstrates was addressed to Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254), and so was composed at a relatively early date in Bacon's career. Parenthetically may I remark that I hope the reader understands the scholastic use of the terms 'accident' and 'substance,' and hence the sense of the former word as used in the title of this epistle? We once had a scientific language that was universally and uniformly understood, but threw it overboard in our zeal for a 'classical revival' and 'modern progress.' I cannot find a modern English word to express Bacon's thought. But to proceed. Next among our texts comes a summary exposition of the aforesaid letter and equally brief tracts on a general regimen for age and on baths for old men.

It should be noted, however, that Bacon makes a distinction between *senectus* and *senium* or *senus* and *senior*. After another short tract on the composition of certain medicines comes a somewhat longer *Antidotarius*, a treatise on the conservation of youth, a short tract on the varying degrees of medicines, and the longer discussion of the errors of medical men, in which Mr Withington finds Bacon unusually moderate in his criticism. In the Appendix is given an extract from the book of six sciences, and the two texts on critical days — already published in the German doctoral dissertations of F. Palitzsch and H. Elfferding — are reprinted for the sake of completeness and greater availability. Our only complaint is that there is no index.

Lynn Thorndike,
Columbia University

Charles Christopher Mierow, transl. and ed., *The Two Cities, A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D., by Otto, Bishop of Freising.* Translated in full with introduction and notes. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928. Pp. xiii + 523. Cloth. $5.00.

This work is a credit to the translator and to American historical scholarship. It is the first complete version in any modern language, the German translation of Horst Kohl, Leipzig, 1894, being of books vi-vii only. The translator has followed the text — and in many cases the notes also — of A. Hofmeister's admirable edition, but has prefaced his work with a long introduction (pp. 1–79) of his own upon Otto of Freising as an historian and the nature and value of the *Chronica*. It is unfortunate, however, since Otto so copiously incorporated portions of Augustine's *Ciuitas Dei*, of Orosius, of Frutolf of Michelsberg, that these literal extracts have not been printed in another type or bracketed, in order that they may be identified, as Hofmeister has done. For unless one reads the translation with the original text beside him he is liable to get a wrong impression. The bishop becomes greater and more erudite than he was, and many of the thoughts which seem to be his own owed their origin to his sources. Sometimes failure to employ this method of indication gives a wrong impression. For example (bk ii, c. 24, p. 179) we read: 'This city founded by . . . Constantine and called Constantinople after his name, is known to have been *until recently* the capital of the entire East.' Here the time allusion, unless one be on his guard, would seem to be of Otto's own time instead of that of the fifth century.

Without denying Otto's vigor as a philosophical historian, it seems to me that President Mierow in his enthusiasm exaggerates the bishop's critical ability, both in the introduction and the notes. Adverse evidences are Otto's frequent intrusion of mythological tales in the midst of serious

history (i, 11, 19); credulity, e.g. that Athens was founded by demons (i, 17); that Joseph and Mary, before the Nativity, went up to Bethlehem to be registered 'because the Son of God, coming in the flesh, desired to be enrolled as a citizen of the Roman state,' foreseeing the future papacy (iii, 6); that Mark wrote his gospel at Peter's dictation, in Latin and in Rome (iii, 14); that Constantine resigned Rome and all Italy to Sylvester I (iv, 3); that a flood of the Tiber subsided 'when the people offered litanies" (v, 17). Sometimes the critical ability attributed to Otto, upon examination of the text, proves to be that of Orosius (ii, 30 *ad fin.*). Otto boasts that he has undertaken to relate in writing what happened and not to pass judgment on what happened (vi, 23). He generally had the authoritarian attitude. But President Mierow says that 'he could criticize the Church freely enough on questions not involving the faith' (p. 299, n. 123). On the contrary, he 'straddled' when it was prudent so to do, e.g., was Guibert pope or anti-pope? (vii, 11). In vii, 18, he declares that Innocent II was canonically elected, whereas it was widely known then, and confirmed by modern historians, that, on the contrary, Anacletus II was the lawfully elected pope.

In the introduction there are two statements which leave me in doubt: 'In Augustine's view church membership insures salvation' (p. 69), and that Otto believed that the church was no longer the representative of the City of God (p. 71). Does Otto admit so much as that? Passing to accuracy of translation: 'His Majesty' is a questionable translation of the words '*Domino Suo*' (p. 87, Dedication); the phrase '*tam . . . quam . . .*' is better translated 'so much . . . as . . .' than in the form 'not merely . . . but . . .' (p. 89); '*meae humilitati*' is not 'my lowly self,' if one is to be quite accurate (p. 89); '*obsequium*' does not mean 'pledge of respectful allegiance'— which would be a feudal term — but 'deference' (p. 90); '*suscipiens*' means more than 'receiving,' it means 'assuming' (p. 239); '*possidenda*' means not 'what *can* legitimately be possessed,' but 'what *must* be legitimately possessed' (p. 274); '*ordinentur episcopi*' is not accurately translated by 'settled as bishops' (p. 422). It is regrettable that the editor has omitted to include Hofmeister's note to III, 2 (p. 137, note 7, of text), which indicates that Otto got his parallel between the ancient pagan hierarchy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy from Pseudo-Isidor, and both editors might have made illuminating reference to Walafrid Strabo's comparison between the ecclesiastical and feudal hierarchies in the ninth century. There are misprints on pp. 5,'maternal' for 'paternal'; 21 n.; 'Hergog' for 'Herzog'; 56 n. 258, '700' should be '7000'; 64, 'expreses'; 88, n. 11, title of Giesebrecht's work; 351, 'beseiged'; 448, 'cloth' for 'clothe.' Actual errors are few: p. 265, 'eighth' for '*nonos*'; 'ninth' for '*decimam*' — unless in these two cases Mr Mierow has changed his reading of the text to make it comport with Otto's other enu-

meration of the persecutions in III, 45; Hermann of Luxemburg did not '*abdicate*' (p. 400); the Fifth Crusade was in 1217–18, and the Sixth in 1229, and not as said on p. 409, note 29.

The Index leaves much to be desired. Important omissions of proper names and of institutions are many. It ought to have been compiled in the light of that in Hofmeister's edition, which is a marvel of completeness.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON,
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OTAKAR ODLOŽILÍK, ed., *Mathiae de Janov Regulae Veteris et Noui Testamenti* (*Monumenta Reformationis in Bohemia saec. xiv et xv*, No. 13). Prague, 1926. Pp. xxxii + 432. Paper.

IN 1908 Dr Vlastimil Kybal began the publication of a definitive edition of the *Regulae Veteris et Noui Testamenti* of Matthew of Janov. In the course of the following five years four large volumes appeared, containing the first three books of the *Regulae*.[1] It became immediately evident that Matthew had exercised an influence on the Hussite reformers, and in particular on Jacobellus de Misa (Jakoubek ze Stříbra), in a measure hitherto quite unsuspected. Further publication was interrupted by the World War, and later Dr Kybal was drafted into the diplomatic service of the Czechoslovak Government, and the task of completing the edition was committed to Dr Otakar Odložilík, Docent in the Charles University in Prague. The present volume, largely the work of Dr Odložilík, volume V of the series, contains Book IV of the *Regulae*. Book V (vol. VI) is announced for early publication.

In the Czech Introduction (a briefer Latin *Praefatio* is added) Dr Odložilík advances Kybal's previous dating or the writing of Book IV from 1390–91 to 1392. The Prague synod of June, 1391, contrary to the synods of 1388 and 1389, had favored frequent communion of the laity in both kinds, a practice for which Matthew had contended for years, and the relatively quiet tone of the fourth book would more logically fit in at the later date. Of the eight known MSS Dr Odložilík used all but one, the Gersdorf MS., which was not available. The Olomouc (Olmütz) *MS. 211* (= *B*) and the Dietrichstein *MS. II, 196* (= *C*) are here used for the first time. *MS. B*, although probably written more recently than the National Museum MS. (= *A*) is regarded as the most valuable of all the MSS because of extensive and careful corrections in another hand, based possibly on the text of the archetype, or even, possibly, made by Matthew himself. The principal variants and marginalia are given in the footnotes.

[1] *De Regulis Vet. et Noui Testamenti Mathiae de Janov* (ed. Vl. Kybal, Innsbrück; 4 vols. 1908–1913).

The subject-matter of the entire book is the daily communion of the laity in both kinds. The *Peroratio* begins: *Dilecte mi in Christo Jhesu! Questionem de cottidiana uel frequenti manducacione a personis laycis diuini sacramenti, scilicet Christi corporis et sanguinis . . . arbitror superuacue . . . iterum de nouo renouare et tractare.* Yet because of his friend's 'importunity' he consents to go into the question exhaustively. Of the eight articles into which the book is divided the first four (pp. 1–128) define in detail the terms of the question: *manducacio sacramenti, communio Jhesu Christi, christiani sancti, licet cottidie frequentare.* Articles v and vi are taken up with answers to the current objections to frequent communion. Article vii treats of the ill effects, both on the priest and the laity, of spiritual communion by the priest alone. Article viii points out the necessity of scaramental, as opposed to spiritual, communion.

Article iii (pp. 30–50) has been taken over almost verbatim into a later work, recently published under the title *Tractatus Responsiuus* (pp. 83–102) and ascribed by the editor to Hus.[1] A recent American review [2] of this latter edition mentioned Dr F. M. Bartoš of Prague as the 'most outstanding of those who challenge' the editor's ascription. Up to the present time there has been only one other Czech review of the *Tractatus*,[3] the author of which, after examining Dr Bartoš's arguments, expresses a general preference for the editor's ascription to Hus. It is certain, however, that the influence of Matthew was more marked on the followers of Hus — Jacobellus, Rokycany, Přibram, Prokop of Pilsen — than upon Hus himself.

The edition is excellently printed on fine paper, and furnished with ideally exhaustive indices. Dr Odložilík has ably maintained the high standard set by Dr Kybal, and it is to be hoped that the concluding volume will not be long in appearing.

[1] *M. J. Hus Tractatus Responsiuus* (ed. S. H. Thomson, Princeton University Press, 1927). This text appeared simultaneously in Czechoslovakia with the Introduction in Czech, as vol. xv of the same *Monumenta Reformationis in Bohemia.*

[2] Matthew Spinka in Speculum, iii (1928), 407 f.

[3] Dr Jaroslav Prokeš in *Časopis Matice Moravské*, lii (1928), 235–240.

S. H. Thomson,
Princeton, N. J.

Ernest Wickersheimer, ed., *Recueil des plus celebres astrologues et quelques hommes doctes faict par Symon de Phares du temps de Charles VIIIe, publié d'après le manuscrit unique de la Bibliothèque Nationale.* Paris: Champion, 1929. Paper. pp. xii + 307.

Doctor Wickersheimer, librarian of the University of Strassburg and known for his numerous previous publications in the fields of the history of medicine and of astrology, has rendered a great service to students of the later Middle Ages, and especially to students of the history of science and

superstition, in editing *in toto* for the first time and from the unique autograph manuscript (Bibl. Natl, *MS. franç. 1357*) the valuable and entertaining account by Symon de Phares, himself a prominent astrologer at the close of the fifteenth century, of all his learned predecessors. His account is a long one, going back to the early ages of the world to find the first astrologers among the Old Testament patriarchs, heroes of Greek mythology, or early kings of Assyria, giving much space to names from classical antiquity, and becoming really valuable from a biographical standpoint as he approaches his own time and deals with a host of learned men of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Throughout, the work is of interest for its details of folklore and past belief, and for the mental attitude of its author. On the whole it is remarkable how much fairly accurate information Symon was able to amass. He provides a wealth of bibliographical as well as biographical data, and gives incipits as well as titles of works. He was, of course, writing with the object of defending astrology from its detractors and so has a tendency to make past men of learning more favorable to astrology than they actually were, and to multiply instances of astrological predictions which came true. But this bias is not difficult to discount. Symon furthermore sometimes treats of the same person in two — or even in several places, as in the case of Henry Bate of Malines — passages under different dates, or misplaces chronologically even men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And he inclines to reiterate the same complimentary formulae concerning various individuals. But he gives many precious bits of information concerning a large number of men, such as Jehan de Linieres, Matheus Silvaticus, John of Saxony, Andalò di Negro, John of Sicily, Blasius of Parma, John of Bruges, Giovanni Marliano, and a host of less-known scientists and pseudo-scientists of the past.

The work of Symon de Phares has been known and utilized in years gone by more than Wickersheimer indicates in the Introduction, where he mentions as previous secondary accounts of Symon only the articles by Vallet de Viriville and Péricaud in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* and the *Biographie Universelle*. It would seem that some reference should have been made to the much older accounts of Symon de Phares in such books as P. Liron's *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires* (1738), I, 313–316, and J. B. L. Crevier's *Histoire de l'Université de Paris depuis son Origine jusqu'en l'Année 1600* (Paris, 1761), IV, 470, 494. Moreover, before either of these eighteenth-century writers, Père Labbé in the seventeenth century had published some extracts from Symon's manuscript in his *Recueil Historique de Pièces Anciennes* — a fact of which Wickersheimer seems not to be cognizant. Furthermore, Symon's work had been utilized by subsequent historians of astrology: for example, in Jean Lebeuf's 'De l'Astrologie qui avait Cours sous Charles V et des plus Fameux Astrologues de ce Temps,'

published first in his *Dissertations sur l'Historie Ecclesiastique et Civile de Paris* (Paris, 1739–1743), Tome 3, and reprinted in the *Collections des Meilleurs Dissertations Relatifs à l'Histoire de France* (ed. C. Leber, Paris, 1838), xv, 397–408; and again in Charles Jourdain's article, 'Nicolas Oresme et les Astrologues de la Cour de Charles V,' which was reprinted posthumously as Chapter 20 of his *Excursions Historiques et Philosophiques à travers le Moyen Age* (Paris, 1888). Lebeuf also published an extract from Symon's work. But this previous knowledge of Symon and utilization of the manuscript of the *Recueil* only testify the more to the desirability of its being rendered available in printed form in full, and for this we have now to thank Dr Wickersheimer.

The chief sources for Symon's own life are the brief autobiography which he modestly appends to his notice of Master Florant de Villiers, who had drawn up his horoscope when a child, and the records bearing upon his persecution and trial at Lyons and appeal to Paris. On this latter matter Wickersheimer has supplemented the documents printed in C. du Plessis d'Argentré's *Collectio Iudiciorum de Nouis Erroribus* (Paris, 1728) by citation of additional documents from the *Archives Nationales* and *Archives de Lyon*. He shows that the visit of Charles VIII on an All Saints' Day to see Symon's study and library and hear him answer the interrogations of all comers must have been in 1490, before Symon's trial and condemnation, rather than in 1495, after it, since Charles was not in Lyons on All Saints' Day except in 1490, while Symon himself in 1495 was living at Paris. Indeed, Wickersheimer attributes the persecution of Symon to envy aroused against him by this royal visit. Liron was therefore mistaken — although Wickersheimer says naught of this — in dating Charles' call upon Symon at Lyons in 1495 on the king's return from the Italian expedition, and in arguing on this basis that the condemnation of Symon had been quashed. But it is not improbable that the king took the astrologer under his protection at Paris on his return from the expedition to Naples, since we find Symon still alive and addressing this work to Charles VIII in the last year of his reign, 1498. Moreover, while the official documents show that Symon was condemned for his divination and deprived of his library, — only eleven of these two hundred books, however, were actually condemned by the Paris Faculty of Theology, — it is apparent that he must have had a considerable astrological library at his elbow to compose the treatise before us for review. In it he alludes to the person who had pushed the case against him as his detractor, and in one passage remarks of Gerson that when he caused the work of Jean de Meung (i.e. *Roman de la Rose*) to be condemned at Paris, 'he found so many of an opposite opinion to his that he died confused and ashamed, like our calumniator' (p. 249). It seems, therefore, that Symon de Phares' condemnation need not be taken

very seriously, although the condemnation of astrology by the Faculty of Theology is unusually strict.

Symon's life had been a restless and varied one. He tells us that he had been from Scotland and Ireland to Alexandria and Cairo. Yet he was not a vagabond charlatan but a seeker after science. He had studied at Orléans, Paris, and for three years in medicine at Montpellier. He was long in the service of John, Duke of Bourbon, but when Louis XI wished to engage him, he turned to the mountains of Savoy and Switzerland, where he spent four summers searching for herbs such as the pseudo-Aristotle mentions to Alexander in the *Secretum Secretorum*, retiring for the intervening winters to Geneva, St Moritz in Chablais, Syon, Bern, and Fribourg. This prolonged botanizing is interpreted by Wickersheimer as due to unwillingness to enter Louis XI's service and as terminating with his death in 1483. But is it necessary or safe to infer that Symon would return to the Duke of Bourbon's service immediately after learning of Louis' death? And why was Symon reluctant to enter the king's service? His words are (p. 256), '. . . *où je ne residé gueres que le roy Loys me voulsit aver; toutefois congnoissant ses inclinations, differé et m'en retournés ès montaignes de Savoye et voulu congnoistre des herbes.*' Was he mistrustful of Louis' personality, or did the king's horoscope and state of health indicate that he was liable to pass away soon, and that therefore a post as his astrologer or physician might be a difficult one? According to Thomas Basin some said that Louis XI became a leper shortly before his death. On July 8, 1483, he sent ships and troops to seek in 'l'Isle Vert et Pays de Barbarie' for things important to his health and well-being, and Eustache de la Fosse, who returned from Guinea in 1480, had made the statement that the blood of the turtles in the Cape Verde Islands would cure leprosy (see Ch. de la Roncière, *La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1924, 1925), II, 29–31). Can it be that Symon de Phares hoped to find some marvelous life-giving herb that might restore the king to health, or gave this as an excuse for not entering the royal service? He does not say so.

The value of Wickersheimer's edition of Symon's text is increased by occasional footnotes suggesting Symon's sources, and by a full index of names. So far as can be judged without a comparison with the manuscript itself, the editing of the text seems to have been carefully and accurately executed; nor are slips in proofreading apparent — except possibly *conjuction* at p. 194. May the publication of such serviceable texts and sources in the history of later mediaeval thought, science, and superstition be multiplied!

Lynn Thorndike,
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ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

S. O. Andrew, transl., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. A Modern Version of the XIV Century Alliterative Poem in the Original Metre*, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvi + 105. $1.40.

K. Asakawa, ed. and transl., *The Documents of Iriki Illustrative of the Development of Feudal Institutions in Japan* (Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and edited Texts, Vol. x), New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvi + 442 + 72 (Japanese Texts). $7.50.

J. M. Bissen, *L'Exemplarisme Divin selon St Bonaventure* (Etudes de Philosophie Médiévale, Vol. IX), Paris: J. Brin, 1929. Paper. Pp. 304. Fcs. 35.

J.-Fr. Bonnefoy, *Le Saint-Esprit et ses Dons selon Saint Bonaventure* (Etudes de Philosophie Médiévale, Vol. x), Paris: J. Vrin, 1929. Paper. Pp. 240. Fcs. 30.

N. Cartojan, *Cărtile Populare în Literatura Românească*. Vol. I, *Epoca Influentei Sud-Slave*, Bucharest: Editura Casei Şcoalelor, 1929. Paper. Pp. viii + 271 + 15 Plates. Lei 180.

Kuno Francke, *Handbook of the Germanic Museum* [*of Harvard University*], 7th rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929. Paper. Pp. x + 62. $0.50.

J. B. Fuller, ed., *Hilari Versus et Ludi edited from the Paris Manuscript*, New York: Henry Holt, 1929. Cloth. Pp. v + 122 + 1 Plate. $2.00.

R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies, being some Essays in Research in Medieval History*, London: Soc. for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xiii + 463.

J. P. Heironimus, J. C. Russell, *Two Types of Thirteenth Century Grammatical Poems* (Colorado College Publications, General Ser., 158), Colorado Springs, Col., 1929. Pp. 27. Paper.

E. J. Holmyard, ed., *The Works of Gerber, Englished by Richard Russel*, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xl + 264. $2.00.

B. I. Jarcho, ed., F. G. de la Barte, transl., *Песнь о Роланде* [*Chanson de Roland*, with introductory essay and commentary] (Русские и Мировые Классики). Moscow, 1929. Paper. Pp. 200. 1 R.

Helen E. Manning, *La Vie de Saint Thibaut: an Old French Poem of the Thirteenth Century*. New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1929. Pp. viii + 134. $1.25,

R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Tomo I, Madrid: Editorial Plutarco, 1929. Pes. 25.

Kr. Nyrop, *Etudes de Grammaire Française* (**29–*33*) (Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selsk.. Histor.-Filol. Meddelelser, XVI, 2), Copenhagen: Luno, 1929. Paper. Pp. 60. Kr. 1.00,

M. A. Palacios, trans., *El Justo Medio de la Creencia: Compendio de Teologia Dogmatica de Algazel*, Madrid: E. Maestre, 1929. Pp. xv + 555.

E. F. Shannon, *Chaucer and the Roman Poets* (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Vol. VII). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xxii + 401. $4.00.

P. Taylor, *The Latinity of the* Liber Historiae Francorum: *a Phonological, Morphological, and Syntactical Study*, New York: Carranza and Co., 1924. Paper. Pp. 144.

B. L. Ullman, ed., *Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri XVIII* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. VI), Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1928. Pp. lii + 520 + 5 Plates. Cloth.

NOTICES

I

In consequence of a fire which on June 3, 1929, destroyed the printing plant where the *Bulletin* was being published, *Bulletin* No. 7 of *Progress of Mediaeval Studies in the United States of America* will not appear until September, 1929.

Through the foresight of the Editor of the *Bulletin* in preserving for his own use a complete duplicate corrected page-proof, no delay will be entailed beyond the interval necessary for the recomposition of the *Bulletin*.

II

The Edward Kennard Rand Prize in Mediaeval Studies of $200 will be awarded for 1929 at the Annual Meeting of the Corporation in April, 1930, for an essay of high distinction on a subject connected with Mediaeval Latin Literature or Mediaeval Philosophy. Essays submitted may be written in English, French, German, Italian, Latin, or any other language accepted by the Executive Committee of the Academy. Such essays must be submitted to the Executive Secretary on or before the first day of January, 1930. The competition is open to everyone except officers of the Academy. Only unpublished essays may be entered. Copies of the rules governing the award may be obtained from the Executive Secretary of the Academy.

CORRIGENDA

Speculum IV (April, 1929):

p. 177, line 1: for *982* read *978*.
179, line 4: for *Czechish* read *Greek*.
181, note (5), line 1: read *vol. XI*, 161.
185, last line of first paragraph: for *August 27* read *July 29*.
188, note (3), next to last line: for *Yaropolk* read *Yaroslav*.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

LITERATURE AND LEARNING IN THE ENGLISH CIVIL SERVICE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY[1]

BY THOMAS FREDERICK TOUT

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA aims at bringing into a common organisation all scholars devoting themselves to the study of some aspect of the Middle Ages. It is, therefore, a society of specialists, for to the outsider mediaeval study is in itself a specialised field. Yet all of us who seek to make a permanent contribution to knowledge cannot hope to attain our purpose, if we take the whole of mediaeval life as our province. The outlook is too vast, the ground to be covered indeed enormous. We are, therefore, compelled to further specialisation within our special subject. And the more deeply we delve into our own particular patch of knowledge, the more completely we become engulfed in it and, therefore, indifferent to the labors of workers in adjacent fields. In the long run each specialist tends to erect round himself a thick hedge of incuriousness that blocks his fellow workers out of vision. It is useless to complain of such a process. It is the condition precedent to the advance of science. Yet it is an evil thing for all that, for knowledge is not really split up into water-tight compartments. We can properly appreciate our own particular work only if we bring it into relation with the work of those who are dealing with closely allied studies. To establish easily such relations, the workers on adjoining fields must meet together, compare notes, put into plain language the general results of their investigations, and set up, so to say, a clearing-

[1] An address delivered at the Third Annual Meeting of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA in Boston, April 29, 1928.

house, where ideas can be exchanged and different points of view presented. Thus only can we attain such a general synthesis as will make our knowledge complete.

I may perhaps be permitted to make my own case a personal illustration of this twofold process. I have been engaged for more years than I care to remember in investigating the administrative machinery of the mediaeval English state. To understand that machine properly one has to learn something about the men engaged in working that machine. Gradually one comes to the conclusion that, before the beginning of the fourteenth century, perhaps even earlier, the government of England was largely in the hands of a body something like the permanent civil service of the modern state. This civil service was in its origin a branch of the household service of the king. As government became more complex, there arose, in fact if not in name, a differentiation between the servant of the crown, who worked in the ever-itinerating household of his master, and the servant of the state, who became gradually established in some permanent government office, located for the most part in London or Westminster. This civil service was, like the civil service of the modern British state, permanent in character and 'non-political' in the sense that it went on with its work with little regard to changes of monarch or changes of ministers. Its members were professional men who made their career and earned their living in the service of the state and went on with their work until death, promotion, pension, or dismissal brought their official careers to an end. They were thus essentially like our modern civil servants, but yet in some ways they were extraordinarily different. One great point of contrast is that to most of them the service of the state was not their exclusive profession. They were to a large extent clerks, that is actual or potential ecclesiastics, capable of ordination to minor or holy orders, and often were ordained priests or deacons. They were, therefore, competent to receive ecclesiastical preferment as the reward for their political services. As a result, a large number of smaller benefices and prebends in the church fell to them. Moreover, as the modern distinction between the permanent servants of the state and 'political' ministers of the state had not yet arisen, the

promoted civil servant might well become a minister of state, a chancellor, or a treasurer, as well as a bishop or an archbishop. To follow their careers to the end, the administrative historian must go to the ecclesiastical historian. If this is easy in the case of the shining lights who became ministers or bishops, it is difficult when we come to the lesser personages who had their reward in livings, prebends, deaneries, or other less conspicuous posts. And even when we have painfully compiled a list of their preferments, and perhaps added to this some account of their property and estates, such as official records often supply, we are still quite unable to picture to ourselves what manner of men they were, what were their ideals, their ambitions, their characters, their personalities, their education, their habits, and their amusements. This difficulty is enhanced in the course of the fourteenth, and still more during the fifteenth, century, when the lay civil servant came increasingly to the fore, gradually making his way into posts hitherto regarded as the exclusive preserve of the clerk, so that the word clerk began to connote not ecclesiastic so much as writer. For the career of the lay officer, we can get no help from the abundant records of the church, though, if his promotion be political, we may perchance know the names of his offices and the dates of his appointments from the records of the state. Failing this, we are hardly able to catalogue the dry bones of his career, as we can with the clerical official.

I must, however, pull myself up. To make alive the career of the mediaeval official would require a book and not a lecture, and, moreover, would need gifts of imagination and presentation that seldom fall to the lot of the poor scholar. To-day I want to take only one single aspect of this large subject by suggesting one way in which the administrative historian needs the coöperation of the academic historian and of the literary historian, almost as much as he needs the help of the historian of the church. The former may in some cases tell him how the mediaeval civil servant was educated and what his relations were to educational foundations. The latter will occasionally help him to realise what manner of man he was by the books which he wrote. Both will illustrate my theme of the relations of the mediaeval civil service to literature. To save overcrowding the canvas,

I shall draw most of my illustrations from the fourteenth century, not only because it is the period that I have most in my mind, but because it gives us the best evidence of the activities with which I am concerned.

My chief thesis to-day is that an appreciable proportion of fourteenth-century English literature came from the civil servants of the state. By English literature I mean books written by Englishmen, in whatever tongue they were written, it being understood that most books made in England were then written in Latin, some in French, and some in English. To write good books in any tongue involves a good education, and I may perhaps begin with a few words about the education of the civil servant of the Middle Ages. That he was a fairly well educated man is clear from his works. He had, for example, to have a reading and writing knowledge of three languages. Assuming English to be his mother tongue (an assumption not always warranted in the fourteenth century), his official vernacular was certainly French until the very end of the period, and his official communications, so far as they were formal, were generally made in Latin, though again, as the century grew older, the official language became to an increasing extent French. To this we must add a wide acquaintance with official forms and precedents, the traditions of his office, the corresponding formalities and traditions of foreign courts and offices, skill in the art of *dictamen* or literary composition and form, and a good knowledge of law, municipal, civil, and ecclesiastical. How was all this knowledge obtained? Mainly, I feel convinced, by apprenticeship under a master, the method in which all knowledge was acquired in the Middle Ages. The junior official copied forms under direction, until he was skillful enough to write them on his own responsibility. Ultimately he became in his turn, the master, that is, the instructor and director, of his juniors. The clerk may also have gone to a university, but a university training and degree were, I am convinced, the exception rather than the rule. That can be proved by the rarity with which the individual official is designated by the coveted title of 'master,' which, like its equivalents 'doctor' or 'professor,' then denoted the attainment of a full university degree in any recognised faculty.

The Chancery, whose sphere took in all administration and the higher secretarial work, was the most learned of the government offices, and we know that occasionally a graduate of distinction was brought in from the outside and given from the beginning a conspicuous post. But it is an illusion to think that 'masters of chancery'—a rare term before the end of the fourteenth century—were so called because they were commonly masters of arts or doctors of laws. They were so called because they had the privilege of acting as masters of the junior clerks who served under them and whom they introduced into official life. Moreover, the members of a north European university were, in the Middle Ages, clerks by the fact of their studentship, and there was, therefore, no place in the university for the lay element, which was now becoming increasingly prominent in the civil service. Of course, a university-trained clerk could easily renounce his clergy for a lay career, culminating perhaps in knighthood. Doutbless there were other places than the university where a lay aspirant to the civil service might receive an education. Perhaps already, as certainly in the fifteenth century, he might frequent the London law schools which, I imagine, owed their very existence to the fact that the university had no place for the lay student or for the student of common law. I feel fairly convinced that the normal school of the civil servant was a sort of apprenticeship, either in the royal household or in some government office under a senior officer. We have instances of civil servants using the standard manuals of *dictamen*, or the art of literary composition, and themselves compiling treatises on the common forms of documents for the use of themselves or their office. I shall return to this question later when dealing with the concrete problem of the education of that eminent lay civil servant, Geoffrey Chaucer.

However this may be, it is clear from his works that the mediaeval civil servant had somehow the opportunity of a good education. Like most mediaeval education, its tendency was technical rather than humanistic. Its object was not to widen the mind, but to give a man the tools of his trade. Subject to these limitations, the mediaeval civil servant had the training which enabled him, on occasion, to befriend literature and science and, in some cases, to make per-

sonal contributions to them. This was in the very dawn of our civil service and remains true of the present day, despite the increasing call of the exacting modern state on the services of its members.

Professor Haskins has suggested, even as regards the twelfth century, that literature, though never a department of government, has its importance to those who, like myself, are concerned with administrative history. 'It is,' he says, 'at least a phase of the larger life of the mediaeval court and thus not without its contacts with actual administration.' To see what these contacts were in the twelfth century, when administrative history as a serious study begins, I need only refer to Stubbs' two lectures on 'Learning and Literature at the Court of Henry II' and to the admirable supplement in Dr Haskins' paper on 'Henry II as a Patron of Literature,' which he contributed not long ago to a volume in which I take a particular interest.[1] It is enough to note that among the men who practised the literary craft at that great king's court, were Richard FitzNeal, the exchequer magnate, who wrote the *Dialogus de Scaccario* and I know not what beside; the mighty justiciar, Ranulf Glanville with his famous law book; and that humbler 'clerk of chancery' (if we may anticipate a later phrase) who wrote one of the lives of the great chancellor who became St Thomas of Canterbury. If the literary stream flowed less copiously from the court during the thirteenth century, it revived after the death of Edward I. It is with this revival that we have chiefly to do.

The civil servants of the fourteenth century with direct literary interests may be divided into three classes. Firstly, there were, conspicuously and clearly, men of the academic type who had, before their entrance into state service, studied and taught at a university. There were, secondly, the men who, without being themselves profound scholars, posed as patrons of learning, friends of learned men, collectors of libraries, benefactors of universities, or pious founders of academic colleges. Thirdly, there were (most important of all) the men who themselves made solid contributions to literature. Each class shades into the other, and the line between them is hard

[1] *Essays in Mediaeval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester University Press, 1925).

to draw, just as it was difficult in those days to make our modern distinction between civil servant and political minister, since, as in modern imperial Germany, the minister was often the promoted civil servant, and the modern differentiation of professions had hardly begun. There is, moreover, the trouble that always besets the mediaevalist when he finds that very different things are being done at the same time by a person with a given name. He is always in doubt whether these things are all the work of the same man or whether they suggest two different persons with precisely the same name, and how, assuming the second possibility to be true, he can divide the acts done between these hypothetically separate individuals. Perhaps we shall clear up the ground best if we begin with these doubtful identifications. This we can do the more rapidly since, with one possible exception, they concern personalities of no great importance.

This possible exception is that of John Wycliffe. We all know that 'John Wycliffe' appears in the later part of Edward III's reign, doing so many different things that many have been led to insist on there being two John Wycliffes and some have gone so far as to believe that only the hypothesis of three John Wycliffes will explain all the facts. This is a problem on which I have no views, but it is one irrelevant to our present purpose, for the great John Wycliffe, who is undoubtedly the only Wycliffe who was at any time in the service of the state, cannot be regarded as, in modern speech, a member of the permanent civil service, though he was so frequently employed by the crown on special missions that he called himself 'specialis regis clericus.' We may, however, dismiss him and go on to the less distinguished persons more regularly in the royal service, whose identity is doubtful. They are all too obscure to make it worth while to tarry long over them, but they are numerous enough to make their cases worth consideration.

First among them comes Roger Waltham, king's clerk, who was keeper of Edward II's wardrobe in 1322 and 1323. As the head of the wardrobe was nearly always a promoted wardrobe clerk, he was likely to have been a permanent officer of the household. About the same time, there flourished a scholastic philosopher named Roger

Waltham, who wrote a *Compendium Moralis Philosophiae*, which survives in several manuscripts, though it has, I believe, never been printed. It has had some reputation at different times and has been used by Sir John Fortescue in the fifteenth century and by Dr Charles Plummer and Mr C. L. Kingsford in our own days. It is not a treatise on moral philosophy, but a series of disquisitions on the duties of princes, enforced by historical examples. Mr Kingsford, who was an excellent scholar, wrote Roger's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and accepted the identification of the author with the keeper of the king's wardrobe. Dr Plummer, another excellent scholar, is more doubtful. The probability is that we have no means for coming to a positive decision, but I regret that in my brief reference to Waltham in my *Administrative History*, I did not mention the possibility of his having been an author.

It is a far cry from Roger Waltham at one end of the century to Roger Walden at the other. Roger Walden's career, both in the public service and in the church, is perfectly well known. Under Richard II he was in turn treasurer of Calais, king's secretary, and treasurer for the exchequer. His devotion to Richard II and prerogative elevated him, in 1397, to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and he was so well liked and so pliant that, though forced out of the primacy on the restoration of the deposed Archbishop Arundel by Henry IV, he was soon made bishop of London and died in peace and prosperity. The good will of Arundel to his supplanter discounts the statement of Lancastrian partisan chroniclers that he was illiterate and insufficient. But I am pretty sure that we cannot sustain as proof of his literacy the attribution to him of an unpublished chronicle, still lurking in two manuscripts in the British Museum. 'This chronicle is,' says my old colleague, Professor Tait, 'a manuscript collection of chronological tables of patriarchs, popes, kings and emperors, misleadingly entitled *Historia Mundi*.' A note at the beginning of the copy in a Cotton manuscript ascribes this jejune performance to Roger Walden. The late Mr. Wylie was prepared to accept this and suggested that the period between Walden's removal from Canterbury and his establishment at London, gave him the time to compose what he wrongly called a *General History*. Un-

luckily, the attribution has no weight, for it is written in a sixteenth-century hand, while the Cotton manuscript itself goes back to the early thirteenth century, a fact fatal to the assignation of its authorship by a man who lived into the fifteenth century! Moreover, the other manuscript of the same document has a similar note ascribing its authorship to our friend Roger Waltham, who lived almost two generations earlier! Nothing can be made of 'evidence' such as this.

It is the same with another wardrobe clerk, William Pakington, who spent a long life in the public service, being for many years general receiver to Edward, the Black Prince, and, after his death, to his widow, Joan of Kent. Their son, Richard II, took Pakington into his own service, and he acted from 1377 to 1396 as keeper of the king's wardrobe. Of him Leland in the sixteenth century said that he wrote a French chronicle, ranging from the ninth year of King John to his own time, and dedicated it to the Black Prince. In his *Collectanea* Leland translated some passages of what he said was a French epitome of this book. There the matter rested until in 1904 Dr Brie, the German editor of the English *Brut Chronicle*, claimed that he had discovered this epitome,[1] and explained, rather pompously, his 'Recovery of an Anglo-Norman Chronicle' in a short pamphlet, in which he maintained that this was an abstract of the Chronicle which Leland had assigned to Pakington. Dr Brie held forth prospects of a fuller statement of his position in an elaborate introduction which he contemplated to his edition of the English *Brut*. This introduction, so far as I know, has never been published. But on the evidence before us, it may be said categorically that both Leland and Dr Brie are wrong. I have examined the Cotton manuscript in question and find nothing in it that associates Pakington with the work. I find that even Leland's description is very inexact. It begins, not in the ninth year of the reign of King John, but with Harthacnut in the middle of the eleventh century. It becomes very fragmentary after 1333, and its last entry is in 1346, when the Black Prince was a boy, and long before a man who lived till 1390 was likely to have entered into his service. Indeed I cannot prove that Pakington served the Black Prince before 1364. We may, therefore,

[1] In *MS. Cotton Tib. A. VI*, 455–470.

dismiss the literary claims of Pakington as decisively as we have dismissed those of Roger Walden.

From civil servants whose literary credentials are unfounded we pass to those whose pretensions are doubtful though plausible. At the head of these I would place Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham, the reputed author of one of the most human and attractive of mediaeval literary efforts, the *Philobiblon*. Bury's claims to be a civil servant cannot be gainsaid. He is a typical professional servant of the crown who, in the course of a long career, worked his way up from humble beginnings to the highest posts in church and state. He was from his earliest years in the service of Edward of Windsor, when the future Edward III, a mere boy in years, was still only earl of Chester. Beginning as clerk of the justice of Chester, he rose to be chamberlain of Chester, the chief clerical officer of the palatinate, who not only managed its finances as a chamberlain naturally would, but was keeper of the Chester seal, and therefore the head of its chancery, or department of general administration. He was taken from Cheshire to southwestern France when his master became duke of Guienne and, as constable of Bordeaux, did the same sort of mixed financial and administrative work which he had performed when chamberlain of Chester. This duty kept him away from England during the troubles which led to Edward II's deposition. But he came back with his master in 1326, and his public advance was thereafter ensured. As wardrobe clerk, ultimately cofferer and treasurer of the wardrobe, and as keeper of the privy seal, he went through every stage of household service and finally attained the great political posts of treasurer and chancellor, while in the church he rose to the great palatine bishopric of Durham. Bury held every office imaginable in turn, except perhaps that of tutor to Edward III, which was assigned to him by the tradition of the next generation, though in reality this tutorship was held by an obscure successor of his as chamberlain of Chester, named John Paynel, parson of Rostherne.

Bury has his real place in literary history as an indefatigable book-hunter, the collector of a library which was bequeathed to an Oxford college belonging to the monks of his cathedral at Durham. His most famous literary act was that he was the cause of the composi-

tion of the most attractive of mediaeval treatises on the love of books. But I do not believe that Richard himself wrote the *Philobiblon*, though personal vanity made him willing to accept the credit of it. He was a professional administrator and not more highly educated than the mass of household clerks. Adam Murimuth, the chronicler, speaks with contempt of his illiteracy and his foolish wish to be thought a 'great clerk.' This is, however, a rather prejudiced judgment, for, if Richard were not learned, he certainly wished to learn and was keenly interested in books and in all things academic. His assiduity in book-collecting, perhaps even book-stealing, — for then, as now, it was hard to separate the two hobbies, — is well attested by some famous passages in the *Philobiblon*, which, if not his, doubtless contains his sentiments. Moreover, it is brought home by the concrete fact of his library and the assignment of it by him to public use. His interest in matters academic is indicated by the frequency with which he went to Cambridge to examine the scholars of the King's Hall, a society set up by Edward II, where boy choristers of the King's Chapel, after their voices had broken, might be trained up to serve in the clerical offices of state. It is even more strikingly demonstrated by the fact that, when of mature years and after a long official career, he obtained an indult for three years non-residence on his benefices to allow him to pursue his studies at a university. Luckily or otherwise, Richard's elevation to the see of Durham cut short his academic ambitions. One new indication of his anxiety to pose as a scholar may, I venture to suggest, have made its mark in the English public records. I notice that in records he is often officially described as 'dominus' and sometimes as 'magister.' Now *magister* — master — was a title which involved a full degree in some university faculty, while *dominus* — foolishly Englished by moderns as 'sir,' which normally meant a knight — was the common title given to such clerks as had not the definite status of a master. Once, at least, I observed that 'magister Ricardus de Bury' had been struck out and 'dominus' substituted, as if some pedantic purist had erased the misleading title and reduced Richard to his proper level. On the other hand, his kinsman, Simon de Bury, is always called 'magister.' But he clearly had a right to that designation.

Richard of Bury's patronage of learning in no wise stands alone. Predecessors in such work may be well represented by Walter Merton, the household clerk of Henry III, whom the jealous king continued to regard as a member of his household even when he became chancellor of England, the more so since in the late thirteenth century the distinction, emphasised by Bury, between the offices of the court and the great offices of state had not yet been drawn. As the founder of the first college on a large scale at Oxford, Merton has a place of his own in academic, if not in literary, history. Similarly the natural successor of Bury in the patronage of academic learning was William of Wykeham. A link between Merton and Bury was Walter Stapeldon, the famous reforming treasurer of Edward II and founder of Exeter College, Oxford, though Stapeldon, a professional civil lawyer, was perhaps never what we should call a civil servant. A more natural successor to Bury was William of Wykeham, both in his career as a servant of the state and in the noble benefactions which set up a new and magnificent type of the endowment of study and learning in the twin foundations of the School of St Mary's at Winchester and its correlative, the new College of St Mary's, at Oxford.

Like Bury, Wykeham was in the strictest sense a civil servant by profession, working his way up from humble beginnings to confidential posts in the royal household and then rising to the keepership of the privy seal and finally to the great offices of state and the bishopric of Winchester. Like Bury, Wykeham was primarily an administrator, and his unblushing pluralism supplied him with the resources of which he made good use in his two foundations as well as in his virtual rebuilding of his cathedral. He was anticipated in the latter task by his predecessor, Bishop Edington, also a politician and prelate who had worked his way through the household and wardrobe to the treasury and chancery. Unlike Bury, Wykeham made no claim to literature, and it was reserved to the moderns to proclaim him a great architect without any reason at all, except his skill in directing the craftsmen who designed the king's works and his bounty in erecting buildings at Winchester and Oxford. A chronicler well puts his position in the phrase that he compensated for his lack of letters by his wonderful liberality.

Even more interesting than great prelates such as Bury and Wykeham were civil service patrons of learning of humbler status, who were able and willing to devote their modest means to founding colleges and schools with a liberality that stood in closer relation to their total means than the moneys lavished on their foundations by men like Stapeldon or Wykeham. Such was Adam de Brome, clerk of the king's chancery, who, towards the close of his long career as a civil servant, founded the College of St Mary at Oxford, which was later called Oriel College, whose sixth centenary was celebrated only a year or two ago. Another man of the same type was Harvey of Staunton, chancellor of the exchequer and, therefore, in those days a civil servant, who founded Michaelhouse at Cambridge about the same time. These are only instances, not an exhaustive list, but I will call attention to one foundation which, though never carried out, deserves due recognition. This is the proposed foundation of John Winwick, the son of a country gentleman from Huyton, near Liverpool, who was for many years a clerk of the privy seal and rose to be its keeper during the critical years between Poitiers and Brétigni. He was one of the strongest and most influential ministers of his time and was amply rewarded by prebends and livings, though cut off by death from higher promotion. By his will he set apart estates for establishing at Oxford a college of scholars to study civil and common law, 'desiring to enrich the English church with men of letters.' The foundation never materialised, apparently through the greediness of his heirs.

There are other ways of being a benefactor to learning besides the foundation of colleges, and I think fourteenth-century Oxford would have put high on its list of benefactors Robert Stratford, an Oxford doctor and a prominent chancery clerk, who rose, under his brother John's protection, to be chancellor of England and a bishop. He is interesting as holding the office of chancellor of Oxford, when a non-resident and a prelate, being the first of the magnate university chancellors who were soon to supersede the resident working chancellors of earlier days. Robert Stratford used his great position in church and state to crush remorselessly the 'adulterine,' or unrecognised, University of Stamford, which a group of seceders from the

older university were striving to set up. Perhaps a broader vision would have encouraged, rather than repressed, the multiplication of university centres: but the work of the pious founders tended in the same direction as that of Robert Stratford, since the immense increase of endowments of corporations within the corporate university undoubtedly increased the stability of each existing *studium* and made successful rivalry to it more difficult.

Already by the fourteenth century the Oxford element in the public service was strong enough to make itself felt. Cambridge doctors were also beginning to come to the front. It was a sign of the increasing tendency of universities to nationalise themselves that the Continental, generally the Paris, doctor becomes almost a negligible quantity. The two tendencies converge in St Thomas of Cantiloupe, whom Simon de Montfort took in 1265 from the chancellorship of Oxford to be chancellor of England. After Montfort's fall, Thomas retired to Paris, where he taught theology, and came back to England to be again chancellor of Oxford and finally bishop of Hereford. There is little evidence of St Thomas' contribution to scholastic or theological literature.

Equally lacking in output were most of the other eminent doctors who, in later times, became administrators or ministers of state. John Stratford, later archbishop of Canterbury, was an Oxford doctor of laws, and long employed in the king's service before his threefold tenure of the chancellorship enabled him to pack the office with his kinsmen. But he never wrote much himself, save that in his controversy with Edward III in 1340–1341 he formulated the Lancastrian theory of baronial control of the crown, and thus made some contribution to political ideas. A more distinguished academic personage was Thomas Bradwardine, the *doctor profundus*, the writer of the greatest Augustinian theological work of his century, and also a king's clerk, accompanying Edward on his campaigns and promoted, just before his death, to the archbishopric of Canterbury. If, as is likely, Bradwardine's introduction to the king's service came from worldlings, like Bury and John Stratford, links between the practical academic leader and the deep scholar are brought home to us.

Of other persons of high academic standing, though not of learned output, who were distinguished in the king's service, I may mention instances. Among them were John Thoresby, doctor of laws, chancery clerk, chancellor, and archbishop of York; Walter Skirlaw, doctor of laws, clerk of chancery, and bishop of Durham; and John Ronhale, doctor of laws, worthy of special notice because he went from the mastership of the King's Hall at Cambridge to serve the king as notary of chancery, thus fulfilling for once the special function of that foundation. Ronhale is the most conspicuous instance of a Cambridge master in Edward III's service. It is indeed sometimes said that Robert Thorp, a common lawyer by profession, was in earlier life master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and based his attitude as chancellor on his loyalty to the house of Pembroke, which had founded the college of which he was once head. However, the identity of names is not enough, especially in the case of so common a name as his. Robert Thorp, the chancellor, had long been a practising lawyer. It is conceivable that he might, like other successful common lawyers, have renounced his clergy for the bar and knighthood. Yet by the end of Edward III's reign, when the common law had become substantially a lay profession, some more positive proof is needed before we can accept so improbable an identification.

I must not dwell longer on the academic personage in politics. Still less must I stress the relation to our subject of the many men of letters who were attached for a time to the courts of Edward III, his queen, his sons, and his grandson, though in the aggregate they suggest a literary atmosphere, more literary in the narrow sense than that of the shrewd worldlings and saintly recluses who fluctuated between the service of the university and the service of the crown. Yet in days when service in the household was hardly yet differentiated from the service of the state, a plausible claim might be made for their inclusion. Such were John Froissart of Valenciennes, poet, clerk, chronicler, and traveller, attached for some years to the service of his countrywoman, Queen Philippa, and upholding a very English point of view until better pay or prospects lured him away to serve French masters and change his attitude to politics.

In the same category as Froissart we may place the anonymous Chandos Herald, a Hainaulter like Froissart, if we may argue from his language, who chronicled in rhyme the doings of Chandos' master, the Black Prince. The presence of skilled pens about the court made easy the establishment of what we may almost call an effective publicity department, by which knowledge of the king's great doings against the French were duly reported home in despatches that had the same function of interesting and educating public opinion as was thought necessary during our most recent war. The same spirit inspired the incorporation of these despatches in the drum and trumpet history of Robert Avesbury, himself an official of the ecclesiastical courts, and in the lurid patriotism of Geoffrey Baker's *Chronicle*, and of Laurence Minot's war songs. In home affairs we have already had an instance of such appeal to public opinion in the controversy between Edward III and John Stratford, in which the frenzied denunciations of the courtiers who drew up the *libellus famosus* were countered by the dignified utterances of Stratford from his retreat at Canterbury.

These appeals to public opinion came to a head in the opposition to Richard's attempt at autocracy when Thomas Favent, the chaplain of a lord of the opposition, wrote in Latin a strongly partisan account of the acts of the Wonderful Parliament of 1387, so anti-royalist into temper that it was disinterred and translated into English as a weapon to fight the cause of the Long Parliament against Charles I. It was equally conspicuous on the king's side in the falsification of the parliament roll of 1397, worked by chancery clerks in Richard II's interests. Finally, we see its effects in the considerable literature, mainly of French provenance, which sought to stir up European opinion against the Lancastrian usurper by depicting the sufferings and murder of the deposed Richard II. Even such acts as the reconciliation of Richard II with the Londoners in 1392 have their literary commemoration in the person of Richard Maidstone. Long before this the strenuous Sir Peter de la Mare's speakership of the Commons inspired popular songs in honour of the popular hero. The remarkable account of the Good Parliament preserved in the annals of a Yorkshire abbey, and recently published in the *Anonimalle Chron-*

icle by Mr Galbraith, shows that there was a public for the faithful reporting of memorable parliamentary debates. The spread of interest in current affairs from the magnate to the simple squire and citizen had, as one of its results, the increasing attention paid in court circles to publicity. This had some effect in the increasing value of the government agent who could write.

We have still to consider the direct contribution of the fourteenth-century official to literature, and especially to current vernacular literature. Preëminent among these we have now to deal with two personages who were undoubtedly men of letters, and equally undoubtedly civil servants. These were Geoffrey Chaucer and Thomas Hoccleve, respectively representing the lay and clerical branches of that service.

No mere historian can add anything material to the biography of either Chaucer or Hoccleve. All he can hope to do is to harp on the claims of the civil service on its own and perhaps put into focus their professional career, which the literary historian, too often unmindful of fourteenth-century social and political conditions, may sometimes fail to coördinate with their literary activities. Yet their professional record cannot be overstressed; for Chaucer, a *bona fide* layman at every stage of his career, could not have written his poems but for the court favour which gave him and his something approaching a sufficiency to live upon, and even Hoccleve, the clerk, when he cut off all chance of a career by becoming *clericus uxoratus*, had nothing to keep him alive save his modest salary and other occasional state bounties. And to obtain the payment of all of these he had frequent occasion to call upon the aid of his muse. Mediaeval conditions made literature an impossible profession. There could hardly be publication in our sense. There were certainly no direct profits of authorship and no legal copyright, as long as there was no printing or other means of rapidly multiplying copies to meet a commercial demand. Preferment in the church for the clerk, offices in the state for clerk and layman alike, the bounty of kings and magnates in all cases — such were the only means by which the man of letters could earn his living and that by occupations quite foreign to his literary profession. Hence the importance of political service

for the literary aspirant of the later Middle Ages. For it was rarely indeed that literature was cultivated by a man of private means, like John Gower, who seems to have lived on his patrimony and to have written for writing's sake.

Geoffrey Chaucer's literary primacy needs neither statement nor demonstration. My humbler duty to-day is to emphasise his position as a permanent civil servant, a position the more emphatic since it was, after a fashion, hereditary. His father, John Chaucer, a prosperous London wine merchant, was attached to Edward III's household service as deputy butler. So intimate were the ties involved in that office that John Chaucer attended the king in his long sojourns in the Netherlands between 1338 and 1340, his foreign service probably lasting until nearly the period of his famous son's birth. It was easy for a youth, born in the atmosphere of the royal household, to be attached from early years to the service of the court. I am convinced that the excellent education which Geoffrey undoubtedly received was the education which the household of a king, or one of the greater magnates, could give to its junior members. How this education was conducted we know very little, but it clearly combined that familiar knowledge of the Latin tongue, which in the Middle Ages was the essence of literacy, with that broader accomplishment in modern literature whose chief vehicle was still French, the *lingua franca*, so to say, of cultivated lay society in Western Europe. I emphasise the point since this part of the 'Chaucer legend' has not yet been so decisively dissipated as the rest of it has been by the admirable scholars who are collecting, with extraordinary patience, every scrap of evidence from record sources.

This process of investigation is still going on, and a notable example of the sort of picture it enables us to build up can be found in Mr J. M. Manly's *Some New Light on Chaucer*. He throws over most of the derelict planks of the Chaucer legend. He rightly dismisses the conjecture, with which one is still sometimes confronted, that Chaucer might have been educated at Oxford or Cambridge. There is not a scrap of evidence in support of these imaginings, and all our knowledge of fourteenth-century conditions is against them. The university legend fades away when we remember that, north of

the Alps, the mediaeval universities were universities of clerks, and there is the extreme unlikelihood that such a *bona fide* layman as Chaucer was at any time in his career a tonsured clerk. Moreover, we cannot find any time during which a youth, who had been for some years a page in a subordinate royal household, and who took arms in the campaign of 1359, before he was twenty, could have attended the courses of any university. Unluckily, Mr Manly is still inclined to the alternative theory that Chaucer was educated at the Temple. His only positive reason for thinking this is a reference in an Elizabethan writer, which, if only a scrap of contemporary corroboration could be found, would make the theory probable. But no such contemporary evidence exists. Mr Manly makes much of the inadequacy of a training about the court, and considers it far more likely that an exceptional education, such as that of Chaucer, would have been obtained in one of the common law schools of London, the 'Inns of Court,' for such he assumes the Temple had already become. This assumption may well be right, but we have no certain knowledge to support it. Mr Manly goes further and says that a legal training is a natural explanation of Chaucer's career. Both these arguments, I think, are pressed too far. Households, royal and baronial, were the usual training ground for officials, and I see no unlikelihood whatever in their having been responsible for the education of a man like Chaucer. I am certain too that there is nothing in his career which suggests that he was a trained lawyer, and we know that most of his contemporaries, who held similar posts, were not trained lawyers either. The whole theory remains conjectural, therefore, and I think that our absolute lack of knowledge of the early history of the London law schools makes it improbable that it will ever be proved. We must guard against that subtle, but widespread, sin of the historian, namely, the reading back into an earlier age, for which he has no evidence, the testimony of the documents of a later date. It is highly dangerous to assume that Fortescue's famous account of the education of the London law schools, nearly a hundred years later, applied to the reign of Edward III. For Fortescue's own days it suggests just the sort of education Chaucer might well have received, including the study of history on Sundays and saints'

days, when no more serious lectures were available! But even if such schools were in operation in the middle of the fourteenth century, we have no evidence of Chaucer being in any sense a lawyer. On the contrary, his whole early history centres round the households of the king and his sons, and those only.[1]

As a boy, Chaucer was a page in the household of the king's son, Lionel of Antwerp. He was still in Lionel's retinue when he made his first campaign in France in 1359, and was already important enough for the king to contribute towards his ransom when he was taken prisoner in a skirmish near Rethel. Geoffrey was subsequently transferred to the king's household, and to that confidential branch of it called the king's chamber. In 1367, and probably earlier, he was yeoman, or *valettus*, of the king's chamber, and afterwards held the higher rank of esquire of the chamber. Chamber office, originally the personal service of the king's bedroom, still normally involved close attendance at court and intimate relations with the king. It was, however, usual to employ chamber officers on delicate missions at home and abroad. Such incidents of the duty of an esquire of the chamber gave Chaucer his diplomatic experiences in France and Italy, and perhaps, therefore, his personal acquaintance with Italian poets. His marriage with a lady of the court not only strengthened his position, but involved him ultimately in a left-hand connexion with John of Gaunt. Modest pensions and grants from both king and duke of Lancaster rewarded the divided service to two masters which was so usual with the officials of that age.

In 1374 Chaucer was relieved from his constant attendance at court by his appointments as controller of the great and petty customs in the port of London. Henceforth he was settled in a home of his own over Aldgate. He became increasingly prosperous as a

[1] My reason for having, rather unfairly, traversed Mr Manly's argument, since it appears in a book of public lectures which he modestly says is not for specialists, is that it is a theory about which he seems fairly confident. He expounds it so clearly that I do not think I can have mistaken his arguments, in spite of the popular form in which they are cast. This question of Chaucer's education is one where the literary and administrative historians meet on common ground, and it is one on which, therefore, stress must inevitably be laid in this address. I read with delight Mr Manly's invigorating book, which I regard as an excellent illustration of the way our knowledge of Chaucer has been amplified and humanised by the researches of a host of workers into the records of the state. Among these Professor Manly and his colleague, Professor Rickert, occupy places of distinction.

landed proprietor and justice of the peace in Kent, and, though never knighted, he was elected *loco militis* to represent Kent in the memorable parliament of 1386 at which the baronial opposition began their attack upon prerogative government by the impeachment of the chancellor, the earl of Suffolk. I have no doubt that Chaucer's presence in parliament was part of a policy which Edward III and Richard II handed on to later generations. I mean the policy of securing the complacency of the Commons by the infusion of a liberal sprinkling of courtiers and placemen among their ranks. In 1386, however, such precautions were to no purpose. The lords and commons drove Suffolk from office, and it is most unlikely that Chaucer, though he sat, or at least drew pay, for sixty-one days' attendance at that parliament, ever raised a voice on behalf of the unpopular minister. In his *Hous of Fame* (ll. 652–660) he has for once deviated from the impersonal note which characterises nearly all his writings, by describing how, indifferent to distractions, social or political, he divided his life between his work in his office and his literary pursuits at home:

> For whan thy labour doon al is,
> And hast y-maad thy rekeninges,
> In stede of reste and newe thinges,
> Thou gost hoom to thy hous anoon;
> And also domb as any stoon,
> Thou sittest at another boke
> Till fully daswed is thy loke,
> And livest thus as an hermyte,
> Although thyn abstinence is lyte.

Chaucer's prudence did not, however, keep him long in his posts. Before the end of 1386, a fresh storm burst, provoked by the reluctance of the king to carry out the wishes of the parliament which had driven the earl of Suffolk from the chancery. The reforming commissioners appointed by that parliament answered the king's action by greater activity in purging the administration of undesirable elements. It was doubtless the result of their energy that in December Chaucer lost his two posts in the customs and was reduced to such financial straits that he had to give up his house in Aldgate and barter his pension for an advance of cash. Yet his prudential absten-

tion from politics may have lightened his fall, for he never seems to have lost his position, somewhat nominal, I imagine, latterly, in the royal household, and his little pensions from the exchequer and the duchy of Lancaster enabled him to live somehow.

Very different was the fate of a brother man of letters, Thomas Usk, in status a clerk, but engaged mainly in the public service, being in turn secretary to John Northampton, the turbulent mayor of London (whom he betrayed), king's sergeant-at-arms, and undersheriff of Middlesex. He was, therefore, if not quite a civil servant, engaged in official work. He was a literary man, too, being, as Dr Henry Bradley has proved, the author of that *Testament of Love*, which in precritical days was ascribed to Chaucer. Usk, whose repeated treachery to his masters had lost him all his friends, was one of the culprits whom the Merciless Parliament of 1388 condemned to a cruel end. The chronicler expatiates on the piety shown by this victim of the angry estates. As he was dragged to his doom, he recited the penitential psalms, the *Te Deum*, and other incentives to devotion at the hour of death, among them, curiously enough, being the Athanasian Creed. He was strung up on the gallows and cut down immediately, when still conscious. His subsequent beheading was so mishandled by a clumsy executioner that it was only after thirty strokes of the sword that his sufferings were brought to an end. The fate of this poet turned politician may well have convinced his friend Chaucer of the wisdom of holding aloof from politics and ostentatiously proclaiming his indifference to all but the daily official task and the literary pursuits of his leisure hours. There is no civil servant, clerical or lay, depicted in the great gallery of portraits drawn in the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

We must now turn to a later stage of Chaucer's official career. His worst trials were soon over, but for some time it was thought prudent to keep him out of the way. On July 5, 1387, he had letters of protection to go for a year to Calais in the retinue of the captain of the town.[1] However, he was back in England before the end of

[1] This is a new fact due to a discovery of Professor E. Rickert, first revealed in her paper in the *Times Literary Supplement* (September 27, 1928). Though I was of course unaware of it when this address was delivered, it rounds off the statement as to Chaucer's disgrace so well that I have ventured to incorporate it in my narrative.

the year, and, in 1389, the successful assertion by the king of his right to choose his own ministers was soon followed by Chaucer's restoration to place. He was not put back in his old offices, but his appointment in 1389 as clerk of the king's works made him the successor of William of Wykeham in the post which led his predecessor to greatness both in church and state. Chaucer soon took advantage of the not unusual permission to appoint a deputy, but in 1391 he lost his controllership and was again in financial difficulties. Henceforth, he ceased to be a civil servant, for subsequent office, such as the deputy keepership of a forest in Somerset, he owed technically, not to the crown, but to the young earl of March. His other means of support were pensions, which were small under Richard II and became adequate only when the accession of Henry of Lancaster was at once followed by marks of royal favour that enabled the poet to end his life in comfort in a home, under the shadow of the palace, and within the precincts of the great abbey wherein he was buried. Whether Chaucer's troubles in his public career were accentuated, as some of his biographers suggest, by his unbusinesslike ways which made further promotion difficult, it is hard to say. But chequered as was his official record, it had this importance that it gave him the leisure to write what the world will not willingly let die. But we know his public career only in outline and from official documents. The rule of reticence as to his personal affairs and his political attitude, already laid down by him in 1384, was never broken. Yet his position at court had this advantage for his stock that it gave to Thomas Chaucer, whom I cannot but regard as his son, a rich wife and a great estate in Oxfordshire, an almost permanent position as 'knight' of that shire in parliament, and ultimately the speakership of the Commons at the period of their greatest activity under the early Lancastrians. The marriage of Thomas' daughter Alice to William de la Pole, earl and afterwards duke of Suffolk, raised the granddaughter of the poor poet to the highest circle of the nobility, and Alice's son's marriage to Edward IV's sister might have made her grandson heir to the throne, but for the Tudor revolution. Altogether, this is not a bad record for an official whose father was a tradesman in the city of London. And yet people still talk of the Middle Ages as the

time of the domination of an hereditary caste. Even the lay official could find opportunities for his kin, hardly surpassed by the direct avenue to power and position afforded by the church.

In the literary circle of which Chaucer was the chief star, many lesser lights revolved. Some at least among them had administrative affinities of a kind. Among them some have been inclined to place Ralph Strode, common sergeant of the City of London, though he, even more than Thomas Usk, was an officer of the city rather than of the state. But this depends on identifying the scholastic Oxford writer, Wycliffe's opponent, Chaucer's 'philosophic Strode', with this successful lawyer, and fathering him in addition with the authorship of anonymous poems of rare poetic quality. Sir Israel Gollancz has not hesitated to maintain for some thirty years that there was only one Ralph Strode who did all these things. My sympathies go with him, but my intelligence does not allow me to have implicit faith in the identification. All one can say is that if the one Ralph Strode did all these things he was a very remarkable man. But I find it hard to believe that a clerk of established position would leave the university, start a new career as a common lawyer, abandon his clergy for a wife and a family, and find time to write poetry in his leisure. Something more positive than conjuncture is necessary to carry conviction. More relevant to us is that literary dining-club called the 'Court of Good Company,' which included Thomas Hoccleve among its members and was entertained at dinner on May Day, 1410, by Henry Somner, chancellor of the exchequer, still a civil servant at that period, and not the political minister that he has become in these later days. Chaucer was already dead, but we may feel sure that he would not in his lifetime have been lacking at such a feast. Let us now turn to his disciple Hoccleve, for in him alone we can study in detail the literary career of a civil servant of more ordinary calibre.

Chaucer's stages as a civil servant bear but little relation to his literary career. But with Hoccleve we are at last able to go beyond the bare catalogue of appointment to offices and payment of salaries and pensions, which constitute all our knowledge of Chaucer as a public servant. The reason is that in strong contrast to his master's reticence, Hoccleve was the most garrulous, self-centred, and auto-

biographical of poets, ever ready, when his arid muse refused him impersonal inspiration, to write about himself, his office, his work, his pleasures, and, above all, his misfortunes. Though these excursions into autobiography give us rather a low opinion of Hoccleve, we owe him a debt of gratitude for enabling us to visualise the mentality and career of an ordinary civil service clerk of the later Middle Ages. He was, for something like forty years, one of the four clerks of the privy seal, who, under the keeper of the seal, were the chiefs of the secondary secretariat, called the office of the privy seal. He was important enough to have at least one subordinate clerk working under him, and zealous enough to wear out his energy and health on the dreary monotony of endless official correspondence. His lot was the harder since matrimony cut him off from the society of his brother clerks and debarred him from all ecclesiastical preferment. Accordingly, he had to continue at his dull task until old age and ill health compelled him to retire on a small pension, very irregularly paid. He was always lamenting in his verse the hardships and monotony of the life of a professional scribe. Yet he was clearly a keen official, for we can study in the British Museum a large manuscript, written with his own hand, wherein he sets down in businesslike fashion common forms and examples of every kind of writ and bill that emanated from the privy seal office. Thus the administrative historian obtains from this literary source the precious information which enables him to go beyond the common forms of the record and realise the sort of life led by the ordinary official of the later Middle Ages. It is a good illustration of the interdependence of one branch of mediaeval study on another, and a striking vindication of the function of the Mediaeval Academy of America, in bringing together all sorts of mediaevalists into a single society.[1]

[1] An address cannot, in the nature of things, have its statements proved by references. Now that it is published it has not appeared to me to be worth while to 'document' it elaborately. The quotations and works referred to are easily identifiable from the text. Authority for most of the statements of fact which have been made will be found scattered in the footnotes of the four volumes already published of my *Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History*. Reference to them will be made easier when the last of the two final volumes appears, which will include a detailed index to the whole work. I hope that these will not be long delayed.

London, England

THE ORGAN IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

By HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN

THE chroniclers to the contrary,[1] the first organ brought into Western Europe was not the one included among other gifts sent to Pepin, King of the Franks, by messengers from the eastern Emperor, Constantinus Copronymus, in 757. For two centuries at least, the organ had been used in connection with the church service in Gaul;[2] and for six centuries before that, it had been in demand as a solo instrument on feast days and on similar occasions in the Roman Empire.[3] Emperors had improvised on it.[4] It had blared paeans of victory for successful contestants in the games.[5] Wealthy men had eaten their dinners to its noisy accompaniment.[6] Poets

[1] Thus the *Annales Mettenses Priores*, anno 757 (ed. B. Simson, p. 49). Cf. *Annales regni Francorum*, anno 757 (ed. F. Kurze, p. 14); *Annales Laurissenses*, anno 757 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, I, 140); *Annales Sangallenses Maiores* (*ibid.*, 74).

[2] Fortunatus, *Carmina*, ii, 9 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., AA.*, XI, 39) and *Carmina*, iii, 9 (*ibid.*, 60); also his life of St Germain, bishop of Paris, c. 14 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS. Rer. Mer.*, VII, 382); *Vita Sollemnis Episcopi Carnoteni* (*ibid.*, 316, l. 10); *Vita Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis* (*ibid.*, III, 496); *Vita Landeberti Episcopi Traiectensis Vetustissima* (*ibid.*, VI, 379 ff.); *Vita Desiderii Episcopi Viennensis* (*ibid.*, VII, 644). For references to its early use in England, see the *Vita Wilfridi I Episcopi Eboracensis Auctore Stephano* (*ibid.*, VI, 201), and Aldhelm's riddle on the organ in J. H. Pitman, *The Riddles of Aldhelm* (Yale Studies in English, LXVII, 1925), p. 101. Erika von Erhardt-Siebold has commented upon the latter in *Die Lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachsen* (Heidelberg, 1925), pp. 120–131. See also the fourth stanza of the hymn on the martyrdom of Gengulf (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS. Rer. Mer.*, VII, 170).

[3] Petronius, *Satyricon*, c. 36 (ed. F. Bücheler, Berlin, 1904, p. 24); Caius Lucilius, *Aetna*, ll. 292–299 (Siegfried Sudhaus, *Aetna erklärt*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 20–21); Tertullian, *De Anima*, c. 14 (*Opera Omnia* (ed. Franz Oehler, Leipzig, 1853–54), II, 576); St Augustine, *Commentary on Psalm 56* (*Patr. Lat.*, XXXVI, 671) and *Commentary on Psalm 150* (*ibid.*, XXXVII, 1964); Claudian, *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consul* (*Mon. Germ. Hist., AA.*, X, 187, l. 311 ff.); *Epithalamium Laurentii* (*ibid.*, 406).

[4] Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, vi, 41 (Loeb Classical Series, p. 164); *ibid.*, vi, 54 (*ibid.*, p. 182); 'Heliogabalus,' c. 32 (*Historiae Augustae Scriptores* (ed. H. Peter, Leipzig, 1865), I, 225); 'Alexander Severus,' c. 27 (*ibid.*, I, 247); 'Gallienus II,' c. 46 (*Ibid.*, II, 87).

[5] For reproductions of contortionates of Nero's reign on which victors of such contests are represented as standing by hydraulic organs and holding fans or *flabelli*, see C. F. Abdy Williams, *The Story of the Organ* (London, 1903), pp. 4, 5; *ibid.*, Appendix A, p. 207.

[6] Sidonius Apollinaris complimented Theoderic II for the simplicity of his meals, adducing as evidence that 'there was no noise of hydraulic organ, or choir with its conductor intoning a set piece,' which would seem to indicate that such had been the practice. (*Epistolae*, i, n. 2 (*Patr. Lat.*, LVIII, 449).)

mentioned it in their songs.[1] So it is no novelty imported into the west from Byzantium with which we are dealing, but an instrument well known to the musicians of the Roman Empire.

Form of the Early Mediaeval Organ

It must not be imagined that these organs resembled the modern instrument in form or in sound. The nearest modern approximation would be a calliope. Indeed, the first instrument was nothing more than an inverted vase, open at the top, to which a trumpet was attached. When water was pumped into the vase, air was forcibly driven through the trumpet, which gave out a blast of sound. This was the invention of Ctesibus, a barber living in Alexandria in the second century B.C.[2] Such was the principle of the hydraulus, the first actual organ devised. Its inventor was a pupil of Ctesibus, Hero of Alexandria.[3] And such remained the principle of the hydraulus.

The pipes were arranged upright in a row and were held in that position by a cross bar. They stood over a channel of water which, when agitated, forced air out of all the pipes at once. The method of playing was to close all pipes but the one to be sounded, by the palms of the hands. This is the type of organ described by Julian the Apostate in his epigram on the organ. He said:

A strange growth of reeds[4] do I behold. Surely they sprang on a sudden from another brazen field, so wild are they. The winds that wave them are none of ours, but a blast leaps forth from a cavern of bull's hide

[1] Fortunatus, 'De nauigio suo,' *Carmina*, x, 9, l. 53 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., AA.*, xi, 243); Corippus, *In Laudem Iustinii*, iii, l. 72 (*ibid.*, iii, 139), and *Iohannides*, iv, l. 577 (*ibid.*, 51).

[2] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, ix, 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912, pp. 218, 219).

[3] *Pneumatica et Automata*, i, 42 (W. Schmidt, *Herons von Alexandria Druckwerke und Automatentheater* (Leipzig, 1889), i, 193). Hero also devised an organ dependent for power on a small windmill.

[4] It should be explained that this is a play on words. As the Latin *canna* (reed) was also used for 'organ pipe,' regardless of the material used, so here the term means both 'reed' and 'pipe.' It is this fact which has led to misapprehension on the part of translators. Although I have used W. C. Wright's translation for the most part, I have had to take the liberty of changing the last sentence. Wright's sentence read originally: '. . . stands there and handles the keys that pass the word to the pipes; then the keys leap lightly, and press forth the melody.' Here *κανόνας* should be taken in its original meaning, 'rod' or 'pipe,' to give a proper picture.

and beneath the well-bored pipes travels to their roots. And a dignified person, with swift-moving fingers of the hand, stands there and feels the yielding rods of pipes, and they, gently dancing, press out song.[1]

The limitations of such an instrument must have been trying to the performer. Indeed, it is to be wondered that the organ became popular at all. The number of notes possible was few, at the most seven or eight.[2] This meant at once that the instrument was limited in size,[3] and that the variety of tones was not great. Such tones as there were must have been harsh and shrill, totally unlike any tone now associated with the organ. In the first place, the pipes were relatively small in diameter and short, in order that the performer might shut off more or less completely the air in all the pipes but those to be sounded. This meant that the tones produced were of necessity high in pitch. In the second place, the abrupt, forcible escape of air from the pipes precluded any possibility of a mellow, sweet tone. Indeed, the resemblance of this early type of organ to the modern bagpipe, in tonal quality, at least, would be striking. There would be this difference, however: whereas the bagpipe is capable of sounding a sprightly air, this early organ was confined to melodies of a slow, measured rhythm. Variation here would be very awkward of achievement, if not impossible. Yet, if variety of tone and measure were not possible, it must not be thought that performances on the organ were fraught with monotony. Whatever the range of melody or tempo, there was ever present the danger of uneven pressure in the pipes. Now, an organ pipe will rise in pitch from one to two octaves, be the pressure increased ever so slightly. Similarly, if the pressure is decreased, the pitch will fall. The hazards involved in trying to follow a set melody must have introduced an element of adventure into the performance of the simplest scale. It is this fact which makes it almost certain that this organ was used only as a solo instrument, particularly since Greek and Roman music was

[1] *Opera*, iii, 306 (Loeb Classical Library, transl. W. C. Wright).

[2] The hydraulus of Hero had eight pipes, as does the instrument reproduced by Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5.

[3] Athanaeus refers to a small portable organ capable of being transported from place to place: *Deipnosophistae*, iv, 174a (ed. and transl. C. B. Gulick, Loeb Classical Library, *Athanaeus*, II (1928), 290, 291).

largely melodic and not harmonic in form.[1] Where pressure was so uncertain, accompaniment on an hydraulus of the primitive type would have been a hazardous undertaking and extremely disconcerting to the soloist.

In time, changes were made which remedied the more serious faults of this early instrument. The most serious problem, the provision of a keyboard, had been solved as early as the first century A.D. by Vitruvius.[2] This organ was not immediately adopted to the exclusion of the old. As late as the fourth century, Julian the Apostate described an instrument of the more primitive type. However, the new model persisted,[3] and no essential changes were made in its construction until the end of the eleventh century. The mechanism of the organ described by Vitruvius is practically identical with that furnished by Theophilus and Ruger, who wrote in the latter part of the eleventh century.[4] It is true that an attempt was made, probably in the fourth century, to produce a more even pressure in the pipes by abolishing the use of water and by substituting a pair of bellows to furnish air pressure. In this type of organ, one of the pair would act as an air reservoir while the other forced the air through the pipes. Coussemaker reproduces such an organ, represented on an obelisk erected by Theodosius the Great.[5] Grove's *Dictionary of*

[1] César Saerchinger, 'The Music of the Ancient Greeks,' *The Art of Music* (New York: National Society of Music, 1915), I, 97; Guido Alder, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Frankfort-am-Main, 1924), p. 31.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] H. J. Moser describes the finding of a mosaic at Neming bei Sierck on the Mosel which dated from the second century. On it was pictured a hydraulus with twelve pipes: *Geschichte der Deutschen Musik* (Stuttgart: J. B. Cotta, 1926), p. 59. A hydraulus was also discovered in the ruins of Carthage. It was made in A.D. 120 by the potter Possessor, whose name is inscribed on its side. The instrument is now in the Musée Lavigérie at Carthage (F. H. Martens, 'The Organ from the Earliest Times to the Present,' *The Art of Music*, VI, 398).

[4] *Theophili et Rugeri Presbyteri et Monachi libri III, de Diuersis Artibus* (ed. R. Hendry, London, 1847). An English translation of the treatise on organ building is found in G. A. Audsley, *The Art of Organ Building* (London, 1905), I, 23 ff. The page references to the treatise which will follow, will be to this translation.

Of the earlier improvements of the organ we know little. Archimedes seems to have made some (Vitruvius, *op. cit.*, i, 1; Tertullian, *loc. cit.*). Kathleen Schlesinger has shown that the germ of many of the most important parts of the organ had been discovered before the Christian era ('Researches into the Origins of the Organs of the Ancients,' *Sammelbände d. Int. Mus. Ges.*, II (1900–01), 167 ff).

[5] 'Essai sur les Instruments au Moyen Age,' *Annales Archéologiques* (Paris, 1845), II, 277.

Music shows a similar pneumatic organ, now at the Museum of Arles, which dates from the ninth century.[1] So the pneumatic organ seems to have been at least in existence in these early centuries.[2] Yet its existence is not of great importance. The mechanism both of the hydraulus and of the pneumatic organ was essentially the same except for the means adopted for the creation of an even air pressure.

The invention of the keyboard had far-reaching consequences, whether the instrument to which it was attached were hydraulus or pneumatic organ. It made possible the inclusion in the range of the instrument of all the notes then used, and increased the volume of the tone produced from two to three times. Since the change effected was so tremendous, it might not be amiss to describe it. The lower end of each pipe was enclosed in a small, shallow box. The bottom of each box was movable, sliding in grooves cut for the purpose. In this slide, there was a hole corresponding exactly in size to the pipe inserted in the box. When the slide was pushed in, the hole fitted under the lower orifice of the pipe, thus permitting air to be forced into the pipe, which then sounded. In this way, the pipes could be controlled separately. The slide was returned to its place by a spring, on the removal of the finger. In order that the slide might not be drawn out too far, a copper-headed nail was fixed immediately behind the tongue or handle of the slide. Such was the mechanism of the organ from the time of Vitruvius to the last half of the eleventh century.[3]

Now, what did this mean? *Imprimis*, the range of the organ was no longer restricted to the number of pipes which could be covered

[1] 3d ed., H. C. Colles, III, 736.

[2] It is thought that the organ described by St Augustine was of the pneumatic variety since no mention is made of the hydraulic apparatus: 'All musical instruments are called organs. Not only is that instrument called an organ which is large and blown by bellows, but also whatever one is adapted for song . . . is called an organ' (*Patr. Lat.*, XXXVI, 671).

[3] Compare the descriptions of Vitruvius (*loc. cit.*) and of Theophilus and Ruger (see n. 4, p. 393 above). It will be noticed that whereas Vitruvius uses a spring made of bone, Theophilus and Ruger have advanced to a spring made of metal. See also the description of an organ attributed to Bede in the eighth century in the *Interpretatio Psalterii Artis Cantilenae* included among the *Opera Dubia et Spuria* (*Patr. Lat.*, XCIII, 1102C), and the passage in the *Musicae Disciplinae*, cap. 3 of Aurelian of Réomé (Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica, Sacra* (St Blasien, 1784), I, 33, col. 1).

by the palms of the player. In the model of Vitruvius' organ reconstructed by the Rev. F. W. Galpin,[1] there are nineteen pipes, which accommodate the six modes described by *Anonymous*.[2] This is obviously the instrument described by Optatian:

These verses are the form of the instrument on which one can bring forth variegated songs, and whose sounds escape from round, open pipes of brass, and whose length increases regularly. Below the pipes are placed the levers [3] by which the hand of the artist, opening or closing at will the conduits of wind, gives out a well-rhythmed, agreeable melody. Water, placed beneath the pipes and agitated by air pressure, which takes the labor and efforts of several youths, gives the necessary assorted sounds to the music. At the least movement, the levers, opening the pipes, can express

[1] For a description and plates of Galpin's organ, see Williams, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, pp. 210–213, and his *Story of Organ Music* (London, 1905), p. 5, n. 1. The latter reference is to 'An Exhibition of Musical Instruments, Manuscripts, and Printed Books, held in 1904 by the Worshipful Company of Musicians at Fishmongers' Hall,' at which Galpin exhibited and played his instruments.

[2] Fr. Bellermann, ed., *Anonymi Scriptio de Musica* (Berlin, 1841), p. 36. The modes in their diatonic form would be roughly represented by the modern scales with the following signatures:

(*a*) Hyperlydian; (*b*) Hyperiastian; (*c*) Lydian; (*d*) Phrygian; (*e*) Hypolydian; (*f*) Hypophrygian.

[3] The Latin term is *plectra*, which has the literal meaning of a 'short stick with which the strings of a stringed instrument were struck.' Apparently the term *lingua*, later used to designate the sliders, had not yet come into use. *Linguae* remained the technical term to describe the sliders until the end of the eleventh century, when the spring-box mechanism superseded the slider-box.

rapid and vigorous songs, or a calm and simple melody, or yet again, by the power of rhythm and melody, can inspire a religious terror.[1]

In this case it is an hydraulus which is being described. As for the pneumatic organ, there is the description commonly attributed to Bede:

> The organ is built like a tower out of divers pipes from which a very rich voice is produced by a blast from the bellows, and in order that a seemly modulation may order it, it is built with certain wooden tongues (protruding) from the interior which, when the trained fingers of the masters restrain them, produce a sublime, sweet song.[2]

Such an arrangement was a great improvement over the more primitive type of organ. Instead of being confined to seven or eight tones, the entire range then in use was available. To us, two octaves would seem a painfully limited scope with which to deal. But to the ears of the mediaeval man, they sufficed; and many are the references to the delightful music they produced.[3]

The monotony of the early organ music was decreased not only by an increase in the number of notes available, but also by the variation in tempo now possible. No longer was the artist confined to the slow, stately melodies inevitable when only one note at a time was allowed to escape from the set of pipes before him. Optatian tells us of 'rapid and vigorous songs' which are 'well-rhythmed.' This description is of great significance. Disregarding for the moment the great swiftness of execution possible under the new arrangement, the fact that a melody could be 'well-rhythmed' is of momentous importance in the development of organ music. Melodies played on the primitive organ could not have had rhythm as we understand it to-day. Each note must have had a value almost equal to that of every other note. The changes in rhythm which make for variation

[1] *Patr. Lat.*, XIX, 429, 430. See also Cassiodorus i, *Epistola*, no. 45 (*Patr. Lat.*, XLIX, 510A).

[2] *Loc. cit.* See also his *Didascalia Genuina* (*Patr. Lat.*, XC, 140) and the *Musica Practica* among his *Opera Dubia et Spuria* (*ibid.*, 922B).

[3] In this connection, it may be interesting to note that as late as Palestrina (d. 1594), the range of notes for any single voice was limited. Palestrina usually confined himself to an interval of nine notes for any one voice. See for example, his *Adoramus Te* (ed. Gustav Schirmer, no. 6091) or his *Sicut Ceruus* (*ibid.*, no. 3509).

could not have been possible with the organ described by Julian the Apostate. But with the slider-box arrangement, a quick, irregular change could be made from slider to slider, and a well-defined rhythm could be attained. I use the term 'could' advisedly. It must have been no mean task to attain perfection on such an instrument. Each slider resembled its fellows. There were no 'black' keys to orient the player, and the practice of lettering the sliders did not come into use before the eleventh century.[1] Yet once the 'geography'

[1] The organ of Theophilus and Ruger was thus lettered (*op. cit.*, c. 82, p. 25). The use of letters to indicate the notes of the scale is usually attributed to Guido d'Arezzo (see his *De Disciplina artis musicae* in Martin Gerbert's *Scriptores*, II, 4). However, F. Salvador-Daniel, *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab* (ed. H. G. Farmer, London, 1914), p. 49, and after him, H. G. Farmer (*ibid.*, n. 38, p. 241), believe that Guido merely abbreviated the names formerly used, which were the first letters of the Arabic alphabet: *alif*, *ba* or *bim*, *gim*, *dal*, *hé*, *vau*, and *zaïn*. The practice of lettering sliders persisted at least until the fifteenth century. Michael Praetorius reproduces the keys of the Brunswick organ dating from 1456 and so lettered (*Syntagma Musicus*, 1618, reprinted 1884, II, 117).

The claim that the Arabs also introduced the *solfeggio* is of long standing. (For writers adhering to this position, see H. G. Farmer, 'The Arabian Influence on Musical Theory,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, London, 1925, Part I, p. 8, n. 2.) Farmer states, however, that he is unable to trace this material in any of the Arabian musical manuscripts which he has consulted. He says, 'In comparing the names of the Arabic notation with that of the European *solfeggio*, one cannot help being struck with the phonetic likeness. At the same time, the present writer has not seen any other example of the Arabic alphabet used in this sequence for musical notation.' (*ibid.*, 9). He then gives the Arabian form and that attributed to Guido:

Arabian —	Mîm	Fâ	Sâd	Lâm	Sîn	Dôl	Râ
Guidonian—	Mi	Fa	Sol	La	(Si)	Do / Ut	Re

The usual tale is that Guido found those particular syllables by taking the first syllable of each line of a hymn writtten by Paul the Deacon for the festival of St John the Baptist. Thus:

UT queant laxis
REsonare fibris
MIra gestorum
FAmuli tuorum
SOLue polluti
LAbii reatum
Sancte Ioannes

While granting the possibility that such actually was the case, it would seem to me more logical to assume that Guido, in some fashion aware of the solmistic use of those letters of the Arabian alphabet, used Paul's hymn as a memory device, and in so doing, changed Do to Ut. Gerard Vossius mentioned the following distich as having been written shortly after the time of Guido in order to impress the syllables upon the mind of the learner:

'Cur adhibeo tristi numeros cantumque labori?
UT REleuet MIserum FAtum SOLitosque LAbores.'

of the keyboard was mastered, swift execution was possible.[1] So Claudian says: 'Who, with a light touch, produces great sounds, calls forth with a wandering finger the innumerable voices of the brazen field, and through a beam-like lever within, rouses the laboring waters to song.[2]

But not only was range increased, but volume also. By placing more than one pipe on each slider, the sound could be increased in direct proportion to the number of pipes added.[3] How successful these organs were in increasing the volume of sound poured out, we may judge from numerous sources. An Arabian writer, Ikhwân al-Safâ, said that it was a terrible thing to hear, so terrible that the Byzantines used it in time of war to disconcert the enemy.[4] There is also the classic reference of Ammianus Marcellinus, who bears witness to the tendency to build 'bigger and better' hydrauli in the fourth century — an attempt by no means limited to organs, if we may believe that historian.[5] Of interest, also, in this connection, is the letter to one Dardanus, attributed to Jerome.[6] Entitled *De Diversibus Generibus Musicorum*, it contains the description, among other instruments, of an organ reputed to be in Jerusalem. This remarkable instrument had twelve pairs of bellows, fifteen pipes of bronze, a wind reservoir made of two elephant hides, and possessed the faculty of being heard at a distance of a thousand paces — in

(*De Quatuor Artibus Popularibus* (Amsterdam, 1650), cited in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, III, 804.)

Now it seems to me that the hymn of St John the Baptist, like this distich, formed a happy mnemonic device. Why otherwise should Guido have selected that particular hymn or those particular syllables? Although Farmer has found no other reference to such a deliberate use of the Arabian alphabet, until further revelation I prefer to consider the syllables used by Guido as an adaptation of the Arabian, and his use of Paul's hymn a mnemonic device rather than the origin of the European *solfeggio*.

[1] Williams' account of Galpin's performance on his hydraulus substantiates this statement (*The Story of the Organ*, p. 5).

[2] *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consul* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *AA.*, X, 187, l. 311 ff.).

[3] In the organ described by Theophilus and Ruger (p. 393, n. 4 above), two or three pipes were used for each note.

[4] H. G. Farmer, 'Byzantine Musical Instruments in the Ninth Century,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1925), Part II, p. 6. See also his *Two Eastern Organs* (London: Harold Reeves, 1928), p. 28. For combinations of chords on the organs used by the Muslims to obtain divers emotional effects, see *ibid.*, p. 35.

[5] *Rerum Gestarum*, XIV, 6, 18 (ed. Charles Clark, Berlin, 1910, I, 16).

[6] *Patr. Lat.*, XXX, 219.

other words, of being audible at the Mount of Olives when played in Jerusalem. One cannot take such a description too seriously.[1] Its chief importance lies in the fact that it would indicate that large organs were being built in the fourth century and that they possessed a greater value of tone than those constructed prior to the invention of the slider-box organ. However, one must not assume that organs built prior to the fourth century were always small, portable affairs. The evidence we have points to instruments of good size,[2] and we may be specific at least in one instance. Judging from the reproduction of the hydraulus built by Possessor in the second century, which is $7\frac{1}{16}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, it must have been about 10 feet by 4 feet.[3]

The reader may feel that overmuch space has been devoted to description of the organ of the early Christian centuries. But such a procedure seems essential, since the organ of those early centuries remained the organ of the early Middle Ages. It is now clear that the early mediaeval organ was of three types. There was the model which had no keyboard and which must have been used as a solo instrument because its accuracy of tone was highly problematical. This organ was capable of producing music only of a slow, measured, monotonous type, because the performer had at his disposal but seven or eight notes and because the nature of the instrument made the reproduction of a rhythmed melody exceedingly awkward. The notes played were probably of equal value. This type of organ persisted down to the fourth century, being gradually replaced by the

[1] It is amusing to note how seriously this description was taken by the later mediaeval writers. For example, Hrabanus Maurus practically copied the passage verbatim and presented it as a picture of the organ of the Hebrews (*De Uniuerso*, xviii, 4, in *Patr. Lat.*, cxi, 496 D). In addition, he copied the allegorical interpretation placed upon it by Jerome, namely, that the two elephant hides represented the Old and the New Testaments, the twelve bellows the apostles, and the fifteen pipes the patriarchs and the prophets, and elaborated still further upon the theme. This tendency to use elaborate allegorical figures in mediaeval literature should be emphasized; since many writers, following Martin Gerbert (*De Cantu et Musica Sacra a Prima Ecclesiae Aetate usque ad Praesens Tempus* (Saint Blasien, 1774), i, 212), belittle the importance of such a description as Jerome's purely on the ground of its allegorical treatment. In view of the almost universal habit in the Middle Ages of speaking in allegory, such a judgment seems illogical.

[2] See above, p. 390, n. 5; p. 393, n. 5, and 394, n. 1; p. 395, n. 1.

[3] See p. 393, n. 3, above.

other two types. These were alike in their construction except in the method used to provide air pressure. The one, which used a system of water pressure, was called an hydraulus; the other, which depended on two (or more) pairs of bellows, was called a pneumatic organ. On both of these organs, the execution of a rhythmed melody was made possible since the use of sliders permitted the performer to vary the value of the notes played. Varying tempos were used, and the volume of tone produced probably approached that of the modern organ, whose roll is so characteristic that it is difficult for the modern mind to conceive of an organ without the 'organ tone.'

Until the eleventh century there was no variation in tone in the pipes themselves. They were made chiefly of copper,[1] brass,[2] or wood,[3] which was sometimes gilded.[4] But there is no evidence prior to the eleventh century that the various metals were mixed in order to obtain different qualities of tone.[5] We may thus imagine an organ, say from the fourth to the eleventh centuries, as possessing a pure 'organ tone' capable of great crescendos and of delicate diminuendos and also capable of producing music with rhythm and of variable tempo. In short, the early mediaeval organ sounded not unlike those to which our grandfathers were accustomed, if we exclude all tonal qualities but that known as the 'diapason.'

[1] *Vita S. Oswaldi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, xxvii, 66 (AA SS, VII, *saec.* v, 734). See also Theophilus and Ruger, *op. cit.*. c. 82, p. 24.

[2] Cf. the descriptions of Julian the Apostate, p. 391 above, and of Optatian, p. 395 above.

[3] Theophilus and Ruger, c. 82, p. 24.

[4] Aldhelm, *De Laudibus Virginum*, l. 73 (ed. R. Elwald, *Mon. Germ. Hist., AA.* (Berlin, 1919), xv, 356; *ibid.*, in *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXIX, 240 B).

[5] Although Theoderet noted that a change in materials of the pipes produced a change in tonal quality (*De Prouidentia Oratio*, iii, in *Patr. Graec.*, LXXXIII, 590 A), there seems to have been nothing definitely constructed with such a principle in mind until the eleventh century. In the treatise of Theophilus and Ruger, it is indicated that different finishes of the pipes would produce different qualities of tone (c. 82). Also, it was known at that time that a fuller tone could be produced by a wide opening in the pipe, whereas a more delicate sound was produced by a narrower one (*ibid.*). However, I have not been able to discover the use of such a principle prior to this statement of the eleventh century.

The Place of the Organ in Mediaeval Ritual

Now that the general form and tone of the early mediaeval organ have been established as best they may be under the circumstances, let us turn to the uses to which this instrument was put. Of its secular use, something is known. Sidonius Apollinaris mentioned it as a solo instrument at dinners.[1] Corippus indicated it in connection with other instruments,[2] as did the writer of the *Epithalamium Laurentii*,[3] a contemporary of Claudian's, who enumerated it with other instruments employed in a wedding procession. Sedulius Scottus in the ninth century also indicated it as an instrument to be used on joyful occasions.[4] So it seems that in secular uses in the Roman Empire and during the Middle Ages, the organ was employed both as a solo instrument and in connection with other instruments. The greatest use of the organ in secular fêtes seems to have been in Byzantium. In the Western Empire, after the sixth century, references to the organ in civil ceremony are scarce, and there is little to be found outside of definitions, descriptions, vague allusions, and occasionally a reference to its use in connection with the church service. In Byzantium, however, the organ seems to have replaced the orchestra in the great civil ceremonies.[5] Thus, in a fête given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913–959) for the Saracen ambassadors, the opening phrases of each musical composition were sounded by organs of gold and of silver.[6] The organ did not accompany the voices, which performed *a capella*, but played a sort of introduction. Again, according to Thibaut, the ceremonial of the Byzantine emperors contains several mentions of the organ. Apparently the instrument was used in the circus to herald the entrance or exit of the emperor and to do homage to Blues or Greens. This information is quite in accord with what has already been found on the subject. Theodosius apparently had an organ,[7] and the two old organs of

[1] See p. 390, n. 6 above.
[2] See p. 391, n. 1 above.
[3] *Mon. Germ. Hist., AA.*, x, 406.
[4] *Carmina*, ii, no. 28 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., PP.*, iii, 192).
[5] P. Johannès Thibaut, *Revue d'Histoire et de Critique Musicales*, i (1901), no. 4, 174–175.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] See p. 393 above.

Theophilus (*ca.* 829) were remarkable enough to excite comment many years later when Constantine Manasses made mention of them in his *Compendium Chronicon*.[1] Reference has already been made to the many other passages concerning the organ in Roman times.

But what was the position of the organ in the mediaeval church? It is commonly held that the organ was first introduced into the mass by Pope Vitalian in the seventh century. This assertion was first made by Platina in his *De Vita et Moribus Summorum Pontificum Historia*,[2] and was incorporated by Praetorius into his *Syntagma Musicus*.[3] From there the tradition spread into most reputable histories of music, although Coussemaker indicated that he considered such an interpretation of the phrase 'as they wished' (ut quid uolant) dubious and took issue with the reading.[4] The tradition is charming, but unfortunately not authentic. The organ was used in connection with church services as early as the sixth century. And since no distinction was made between the organ and other instruments, it will not be amiss to indicate the status of instruments in general in the church service in the preceding centuries.

It seems fairly clear that in the early church, that is, prior to the fourth century, what service there was, was extremely simple in form and was largely unaccompanied by musical instruments. Clement of Alexandria, writing in the second century, said that only one instrument, the Word of God, was to be used in honoring him.[5] And Justin Martyr said definitely that instruments were excluded from the church, only the simple chant being allowed.[6] At this time, when Christianity was a forbidden religion, and Christians a persecuted sect, there was good reason for keeping the religious assemblies simple and inconspicuous.[7] But in the fourth century the situation

[1] *Patr. Graec.*, CXXVII, 400.

[2] 1530, p. 99: 'But Vitalian being intent upon divine worship, composed an ecclesiastical rule and ordered the singing, joining to the consonance (as they wished) the organ.'

[3] II, 107.

[4] *Ibid.*, 278.

[5] *Paedagogi*, ii, 4 (*Patr. Graec.*, VIII, 442).

[6] *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, § 107 (*Patr. Graec.*, VI, 1354).

[7] There seems to be reason to suppose that even at this early date instruments were used to accompany the prayers. Papadopoulos makes this inference, although he does not say on what sources he bases his judgment (G. Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορικὴ ἐπισκόπησις τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς ἀπο τῶν ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς* (Athens, 1904), p.3).

changed. Christianity became a *religio licita*, and restraint gave way to widespread extravagance.[1] The movement toward decoration and ornamentation did not stop with the interior of the church, but made itself felt in the very service itself.[2] The early Fathers substantiated this statement. It seems to be true that the tendency was to eliminate any type of music which would turn the mind toward worldly thought or make an appeal to the senses. Thus, St Augustine, in discussing the use of psalms in the service, is dismayed to find himself swayed by the music rather than by the thought portrayed, and censures himself severely for having yielded to a sensuous pleasure.[3] But in the time of Athanasius, the group of heretics called Miletians accompanied hymns by a clapping of hands and dance movements,[4] a custom usual in the East. Eusebius speaks of the use of musical instruments, the cithara in particular, as an accompaniment to the psalms.[5] And Chrysostom, in his *Commentary on Psalm 150*, said that the cithara and lyre 'were then tolerated because of their weakness, and because they stirred them up to love and harmony . . . and because by such inducements they were led to a high pitch of zeal.'[6] Thus, certain instruments were used even in the early days of Christianity as an accompaniment for the voices in the singing of psalms and hymns. This practice died out in the Eastern Church, where to this day church-music is unaccompanied by instruments of any form.[7] The organ in particular was used in Byzantium only for purely secular purposes.[8] The practice of using the organ as a part of church-music pertained exclusively to the Western Church.

[1] J. W. Thompson, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* (New York: The Century Company, 1928), p. 69.

[2] Peter Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies* (2d ed., transl. Agnes Orme and E. G. P. Wyatt, London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society (1901) p. 7).

[3] *Confessions*, x, 35.

[4] Theodoret, *Compendium Haereticarum Fabularum*, iv, 7 (*Patr. Graec.*, LXXXIII, 426). See also iv, 11.

[5] *Commentary on Psalm 91* in *Patr. Graec.*, XXIII, 1170 A.

[6] *Patr. Lat.*, LV, 497.

[7] Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3, 10, 11. There seems to be evidence that in the early church, because of certain apostolic precepts, baptism was refused any one who played either the cithara or the lyre (*ibid.*, 11).

[8] Thanks to careful editing, there has been preserved on the manuscript of Julian the Apostate's epigram (see p. 391 above) a most intriguing note which states that the poem was composed during a procession when the young author was leaving the Church of the Holy

We know that in the West the organ eventually became the supreme liturgical instrument, but that prior to the fourth century only the cithara and the lyre were permitted, since their use was supposed not to turn the mind from sacred thoughts. Thus at some period the organ must have been introduced, and the evidence seems to indicate that that period was the eleventh century.

From the sixth century on, there is much evidence to show that the organ was used on ecclesiastical occasions when a chorus of voices formed part of the service. Thus we have it as an accompanying instrument for voices during processions of all types: on feast days,[1] on funeral occasions,[2] as a part of a grand ceremonial, or in a processional to a mass. We are fortunate in possessing graphic descriptions of the latter two examples.

The first is found in the *Vita Landeberti Episcopi Traiectensis Vetustissima*, on the occasion of the interment of a saint.[3] After Bishop Cugubert, accompanied by priests, deacons, and other members of the clergy, had clothed the body in rich vestments and sealed it in a sepulchre, 'then finally, all the people left the town on their knees, the chorus of psalms accompanied by a great crashing of cymbals and by the organ, which gave out a song of most agreeable modulations.'

There are several examples of the use made of the organ in the processional to the mass. One of the most striking is that of Fortunatus.[4] He describes the coming of dawn and the gathering of the men for the coming service. The turbulence of their coming gives

Apostles in Constantinople (see p. 306, n. 1, in the Loeb Classical Library edition). This evidently occurred when Julian was a lad in Constantinople and before his apostasy. It would be interesting could one assume that the epigram was suggested to the young man by the organ within the church just left. Unfortunately the note does not tell us that. And since the tendency of the Eastern Church is against such a use of the organ, I am afraid that we must pass by the reference as a tantalizing but inconclusive bit.

[1] *Vita Sollemnis Episcopi Carnoteni* (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS. Rer. Mer.*, VII, 316); also *Vita S. Oswaldi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, xxvii, 66 (Jean Mabillon, *AA SS*, VII, *saec.* v, p. 734: 'et diebus festis sollium spiramento fortiore pulsati, praedulcem melodiam et clangorem longius resonantem ediderunt'). See also *Cauensis coenibii dedicatio* in *AA SS Boll.*, 4 Mar., VII, 34, 6, and St Bruno, *Carthusianorum Institutor*, pt. 1: Commentary on Psalm 150 (*Patr. Lat.*, CLII, 1420;).

[2] *Vita Desiderii Episcopi Viennensis* (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS. Rer. Mer.*, III, 644).

[3] *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS. Rer Mer.*, VII, 379 ff.

[4] *Carmina*, ii, no. 9 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., AA.*, XI, 39).

way to an ordered chorus. Step by step the procession moves, the song swelling as it advances. Now the strings of the psalterium join their song to that raised by human voices. The tinkle of cymbals, the dry roll of tympana add color to the music. And then the pipe organ blares forth its ocean of sound from its large pipes, and the words of the song, repeated again and again by the men's voices, follow the melody of the instrument.

The *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* of Amalarius, presbyter of Metz, gives a similar picture. According to his statement, the congregation was gathered in the church, the men standing on the southern side, the women, veiled,[1] on the northern.[2] Into the half-gloom of the church moved the procession of the clergy, bishop, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, magnificent in white, scarlet, and gold, preceded by lighted candles and swinging censers. As they came, the majestic words of the Psalmist rang out: 'Praise ye the Lord. . . . Praise him with the sound of the trumpet: praise him with the psaltery and harp . . . praise him with stringed instruments and organs.[3] Praise him upon the loud cymbals. . . . Praise ye the Lord.' And as they sang, cymbals, trumpets, psalterium, organ rang out. Slowly, with great dignity, the procession moved down the left side of the church, and on reaching the altar, the bishop began the mass.

Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the organ accompanied the singing of hymns,[4] and especially the psalms.[5]

[1] iii, 2 (*Patr. Lat.*, cv, 1104 D).

[2] *Ibid.*, 1105 A.

[3] The presence of the word 'organs' in Psalm CL should not confuse the reader. The original term was 'ugab' (עוגב: *Sacred Book of the Old Testament* (ed. J. Wellhausen, Leipzig, 1895), which has been generally translated as 'pipes.' In the Greek Testament translated from the Septuagint, the term used is *ὀργάνῳ*, with the usual meaning of 'instruments' (H. B. Swete, ed., *Old Testament in Greek*, II (Cambridge, 1922), 414), which Jerome translated 'organo' (*Biblia Sacra secundum vulgatam Clementinam* (ed. P. M. Hetzenauer, Ratisbon, 1922), II. The English rendition 'organs' has, therefore, an archaic significance, and should be read 'pipes' or 'instruments'; see *NED.*, s. v. 'organ,' sb,[2] 2b.

[4] *Versus in Canticis Canticorum de Deo Sanctaeque Ecclesiae*, no. 31, stanza 17 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Poet. Lat.*, IV, ii, 624); *Appendix ad Ermoldum: versus ad Pueros* (*ibid.*, II, 92–93); Bede, *Interpretatio Psalterii* (*Patr. Lat.*, XCIII, 1101 B).

[5] Sedulius Scottus, *Carmina*, ii, no. 63 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., PP.*, III, 219); *Bibliothecarum et Psalterium Versus VI ad Karolum Caluum* (*ibid.*, 262); Radbotus, *Carmina*, iv (*ibid.*, IV, 168, l. 82); *Codicis Bernensis CCCLVIII Sylloga:* 'De Musica,' (*ibid.*, 255, l. 47). See also p. 403, n. 5, above.

Whether the organ was used in the mass proper,[1] however, is another question. There seems reason to believe that such was not the case prior to the twelfth century. Indeed, there is positive evidence to the contrary. Take, for example, the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* and the *Eclogae de Officio Missae* [2] of Amalarius, presbyter of Metz. These two works contain an exact description of the mass as it was said at Metz and at the court of Louis the Pious, at whose command, indeed, the two works were written. They are of no little significance, for at Metz was probably found the Gregorian tradition in its purest form in the ninth century. We know that Gregory the Great is reputed to have founded a *Schola Cantorum* at Rome in which singers were trained and sent into Gaul, Germany,[3] and England.[4] More specifically, we know that Pepin and Charlemagne imported from this school singing-masters at various times.[5] In 787 Charlemagne brought into Gaul two singing-masters, of whom one, Theodore, went to Metz, the other going to Soissons.[6] The inability of the Franks to sing disgusted the two Italians, but through the expenditure of much effort the standards of Metz were raised to such a point that they were considered the highest in Gaul.[7] These same Romans seem to have brought organs with them.[8] Now, Amalarius wrote his two works about 825 A.D. The ordinary of the mass prescribed by him probably represented the Gregorian tradition in the purest form then available. He stated categorically that the

[1] Although the organ seems to have been used as an accompaniment for hymns and psalms, and although these two musical forms may have been part of the mass, the fact that the organ was so used is in itself no guarantee that the organ was used as an accompaniment to voices during the mass, since both hymns and psalms were used in non-liturgical services.

[2] *Patr. Lat.*, CV, 1315–33.

[3] John the Deacon, *S. Gregorii Magni Vita*, ii, 7 (*Patr. Lat.*, LXXV, 91); *Codex Carolinus*, no. 41 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Epistolae*, III, 553–554).

[4] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii, 20 (ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), I, 126), and iv, 16 [18] (pp. 240–242).

[5] Pope Paul I wrote to Pepin regarding monks sent to Rome and Rouen to learn how to sing psalms in the Roman fashion (*Codex Carolinus*, no. 41, cited in note 3 above).

[6] *Annales Laurissenses*, anno 787 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, I, 170, l. 58); John the Deacon, *op. cit.*, c. 8 and 9 (p. 91); Ekkehard IV, *Casus S. Galli*, c. 3 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, I, 102).

[7] *Annales Laurissenses*, anno 787, *loc. cit.*, p. 171, l. 40. See also the Monk of St Gall, *De Carolo Magno*, i, 10 (P. Jaffé, *Bib. Rer.*, IV, p. 641).

[8] Monk of St Gall, *De Ecclesiastica Cura Caroli Magni*, i, 20 (André Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores* (Paris, 1636–1649).

singers at Metz — and consequently at the court of Louis the Pious — used no instruments to accompany their chanting.[1] There is similar evidence for monastic foundations, although the *Regulae* of the period made no specific provision against the use of the instrument. Thus, the monks of Fulda, who followed the *Benedictine Rule*,[2] did not use the organ at all in their services.[3] The monks of Casale were definitely prohibited from either learning or teaching the organ.[4] The commentator in the Migne edition of the *Rule* also indicated that the ancient customs of Monte Cassino forbade the construction of organs without the permission of the head of the chapter.[5]

Consequently, it seems probable that although the organ was well established in Gaul as an accompanying instrument for chants used when a great number of voices were singing, as in processions, and in the singing of psalms and hymns, it was not used as such in the service of the mass from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. It seems to have been used to indicate to the choir the pitch on which to begin a chant.[6] Amalarius says that at Metz the trumpet was so used.[7] But when the organ was present in the church, I have no hesitation in attributing this function to it. It will be remembered that such was the practice in Byzantium, where the organ had a specific part to play in great civil festivals.[8]

Were it not for the fact that the organ was not used as an accompanying instrument on civil occasions in Byzantium, there might be reason to suspect a liturgical rule prohibiting its use in the western mass, since it was used on non-liturgical occasions and not in the mass. In view of the Byzantine custom, however, we must turn elsewhere for an example of its omission.

[1] 'Our singers hold neither cymbals nor lyres nor cithara in their hands, nor any other kind of musical instrument' (*De Ecclesiastica Officiis*, iii, 3, p. 1106 D).

[2] *Vita S. Sturmi*, c. 14 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, II, 371).

[3] S. Pater Benedictus, *Regula Commentata*, c. 19 (*Patr. Lat.*, LXVI, 476 A).

[4] *Ibid.* (p. 475 D).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Vita Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis* in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *SS. Rer. Mer.*, III, 496.

[7] *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 1 (*Patr. Lat.*, CV, 1247).

[8] See pp. 18–20 above. Papadopoulos makes the interesting suggestion that the organ was used while practicing although not at the performance itself (*op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12).

When one considers the many references to the thunderous quality of the early organ music,[1] and to the use made of it when the voices singing were many in number,[2] one is led to suspect that while the tremendous emotional quality of the organ tone was recognized at an early date, the main reason for its exclusion from the music of the mass was that it was unfitted to accompany either a single voice or a small number of voices.[3] This may have been because of its great size. Large organs continued to be built throughout the early period, if we may judge from the classic example of the great Winchester organ, built in the tenth century. It is reported that this instrument required seventy men to keep up a proper air pressure, and that the volume of sound given out by it was terrifying to hear.[4] Indeed, as late as the twelfth century, Aelred, Abbot of Rievaux, protested that the organ was no fit instrument for use in the church service because of the terrific noise it made.[5] But the reason may also have been that it was too awkward mechanically to permit its use. When the mechanism of the organ was improved sufficiently so that it could be used to accompany voices in small numbers, it seems to have been introduced into the mass. Thus we find Honorius of Autun referring to it as part of the service in the first half of the twelfth century,[6] and justifying its use by scriptural citation.[7] Balderic, archbishop of Dol in the twelfth century, indicated its use, and defended the instrument against those who complained of the noise it made by saying that if it thumped and wheezed, the fault was as much lack of care as the nature of the instrument itself.[8] Reiner of St Laurent [9]

[1] Thus the descriptions of Julian the Apostate (p. 391 above); Jerome (p. 398 above); Optatian (p. 395 above); Ammianus Marcellinus (p. 398 above); Sidonius Apollinaris (p. 390, n. 6 above); Fortunatus (p. 404 above); Bede (p. 396 above); Ikhwân al-Safâ (p. 398 above). See also Aldhelm's riddle on the organ (p. 390, n. 2 above), and Wolstan, *Prologue* to *Vita S. Swithuni* (Jean Mabillon, *AA SS*, VII, 5 *saec.*, p. 617). [2] See pp. 404–405 above.

[3] It is perhaps not insignificant that to this day the term used to designate unaccompanied vocal music is '*a capella*.'

[4] Wolstan, *op. cit.*, p. 31, n. 3. For other examples of the building of large organs, see p. 14 above.

[5] *Speculum Charitatis*, ii, 23 (*Patr. Lat.*, CXCV, 571).

[6] 'Then they sang the sequence with voice and organ' (*Gemmae animae*, c. 77, in *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXVII, 567 D). [7] *Ibid.*, c. 139 (*ibid.*, 587 D).

[8] *Epistola ad Fiscamneses*, c. 7 (*Patr. Lat.*, CLXVI, 1177).

[9] *De Claris Scriptoribus Monasterii Sui*, ii, 7 (*Patr. Lat.*, CCIV, 31).

and William of Malmesbury [1] testified to the sweetness of its tone. And in the thirteenth century, Johannes Aegidius said that the organ alone was used in the music of the mass.[2]

This change in attitude toward the organ is not surprising if one remembers the changes in construction which took place in the eleventh century. At that time it was known that different finishes on the pipes would produce differing qualities of tone,[3] and that the delicacy of the sound emitted would be in proportion to the size of the opening in the pipe itself.[4] But in addition to these improvements in the quality of the organ tone, noticeable in the eleventh century, the first step toward an improvement in the action of the keys since the first century A.D. was made at that time. The spring-box mechanism was introduced in the last quarter of the eleventh century,[5] the slider-box keyboard gradually disappeared, and the modern keyboard, with black and white keys, slowly came into being. This was the first great change in organ construction since the time of Vitruvius, a thousand years before. Instead of pushing and pulling tones out of the great organ, they were pressed out, in the same way that they are to-day. The corresponding ease of execution is too obvious to require emphasis. With such changes in the construction of the instrument, changes which not only altered the quality of its tone but also increased the ease with which it could be played, the gradual use of the organ as an accompanying instrument in the mass seems to be explained. Its previous exclusion was based on practical rather than on liturgical grounds. When it no longer drowned out the voices, the inspiration roused by its tones was freely recognized and made use of.

As might be expected, the changes evolved were not sudden or precipitate. By the tenth century a new interest in the organ and organ construction was being evinced, and in the monasteries. The first treatises on organ construction written since the time of Vitruvius were written by Odo, the great abbot of Cluny,[6] by Notker

[1] *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (Rolls Series, No. 52, p. 429).

[2] 'in proses, and in sequences and hymns' (Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores, cit. supra*, II, 388).

[3] See p. 400, n. 5 above.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Such was the construction of the Magdeburg organ, apparently erected about this time. Audsley quotes Seidel on this point (*op. cit.*, p. 28).

[6] M. Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 303.

Balbulus,[1] by Hucbald,[2] by Bernelin[3] — all of them monks. Dunstan in England not only was noted as a performer on the organ, but also furnished many churches and monasteries with instruments.[4] Ethelwold, abbot of Abingdon and later bishop of Winchester, constructed an organ with his own hands.[5] Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II) was also noted as a builder of organs,[6] being reputed among other things to have constructed an organ operated by steam.[7] When pope, Gerbert established a studio of organ construction at Rome where was practised the art which he seems to have learned when a monk at Bobbio. When his former professor, Gerhard, abbot of Aurillace, wrote requesting an organ of him, he replied regretfully that the unsettled conditions in Italy would not permit the fulfilment of the request.[8] The matter seems to have bothered him somewhat; for in 987, the year of Gerhard's death, he wrote to Raymond, Gerhard's successor, saying that the organ was on the way, but that he could say nothing as to the whereabouts either of the organ or of the monk sent in charge of it.[9] And finally, it is recorded that Earl Elwin presented an organ to the convent of Ramsay on which he spent thirty pounds in copper pipes.[10]

Thus, the interest in the organ, evident from the time of Notker Balbulus in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, bore fruit in the improvements of the eleventh. And in the following century the organ as a liturgical instrument came into its own, to replace, by the thirteenth century, all other instruments formerly used in the mass.

[1] d. 912 (M. Gerbert, I, 107). [2] *Ibid.*, 147–148. [3] *Ibid.*, 329.

[4] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, i, 4 (Rolls Series, No. 63, p. 257) and *Gesta Pontificium Anglorum* (Rolls Series, No. 52, p. 407). Dunstan was not the first to introduce organs into England as has so often been claimed. See *Vita Wilfridi I Episcopi Eboracensis Auctore Stephano* (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS. Rer. Mer.*, VI, 201).

[5] *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon*, ii (Rolls Series, No. 2, p. 278).

[6] *Epistolae*, nos. 70, 91, 92, 163, in Julien Havet, *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Etude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, 1889), vol. VI.

[7] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ii, 168 (*Patr. Lat.*, CLXXIX, 1140).

[8] *Epistolae*, no. 70, p. 67. [9] *Ibid.*, no. 91, p. 83.

[10] *Vita S. Oswaldi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, xxvii, 66 (Jean Mabillon, *AA SS.* VII, *5 saec.*, 734).

COLUMBUS, OHIO

THE COVERS OF THE LORSCH GOSPELS

By CHARLES RUFUS MOREY[1]

II. The Cover in the Victoria and Albert Museum

WHAT was originally the anterior cover of the Lorsch Gospels was acquired from the Webb Collection in 1866. It had previously belonged to the Leven and Soltikoff Collections. The first mention of it occurs in the catalogue of the Leven sale of 1853, in which an illustration of the plaque shows it without the silver gilt mounts which it possessed when it passed to the museum in South Kensington. Graeven[2] pointed out that these mounts were added later in imitation of those which adorned the Vatican cover before its recent dismounting.

As was stated in the first article, the manuscript of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, of which the South Kensington plaque apparently formed the cover, was probably separated from the other two Gospels that are now in the Vatican in the latter part of the fifteenth century. What happened to the first two Gospels then is not known. They may have been taken to Heidelberg with the rest of the library of Lorsch in 1555 and lost to sight in the sack of Heidelberg in 1622; in any case they were to be found, minus the ivory cover, in the possession of Cardinal Bishop Migazzi in Vienna during the first half of the eighteenth century, and are now in the Bathyaneum in Karlsburg, Hungary.

The plaque was dismounted in 1927 for examination of the backs of the panels, which have now been more suitably mounted. The backs (Plate I) revealed nothing of interest (with the exception of *D*), save the letters *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E* in Gothic script scratched on the panels as assembly-marks, which may well date from the rebinding

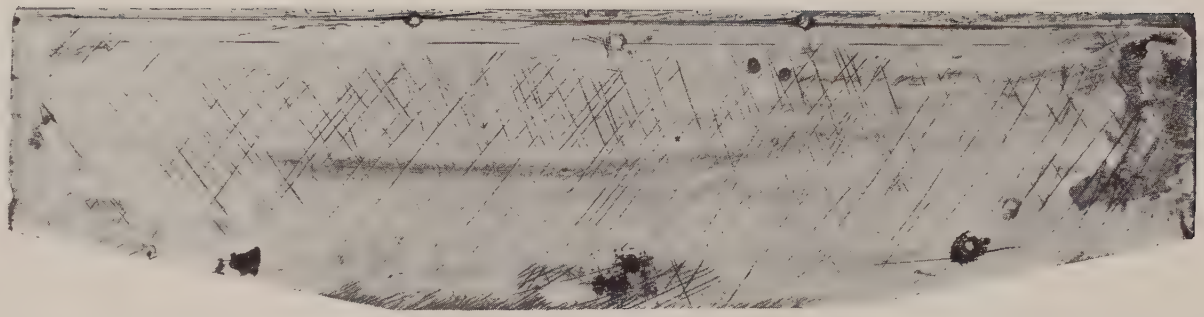
[1] *Studies in the Art of the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library*, edited by C. R. Morey and E. Baldwin Smith, No. 4. The first part of this study, on the Vatican cover, appeared in Speculum for January, 1928 (vol. III, no. 1). The writer of the present article is much indebted to Margaret H. Longhurst for the data concerning the history, description, and measurements of the cover in the Victoria and Albert Museum; see also Miss Longhurst's *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory, Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1927), Part I, p. 62.

[2] *Byzantin. Zeitschr.* X (1901), 15.

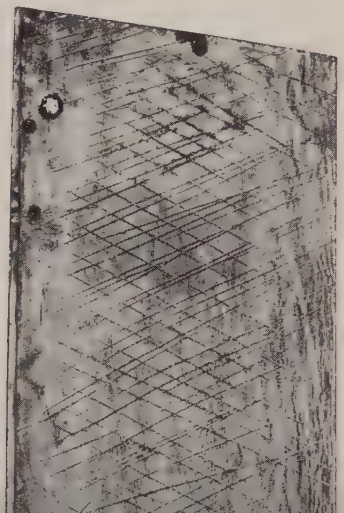
of the fifteenth century recorded in a note at the end of the Vatican portion of the manuscript. On the edge of *D* near the three large binding holes that correspond to the similar holes of the Vatican cover, mentioned in the first article, are two grooved slots running inwards, with peg-holes wherewith to fix hinges of metal, leather, or vellum. No corresponding holes or slots are to be found in the Vatican cover, and their situation on panel *D* of the South Kensington cover is not symmetrical to its present center. The inference of this is that the binding which they served was not that of the covers but of panel *D* before it was cut down and reused as part of the present cover; consular diptychs were sometimes hinged in this way, and it is possible that this panel, like the lower panel of the Vatican cover, was recut from the leaf of an antique diptych.

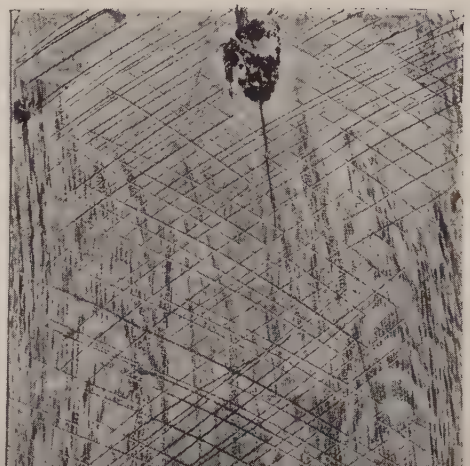
The flanges at the top, bottom, and inner edges of the three central panels, which, as in the case of the Vatican cover were dovetailed into grooves in the bottom edge of the upper panel, in the upper edge of the lower, and from left to right on the vertical axis, have been everywhere cut off. The extent to which the carved surfaces also have suffered by this cutting may be judged from Plate II, which reproduces the five panels dismounted. It will be seen that the lower feet and draperies of the flying angels of the upper panel (*A*) have been cut through, and that in the lower panel (*E*) the cutting has taken off the end of the building beside Joseph, the tip of Mary's couch, half the finial of the tower to the right of the Child's crib, and the tip of the staff carried by the angel who performs the annunciation to the shepherds. In fact this panel must have been more sharply cut back along its upper horizontal edge than the upper panel on its lower edge, for the latter retains a good part of its raised border, while this has disappeared in the case of the lower panel. The central panel (*C*) has also suffered: if one compares the bases of the columns that support the arch sheltering the Madonna with that of the right column beside Zacharias in the right-hand panel (*B*), or with the base of the corresponding colonnettes of the central panel of the Vatican cover, it is evident that we must restore a plinth beneath each base, which would considerably lengthen the panel and give the Madonna a more satisfactory position in symmetry

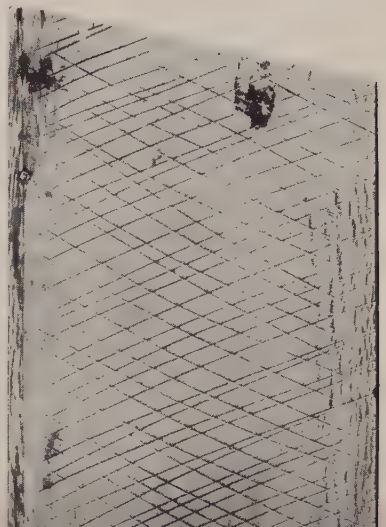
PLATE I



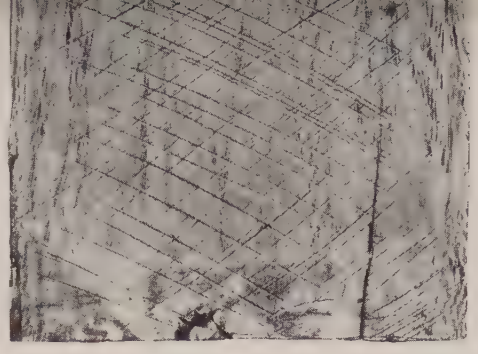
A



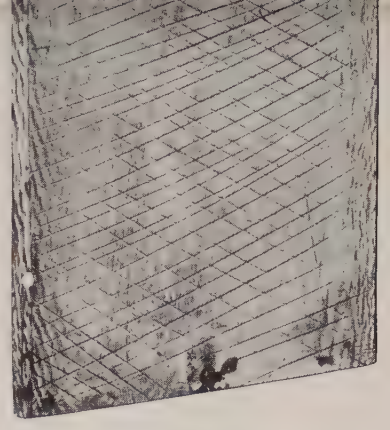




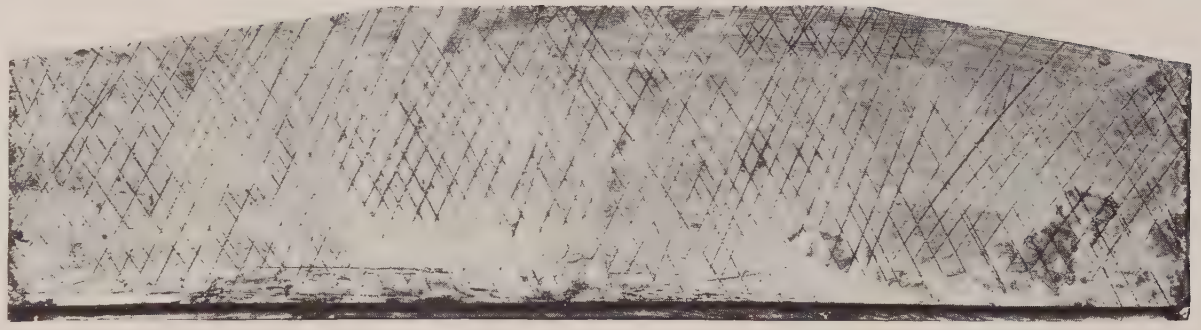
D



C



B



E

Posterior Faces of the Panels of the South Kensington Cover

with its dimensions. The lateral panels have lost at the top little more than the flanges, since the raised border here must have been a narrow one if we may judge from the corresponding ones on the Vatican cover; at the bottom they have lost not only their flanges but something of the carved surface as well, since it is inconceivable that the big toe of the Baptist's left foot (panel *D*) originally projected as now over the edge. The question arises whether this diagonal cutting at the bottom of the side-panels *B* and *D* is parallel to the original edge, or whether the original lower edge of these panels was horizontal as in the case of the Vatican cover; this involves as well the original shape of the bottom panel *E*.

At this point it will be well to examine the evidence afforded by the holes left in the panels, and the comparative dimensions of the Vatican and South Kensington covers. The holes are indicated on the accompanying diagram (Plate III) as they appear on the backs of the panels, and may be explained as follows:

1. Holes due to attachment of mounts, mediaeval or modern.
   - *A.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8?
   - *B.* 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
   - *C.* 2?, 3?, 4?
   - *D.* 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13
   - *E.* 1, 2, 3?
2. Holes in *D* for binding: 1, 2, 3.
3. Holes in *D* for pegs to fasten tabbed hinges: 5, 9.
4. Holes made for pegs to secure dovetails and apparently used later to hold iron plates added to strengthen dovetails.
   - *A.* 6, 7, 9? (7 has iron nails in it; 6 and 9 have pegs of ivory or bone.)
   - *B.* 2, 8
   - *C.* 1
   - *D.* 4, 12

All the holes except those otherwise noted are filled with plaster or glue probably inserted when the modern metal mounts were added; these were affixed to the wooden backing and not nailed

through the ivories as was the case with the Vatican cover, which accounts for the much smaller number of holes in the South Kensington panels. The holes enumerated in section 4 above are surrounded by red coloring, as also is the case with *A* 8, *B* 3, and *C* 2, 3, 4. This red stain, analyzed, shows the presence of iron and is probably rust from iron plates or nails added either when the dovetails became weak or when they were cut away; in the latter case this must have happened before the final reduction of the bottom panel *E*, since no stains appear on this.

It will be seen from the above that panel *E* has no holes for dovetailing that can be relied upon to determine the shape of its upper edge. As to the relative dimensions of the Vatican and South Kensington covers, it is necessary to compute the over-all measurements of the latter, since, unlike the Vatican cover, it was separated into its constituent panels in the modern mounting which imbedded each of them in its own sunken compartment of the wooden backing. The dimensions in centimeters of the panels, as thus cut down and separately affixed to the mounting, are as follows: [1]

A.	H. 6.8	W. 26.5
B.	H. on outside edge 25.5; on inside 22.6	W. 8.2
C.	H. 22.5	W. 10.3
D.	H. on outside edge 25.0; on inside 22.5	W. 7.4
E.	H. 7.1	W. 26.5

If the bottom panel was originally of its present shape, the over-all original height of the cover would equal the sum of the heights of *A*, *C*, and *E*, or cm. 36.4. If on the other hand we assume an originally rectangular shape, the lateral panels must also have had rectangular lower termination, and the central panel must have been longer. In this case to approximate the over-all height we must add to the previous figure half the averaged difference between the extreme and minimum heights of the side panels, or about 1.35 cm., which brings the over-all height to *ca.* 37.75.

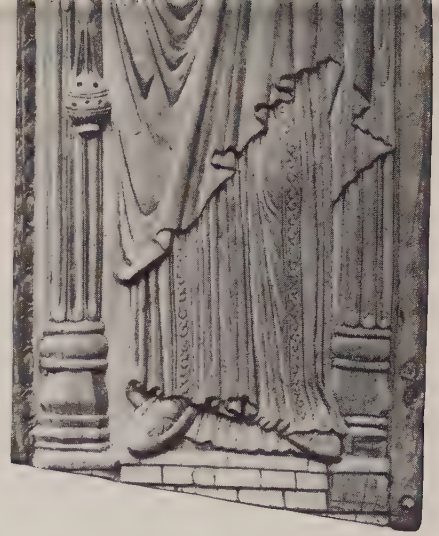
Something may be added no doubt to this dimension to make up

[1] The thickness of the panels is 6.7 mm.; that of the Vatican cover about 7.0 mm. The ivory is split in several places and small pieces have been renewed in panels *A* and *C*.

A

B

C



D

E

Demounted Panels of the South Kensington Cover

for the cutting of the upper edge of the lower panel *E*, indicated by the clipping of the finial of the tower to the right of the manger. The maximum width of the South Kensington cover is 26.5 cm.; that of the Vatican cover is 27.5 cm. If the centimeter's difference between these widths, due to the cutting down laterally of the South Kensington cover, be added to the over-all height to compensate for vertical shortenings, our figure is brought to 38.75 cm., while the height of the Vatican cover is 37.7 cm. On the other hand, the cutting-down of the panels in the lateral dimension has contracted its width much more than the cutting in the vertical sense has diminished its height, for in the former case the dimension is the width of the top panel whose set-offs have been removed on the short sides; in the latter case the trimming has removed little more than the flanges of the dovetails which do not contribute to the over-all height. The slight trimming of the upper edge of the lower panel *E* may be estimated to have reduced the height of this panel half a centimeter; adding this to the over-all heights above arrived at, we get the figures 36.9, assuming panel *E* to have had its upper edge bevelled as at present, and 38.25 if it and the lower edges of the lateral panels were originally rectangular. The difference from the height of the Vatican panel is in the one case cm. 0.8, in the other, cm. 0.55.

This is not very conclusive in favor of either shape for the lower panel, but it at least shows that the height of the South Kensington cover, restored on this basis, offers no more difficulty than if we should assume an original shape of the lower and lateral panels corresponding to that exhibited at present. We have, however, the missing plinths of the colonnettes flanking the Virgin in the central panel *C* to show that this panel was originally longer. In view of this it is necessary to conclude that the front cover (South Kensington) of the Lorsch Gospels was made up to correspond to the restored posterior cover (Vatican), and owes to this the peculiar shape of its panels, which in the case of the Vatican cover was due to the employment (after its lower corners were diagonally cut back) of the upper panel of an antique five-part plaque, and the fitting of the lateral panels thereto. The present shape of the South Kensington lower panel, the bias lower termination of the lateral panels, and the

cutting off of the central panel at the bottom, may then be ascribed to the modern workman who mounted the panels in the wooden backing from which they were recently removed. The amputations were obviously done with a view to reducing the juncture-lines of the plaque as a whole to symmetry.

The carver of the South Kensington cover is to be distinguished from his confrère who restored the Vatican plaque as using fuller and more complicated folds of drapery, with not so narrow a grooving in their indication. He was the more positive personality of the two, using bolder curves in line and surface and a somewhat more pronounced relief. His upper panel displays two flying angels supporting a medallion which incloses a beardless long-haired bust of Christ, with crossed and fluted nimbus. In the central panel the Virgin sits holding the cross-nimbed Child on her bosom and her left arm. On the left lateral panel stands the Baptist holding in his left hand an unrolled scroll. The figure in the right lateral panel is Zacharias, apparelled as high priest and holding a censer and incense box. The lower panel depicts the Nativity, with Joseph seated, the Virgin reclining on a very perpendicular mattress, and a crib which takes the form of the porch of a basilica and shelters the full figures of the ox and ass as well as the Child. Separated from the Nativity by a round tower is the Annunciation to the Shepherds, performed by an angel who holds a long sceptre with trefoil-tip and speaks to three shepherds standing and sitting beside their flock.

Graeven, in the above-cited article in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, made clear the derivation of the Lorsch book-covers from an East Christian model, and in the preceding article on the Vatican cover it was shown that the East Christian model in question must have been a five-part diptych of which one piece has actually survived in the upper panel of the Vatican cover. Inasmuch as the upper panel of the South Kensington cover reproduces the scheme of this piece, it can safely be assumed to copy the corresponding panel of the original diptych, save in the Christ-bust with long hair falling in tapering locks on the shoulders, which replaced a short-haired Christ of the Alexandrian original, as was pointed out in the

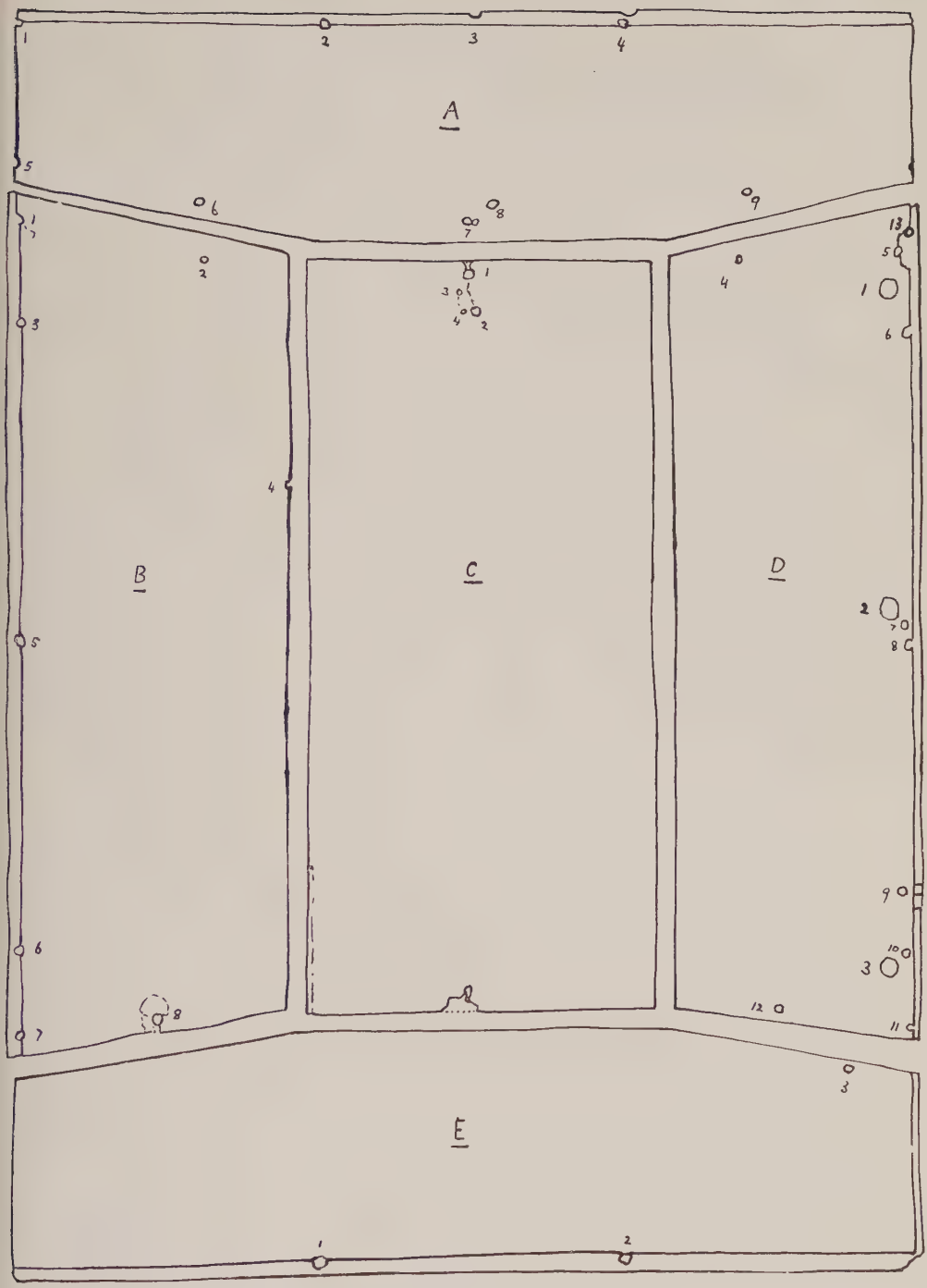


Diagram Showing Location of Holes in the South Kensington Cover

preceding article with reference to the Christ of identical aspect who occupies the central panel of the Vatican cover. The early Christian parallels for the three central figures of the South Kensington plaque were well collected by Graeven, who compared them quite properly with the Virgin, Baptist, and Zacharias figuring among the precursors of Christ in a well-known miniature of the Cosmas Indicopleustes of the Vatican Library. A somewhat better parallel for Zacharias is afforded by the mosaic which depicts him in the apse of the cathedral of Parenzo (sixth century) and dresses him in *lacerna* as in our ivory instead of the chlamys represented in the miniature; the mosaic also gives him similar foot-gear (Plate IV, 1). It is noteworthy also that the Madonna in the apse at Parenzo furnishes an excellent parallel for that of the South Kensington cover, and that the Baptist and Zacharias are represented in separate panels of the frieze below her. Graeven notes that the mediaeval copyist has left clues to his period in rendering Zacharias' censer with a lid, and globular in shape, — according to him this form occurs first in the Bible of Charles the Bald,— and in the uninscribed scroll of the Baptist, accounted for by Graeven in the assumption that the antique original showed a Greek inscription on the scroll which the copyist was unable to read. Adolf Goldschmidt,[1] however, believes that the scroll was left empty for the painting of the Baptist's motto *Ecce agnus Dei.*

The above variations from the original are slight and give us no further indication of the date of the copyist than that he worked in post-antique times. The lower panels, however, both of the Vatican and South Kensington covers, are much more informative on this point. Graeven pointed out the East Christian motif which the Nativity retains in representing Mary as reclining on a mattress instead of sitting, as she is depicted in the Nativity groups of the Latin sarcophagi. He might have added that the peculiarly vertical placing of the mattress is a characteristic of ivories commonly classified as Alexandrian and Coptic (Plate IV, 2).[2] So also is the sym-

[1] *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1914–26), vol. I, no. 12.

[2] See M. Schmid, *Die Darstellung der Geburt Christi in der bildenden Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1890), nos. 53–58.

metrical placing of the ox and ass, which on the sarcophagi are usually standing together on one side of the crib (Plate IV, 3). These motifs and the annexed Annunciation to the Shepherds were no doubt derived from the East Christian and presumably Alexandrian original from which the central panels were copied, but in the style of the figures and the architecture with which the carver has embroidered his scenes we find him no careful copyist as he was in the other panels, but a child of his mediaeval period.

The protruding eyes, the hunched-up posture of Joseph, the awkward angularity of the Virgin's drapery, and the barbaric masks given to the shepherds — these are the indications that the artist, working in the reduced scale of his lower panel, has indulged here more freely his native style. On the Vatican cover the lower panel shows the same relapse into mediaevalism. Here again we find the Teutonic masks, the awkward movement, and the absence of antique flow of drapery; a further symptom of mediaeval date is the change of the peak of the Phrygian cap of the Magi into a knob.

Most of all, however, does the transformation of the Early Christian model came forth in the architectural embroidery of the scenes — as Graeven duly noted. In the Nativity, for instance, the artist has not only added to the putative Alexandrian Nativity (which like all East Christian Nativities must have depicted the manger without shelter) the Latin shed which is the constant feature of the Birth in the sarcophagi, but has made this into the porch of an elaborate rectangular structure, whose top he has shingled with diamond-shaped tiles instead of the *tegulae* and *imbrices* of an antique roof.

Now this introduction of anything more in the way of a building than a mere arcade, into the background of the Nativity composition, is an innovation that is characteristic of mediaeval ivories (and less frequently of miniatures) of the tenth century and later.[1] It is true

[1] Examples:

Ivories: Antwerp, Coll. M. van den Bergh, XI century (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 95); Berlin, museum, *ca.* 1100 (Goldschmidt, II, 173 b); *ibid.*, second half of XI century (Goldschmidt, II, 79); *ibid.*, X century (Goldschmidt, I, 53); Bonn, Provincial Museum, X century (Goldschmidt, I, 109); Brussels, Museum of Decorative Arts, X century (Goldschmidt, I, 117); Cologne, Museum of Decorative Arts, second half of XII century (Goldschmidt, III, 10); Darmstadt, Grand-ducal Museum, XI century (Goldschmidt, II, 103); Florence, Museo Nazionale, middle of XI century (Goldschmidt, II, 35); London, British Museum, *ca.* 900 (Gold-

1

Parenzo, Cathedral: Mosaic
Zacharias

2

Nativity: Ivory Panel from
Cathedra of Maximianus;
Alexandrian, c. 500

3

Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus: Nativity

1

Trier, Codex Egberti:
Nativity

2

British Museum, Ivory Panel:
Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany

that a Nativity in the Carolingian Psalter of Utrecht is placed before a large rotunda, but the latter occupies the position which is frequently filled with an architectural composition in the miniatures of this manuscript, and seems to be no integral part of the iconographic tradition followed in the scene, which is that of the 'open-air' Nativity used in the Christian East. The closest parallel to the structure behind the crib on the South Kensington cover is furnished by the building that stands in the center of a city-wall behind the manger of the Nativity in a miniature of the Codex Egberti of the end of the tenth century (Plate v, 1).

This city-wall is a motif that appears in Carolingian art very frequently, being especially prominent in the miniatures of the Utrecht Psalter. Interesting use of it is also made to enclose episodes of the life of Christ in miniatures at Düsseldorf (Landesbibliothek B, 113).[1] Later, however, the original spatial concept was lost, and we find the city-wall employed in the illogical fashion of a decorative rather than localizing background, as in the miniature of the Codex Egberti. Still more indicative of later date than the ninth century is the employment of its *disiecta membra* in the form of the detached towers that once constituted the corners of the wall. Such is probably the *turris gregis*, thus labelled in the miniature of the Codex Egberti, and the one that appears behind the angel of the Annunciation to the Shepherds on the South Kensington panel; such also are the four towers dotted through the scenes of the Magi on the lower panel of the Vatican cover.

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schmidt, I, 159); Manchester, John Rylands Library (Goldschmidt, I, 27); Melk, church, second half of XI century (Goldschmidt, II, 105); *ibid.*, of the same date (Goldschmidt, II, 104); Münster, episcopal museum, first half of XI century (Goldschmidt, II, 47); Osnabrück, cathedral treasury, second half of XI century (Goldschmidt, II, 102); Paris, Louvre, IX–X century (Goldschmidt, I, 95).

Miniatures: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 340, XI century, Merton, *Buchmalerei in St Gallen*, pl. LXXVII, 1; Trier, public library, Codex Egberti, 977–993, Kraus, *Cod. Egberti*, Pl. V, 1; Utrecht, University Library, Psalter, *Facsimile*, pl. 177.

The above examples do not include those Nativities in which one or more little late Hellenistic cities appear above the scene, e.g. in the Evangeliary of Otto III, Munich (Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschr. der kgl. Hof. und Staatsbibl. in München*, I, pl. 17); in the Pericope-book (*ibid.*, V, pl. 8); in the Paliotto of Milan (A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* (Milan, 1901–28), vol. II, fig. 167); and on an ivory book-cover of the Harrach Collection in Schloss Hradek (Goldschmidt, I, 18).

[1] *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, Heft LXXII.

The illogical later use of the city-wall is admirably illustrated in an ivory panel of the British Museum (Plate v, 2), where the attendant Joseph is seated near the reclining Virgin as on our book-cover, but outside the wall. If one compares the towers of this city-wall — with their single narrow window interrupting the band about their middle, and their termination in a conical roof capped with a ball — with the towers of the lower panel of the Vatican cover, especially the one to the right of Herod, the derivation of these curiously detached pieces of architecture is not far to seek.

The panel of the British Museum was related to the Lorsch book-covers by Goldschmidt, who pointed out the strong resemblance of the Epiphany of the London plaque to that of the Vatican cover, in the similar star, in the shape and striation of the headgear of the Magi, in the rendering of the gifts in the bowls they offer Jesus, and in the attitude of Mary and the Child. The facial types throughout the London panel are almost identical with those of the lower panels of our book-covers, and it was doubtless the pronounced mediaevalism of these masks that prompted Goldschmidt to give a dating 'IX–X century' to the London panel although he dated the Lorsch book-covers in the ninth. One wonders if, had the lower panels of our book-covers been considered as isolated monuments without the disturbing accuracy of the copies from the antique in the upper panels to confuse the eye, Dr Goldschmidt might not have left open for them also the possibility of a dating in the tenth century.

Now there are several other ivories in Goldschmidt's 'Ada' group, which he also dates along with the Lorsch book-covers in the ninth century,[1] that show remarkable affinity in style with our plaques of the Vatican and the Victoria and Albert Museum. This affinity is most conspicuous in the case of a book-cover in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum at Berlin (Plate VI, 1), which not only closely resembles the

[1] Not included in this group are some apparently modern imitations of the central reliefs of the Lorsch covers in the Stossmayer Collection at Agram (Goldschmidt, vol. I, nos. 15, 16), and a similar copy of one of the angels of the Vatican cover in the Grand-ducal Museum at Darmstadt. Graeven in *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XXI (1900), 76, illustrates a triptych with modern copies on its wings of the two standing saints of the Victoria and Albert cover. Another modern imitation is in the Cathedral Treasury at Auxerre. I am indebted to Miss Longhurst for the above data.

style of our plaques in the type of Christ, but betrays identical mannerisms, such as the 'mustache' mouth, and the hooking of the central lobe of the acanthus leaves over the rod-border. Another closely related ivory may be seen in Plate VI, 2, a St Michael in the Public Library at Leipzig, carved on the back of the leaf of a consular diptych, like the lower panel of the Vatican cover, and singularly allied to the angels of the Vatican cover in the fluting of his nimbus, in the incision of the drapery-folds into the form, and their rippling edges. Certain passages in the Michael are identical with some in the Vatican panels, e.g. the curves incised below the knee and the gathering of the skirts by a loop that falls across the calf of the leg. Compare also the fingers of the *Dextera Domini* that touch St Michael's nimbus with the fingers of the John and Zacharias on the South Kensington cover.

The pearled bands that follow the outline of St Michael's legs have their counterpart in those in the corresponding position on the knee and legs of Zacharias. But a closer parallel still is afforded by a third related ivory, viz. the fragment of an Ascension in the Grand-ducal Museum at Darmstadt (Plate VI, 3), where not only does the same pair of bands appear on the robes of the Virgin, but with the same incised pattern that ornaments the bands on the tunic of Zacharias. Here also, on the head of St Peter to the left of the Virgin, we find our characteristic shallow-fluted nimbus. Here too we find the heavy incised locks ending in corkscrew curls that are the customary rendering of hair in our ivories, as well as the loops across the legs, and the incisions beneath the knees. The apostle to the right of the Virgin has the same sash-like fold of his mantle across his waist that we find in the dress of the flying angels in the upper panel of the South Kensington cover.

The same method of rendering the hair is found on two plaques, one in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, representing the Crucifixion, the other with the scene of Easter Morn in the Bargello at Florence, which together form a diptych-leaf (Plate VII, 1) that once, according to Köhler,[1] fitted into the cover of a Gospel-book of the beginning of the ninth century (Vienna, Hofbibliothek Cod. 1193). Goldschmidt

[1] Cited by Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, vol. I, no. 8.

advances reasons (the similar measurements of the depressions on the backs, the equivalence in height, and the suitability of the Ascension as pendant to the Crucifixion- and Sepulchre-scene) for considering the Ascension of Darmstadt as possibly the pendant leaf of the Berlin-Florence plaque. But he makes the significant remark that, even if this be true, the Darmstadt plaque is not by the hand that carved the other leaf, being 'flatter in relief, and more precise and sharp in its lines.' The Darmstadt ivory in fact formalizes and concentrates the mannerisms of the Berlin-Florence leaf; note, for instance, how the folds that curve and falter in the latter become sweeping and decisive in the former; how the heavy, squat forms of the one are lengthened and attenuated in the other; how the coarse and irregular modelling of flesh and hair in the Berlin-Florence leaf, that owes its very crudity to a lingering grasp of antique form, is transformed in the Darmstadt plaque into a pleasing stylization. The frank way in which the Darmstadt master cuts into the bodies to carve his drapery folds, the subtle sense of pattern with which he concentrates his drapery accents and contrasts them with the smooth surfaces with little regard for reality, show that he is of a generation that would not compromise decorative effect by too close imitation of antique relief.

The contrast above described points less, for the Darmstadt relief, to a relation of contemporary pendant to the Berlin-Florence leaf than to a later period. Let us follow this suggested solution with reference to the next number of our group of ivories linked with the Lorsch book-covers, viz. the enigmatic Virgin seated under an arch borne on palm-colonnettes, holding cross and spindles, that adorns a plaque in the Morgan collection of the Metropolitan Museum (Plate VII, 2). The artist who carved this plaque had a hand less firm than that which gave its vigorous and virile line to the Leipzig Michael, and his draperies multiply and complicate their folds in a fashion resembling the convolutions of the Madonna's robes in the South Kensington cover, but he betrays his community of school or date with the Leipzig craftsman by the curious armlets that the Virgin wears in common with St Michael, and the similar beaded band that follows the outer surface of the leg in both cases.

1

Berlin, Ivory Panel:
Christ

2

Leipzig, Ivory Panel:
St. Michael

3

Darmstadt, Ivory Panel:
Fragment of Ascension

1

Ivory Panel
Upper Portion: Berlin,
Kaiser-Friedrich Museum.
Lower Portion: Florence,
National Museum

2

New York, Metropolitan Museum, Ivory Panel:
The Virgin

3

Heidelberg, University Library, Sacramentary:
The Church (?)

The construction also of the heavy face of the Virgin is similar to that of the Michael; more specific resemblance may be found in the heavy-lidded eyes, and the 'mustache' upper lip.

Iconographically, the figure is unique; the spindles held in the left hand mark her as the Virgin without much question, but the cross-sceptre is a feature also found in the only other figure in mediaeval art that approaches this, viz. the crowned and nimbed female with cross and book who is enthroned in a miniature of the Sacramentary of Heidelberg (Plate VII, 3), and is generally accepted as a representation of the Church. Is it possible that the strange figure on the Morgan ivory owes its puzzling conception and attributes to an effort on the part of the carver to produce a variation on the theme of the miniature-painter of the Heidelberg Sacramentary?

This query is not quite so academic as it seems. The Morgan ivory happens to be the 'only one of the existing ivories of the Carolingian-Ottonian period' [1] to fit exactly the depression in the cover of the Gero-codex at Darmstadt, so called because it was illuminated for Gero, archbishop of Cologne from 969 to 976.[2] The manuscript was not executed at Cologne, however, but in the monastery at Reichenau, as was also the Sacramentary of Heidelberg, which is admittedly a contemporary product of the same scriptorium. If the Morgan ivory belongs to the original binding of the Gero-codex, it also was presumably carved at Reichenau, and its Virgin might have been adapted from the miniature of the Sacramentary while both manuscripts were still in the scriptorium. It is true that Goldschmidt prefers to consider the Morgan ivory as of ninth-century date, to correspond with the 'Ada' group in which he places it, and as a plaque from an earlier book-cover reused by the binder of the Gero-codex. Schmidt found support for this in the six large holes in the Morgan plaque; if nails or pegs were once driven through these, they have left no trace on the leather backing of the present cover of the manuscript, from which Schmidt concludes that they must date from the earlier fastening of the plaque to its original book-cover. This

[1] Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, no. 12.

[2] Darmstadt, Grand-ducal Library, No. 1948. Cf. A. Schmidt, *Die Miniaturen des Gero-codex* (Leipzig, 1924).

explanation curiously overlooks the placing of the holes; each of them is bored through the carved relief in a manner incomprehensible if considered part of the original design. The holes must certainly date from a later reëmployment of the plaque.

There is nothing of a physical nature, then, to prevent us from supposing the Morgan plaque to be the one designed for the binding of the Gero-codex; it *might* be an earlier plaque adapted to the purpose, but we have the curious coincidence of its central motif with the miniature of the Heidelberg Sacramentary in favour of a date contemporary with the Sacramentary and with the manuscript into whose cover it fits, viz. the third quarter of the tenth century.[1] This, be it noted, is a dating which overlaps the administration of the Abbot Salmann of Lorsch, who *tres libros ex ebore et argento mirifice uetustari fecit:* in the preceding article we have seen that it is difficult not to see among these three volumes the Gospels of Lorsch whose posterior cover in the Vatican *was* restored *ex ebore* at least.

Now we are not at all at the end of our coil that has involved so far the Sacramentary of Heidelberg, the Gero-codex, and its putative cover-plaque in the Morgan collection of the Metropolitan Museum. Let us look at the three miniatures reproduced on Plate VIII. No. 1 is a well-known miniature of the enthroned Saviour in that portion of the Lorsch Gospels now in the Bathyaneum of Karlsburg, Hungary. This is repeated, with simplification, in a miniature (no. 2) of the Gero-codex, and again, with more simplification, in the Heidelberg Sacramentary (no. 3). The relation of the three miniatures has long been known, and variously explained as due (1) to a monastic tradition active in widely separated monasteries such as Lorsch and the Reichenau scriptoria which produced nos. 2 and 3; (2) to pattern-books circulated among the monastic scriptoria; (3) to a sketch made by a Reichenau artist who visited Lorsch.[2] Waiving the question whether the Heidelberg miniature is derived from that of the Lorsch

[1] Schmidt's contention (*op. cit.*, p. 37) that the absence of the episcopal title and the phrase *Basilicae Petri custos* applied to Gero in the dedicatory verses on fol. 8 of the Gero-codex indicate that he received the book before his ordination as archbishop in 969, seems to involve too much reliance on mediaeval poetical phraseology as an historical source.

[2] See Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

Gospels or indirectly through the miniature of the Gero-codex, Köhler [1] has recently settled the matter by proving beyond doubt that this and other miniatures of the Gero-codex are directly imitated from the Lorsch Gospel-book, and that apparent discrepancies between the Lorsch miniatures and those of the Darmstadt manuscript find their origin in other miniatures of the ninth-century manuscript. It is evident, then, that in the third quarter of the tenth century, when the Gero-codex was in process of illustration, the Lorsch codex was in Reichenau.

Why was it there? It seems reasonable to suppose that it was there by order of Abbot Salmann, sent up from Lorsch as one of the *tres libros*, to undergo the restoration of its covers — which was demonstrated as far as the Vatican cover is concerned in the preceding article. Reichenau in the latter half of the tenth century was the centre *par excellence* of the best artistic work in Germany. K. Künstle's *Kunst des Klosters Reichenau* (Freiburg, 1924) lists the achievements of the island's ateliers in this period; they were particularly noteworthy in the field of illumination of manuscripts, but it is inconceivable that the manuscripts written and illuminated at Reichenau should have been sent elsewhere to be bound, which in turn implies ateliers of metal- and ivory-workers. Goldschmidt [2] has assigned a number of ivories to a school which he calls 'Milan-Reichenau' mainly because of the great probability of the existence on the monastic isle of such ateliers. The position which the Abbey at this time occupied in Europe as the leading artistic centre is made clear by the requisition by Pope Gregory V, on the occasion of the investiture of a new abbot of Reichenau in 998, of three products of the scriptorium's skill — a Gospel-book, a Sacramentary, and an Epistolary.

Let us pursue the path thus indicated, seeking further possible recruits for our group of ivories that may be assigned to the Reichenau atelier. It is worthy of note that the broad circular glory, ornamented and treated in the manner of a border, which surrounds the

[1] *Festschrift Clemen* (Düsseldorf, 1926), pp. 255 ff.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, nos. 1–20.

Christ in the three miniatures reproduced on Plate VIII, is a rare motif elsewhere in Carolingian and Ottonian art, wherein the glory commonly assumes an elliptical form. It is of some significance, then, not only that the miniatures of the Gero-codex and of the Heidelberg Sacramentary copied this peculiar motif, with variations, in their imitations of the Lorsch miniature, and that the latter of the two Reichenau painters repeated it in his picture of the 'Church' (Plate VII, 3), but also that it recurs in somewhat flattened form in an ivory book-cover in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (Plate IX, 1), again surrounding the Saviour in majesty. It is an inferior work, but its slovenly carving of hair, features, and drapery betrays nevertheless a relationship with the Christ of the Vatican cover, having in common with it the pleating of the tunic on the breast, the fluted nimbus, and the upper lip like a mustache. Goldschmidt [1] dates the ivory in the ninth century, but remarks that it decorates the cover of a tenth-century Gospel-book from Château-Cambresis in Hainault. Again he must resort to the hypothesis of reëmployment of an earlier ivory in the binding of a manuscript of the tenth century, to retain the dating of his 'Ada'-group.

The difficulties besetting a dating in the ninth century of our group of ivories are seen to be many. In the first place, we must assume that the passage in the Lorsch chronicle recording Salmann's restoration of the binding of three codices has no reference to the covers of the Lorsch Gospels, although it is clear that they are the product of such a restoration. Second, we must close our eyes to the stylistic difference which these ivories manifest when compared with other members of the 'Ada'-group, and to their manifest affinity with Ottonian works; compare, for instance, the Leipzig Michael (Plate VI, 2) with the archangel to the upper right in the fresco of the Last Judgment at Burgfelden, dated by Künstle *ca.* 1000 [2] (Plate IX, 2). We must waive the fact that the Fitzwilliam Christ and the Morgan Virgin, both belonging to the group, also belong to covers of manuscripts of the tenth century. We must ignore the coincidence that the Lorsch Codex was at Reichenau in the third

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, no. 7.

[2] *Die Kunst des Klosters Reichenau* (Freiburg, 1924), p. 15.

Plate VIII

Christ Enthroned

1

Lorsch Gospels

2

Gero–Codex

3

Sacramentary of Heidelberg

1

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: Ivory Panel

2

Burgfelden, Fresco:
Last Judgment

quarter of the tenth century while the Gero-codex was receiving there its illustration, and the plausible explanation that it was there for the restoration of its covers. We must find also some other way to explain the use of architecture in the lower panels of both covers in a manner that is more consistent with the practice of the tenth and eleventh centuries than with that of the ninth.

On the other hand, this curious *catena* of data may be without difficulty explained by the following reconstruction of the history of the Lorsch book-covers. The Lorsch Gospels were written in the early ninth century,[1] and may with probability be identified with the *Euangelium scriptum cum auro pictum habens tabulas eburneas*, mentioned as No. 1 in the oldest catalogue of the Lorsch library, of the first half of the ninth century. Its ivory covers were two five-part plaques of Alexandrian style of the late fifth century.[2] By the time of Abbot Salmann (972–998) these ancient plaques had become worn out to an extent that necessitated the entire renewal of the front cover, and the renewal of all but the upper panel of the back cover. The book was sent to Reichenau to be repaired, between 972 (Salmann's accession) and 976. We know it was at Reichenau before the latter date, because some of its miniatures were copied in the lectionary illuminated for Gero, archbishop of Cologne, who died in 976. The posterior cover was restored by cutting away the splintered lower corners of the ancient upper panel, and adapting the new lateral panels thereto by a bias cutting. The front cover was carved entirely anew, but arranged also with a bevelled upper panel so as to present an appearance symmetrical with its pendant. The compositions of both covers, save in the case of the lower panels, followed closely the fifth-century carvings of the original covers; to guide himself in this copying, the artist of the Vatican cover drew a sketch of the head and arm of the original Christ on the back of one of his panels. For his lower panel he used and cut down a consular diptych of Anastasius (A.D. 517). The adherence of the artist of the South Kensington cover to his early East Christian model was demonstrated by Graeven.

[1] Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[2] Cf. Speculum, III (1928), 71–74.

The carving was done by monastic sculptors of Reichenau, of the same school that produced the ivory plaque that was fitted into the cover of the Gero-codex, the plaque with the enthroned Christ that decorated the tenth-century manuscript from Château-Cambresis, the Berlin plaque of the same subject, the Leipzig Michael, the Ascension of Darmstadt, and the book-cover in the British Museum that shows so close a resemblance in its Nativity and Epiphany to the same scenes on the lower panels of the Lorsch covers. Indeed it is in these lower panels that our carvers most clearly betrayed their date and style, introducing elaborate architecture into compositions in true Ottonian manner, and dismembering the Carolingian walled city into a series of towers.

Thus is explained the curious historical and stylistic relation that transpires between the miniatures of the Lorsch Gospel-book, the imitation thereof in the Gero-codex and the Sacramentary of Heidelberg, the Morgan and Fitzwilliam ivories, the restoration of bindings by the Abbot Salmann, and the covers of the Lorsch codex. The result is that we must eliminate from the 'Ada'-group the ivories above discussed, as being products of Reichenau of the latter part of the tenth century. Further study may add further members to the Reichenau group, and still further diminish the 'Ada'-school. What further subtraction from the 'Ada' ivories should be made in favor of the Reichenau group, and whether the 'Ada'-group will still hold together after such subtraction is made, is a problem whose solution will doubtless be undertaken by other students. It will suffice here to have given an archaeological justification for the removal from the 'Ada'-group of a group of ivories which have never seemed properly to belong to the ninth century, and have always awakened comparison rather with the less antique but more virile style of the Ottonian period — and specifically with that of the great centre of monastic art of the end of the tenth century to which the above discussion has assigned them, viz. the isle of Reichenau.[1]

[1] Goldschmidt himself (*op. cit.*, I, 8) was not unconscious of this distinction, but attributes the discrepancy in style within the 'group' to 'grössere und geringere Einfühlung in einen älteren auswärtigen Stil.' He thus explains the difference between the flying angels of the upper panel of the Vatican cover and the corresponding pair on that of the Victoria and Albert

Museum — a distinction very penetratingly developed by him, but due as we have seen to an actual difference of five centuries in date, since the Vatican angels belong to the antique model from which the carvers of the rest of the covers drew their inspiration. No keener isolation of the style of our Reichenau ivories from the rest of the 'Ada'-group could be given than the following which is quoted from Goldschmidt, apropos of the Darmstadt Ascension (Pl. VI, 3): '. . . tritt bei Dämpfung des Plastischen das Liniengefühl mit viel grösserer Sicherheit und grösserem Selbstbewusstsein hervor. Allein schon die lange Kurve der Mariengestalt, gegen welche die horizontalen Faltenbündel auslaufen ist dafür bezeichnend. Selbst die Figuren scheinen sich zu durchflechten. . . . Dasselbe lässt sich vom herrlichen Leipziger St Michael sagen, dessen Gewandfalten sich um das linke Bein und um den Lanzenschaft verknoten. Häufung der linearen Motive, möglichster Reichtum an Gegenbewegungen und Durchkreuzungen sind eine Tendenz des Stiles.'

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

ON THE TEXT OF THE *SPECULUM STULTORUM*

By JOHN HENRY MOZLEY

I

THOMAS WRIGHT, in his edition of Nigel Wireker's *Speculum Stultorum* for the Rolls Series (No. 59), used three MSS, which he called *A*, *B*, and *C*, and one printed edition, *P*. With the incunabula of this work I hope to deal at another time; for the present I am concerned only with the MSS, and the readings of *P* need not trouble us at the moment.[1]

A is *Harleian 2422*, a thirteenth-century MS., containing only this work and lacking the last 350 lines or so, i.e., about eight leaves. It has the prose preface, and is well equipped with paragraph headings.

B is *Arundel 23*, a fifteenth-century MS. in a beautiful Italian Renaissance hand recalling the best style of the twelfth century. It likewise has lost several leaves, the gap covering pp. 41–59 of Wright's edition, nearly 440 lines, and it ends in the middle of a page, 36 lines too soon ('*condicione sui*'), with '*Explicit Burnellus*' following. The initial letters of paragraphs are in blue, but there are no headings, except in the passage describing the different religious orders (Wr., pp. 82 ff.).

C is a fourteenth-century MS. of the Cotton collection, *Titus A xx*, and a sad contrast to the foregoing, so far as appearance and legibility are concerned. Except for the prose preface, which is altogether lacking, the poem is complete. It is bound up with a great many others, including five poems attributed to Walter Map, and as many chiefly patriotic, by Robert Baston, and some Goliardic verse; towards the end of the collection comes a work entitled '*De Norfolciensium moribus, seu descripcio Norfolcie per monachum quendam Petroburgensem*,' followed by '*Descripcionis illius impugnacio*,' which may throw some light on its provenance (see p. 440 below).

[1] It may be added that Wright does not trouble to state what his MSS are; it is only by an incidental note that one learns that *P* is a printed edition. *A*, *B*, and *C* are all in the British Museum, the only British Museum MSS of this work, in fact, until the purchase of *Additional 38665* some 20 years ago.

Not much can be said of the provenance of the other two MSS; in *A* there are no indications, at least that I have noticed. *B* belonged (15th or early 16th century) to Thomas Jakes; its contents smack of the library of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, for Nigel is represented by another poem, a short account of a miracle, and there are incidents in the life of St Thomas; the *Speculum*, again, is followed by a few lines written by some enemy of Nigel and a later hand notes that the writer feared that Nigel would succeed to the archbishopric on the death of Archbishop Richard (d. 1184).[1]

Generally speaking, Wright's text is that of *A*, with the readings of *B*, *C*, and *P* given as variants below. *A* is rarely departed from, and only in obvious cases of error (mostly spelling or grammar, sometimes metre): e.g., Wright, p. 11, *arata* (*arato A*), p. 20, *surripuere* (*subrupuere A*), p. 22, *resoluere* (*soluere A*), p. 25, *expedit armento* (*armenti A*), p. 30, *precipito* (*precipita A*), where Wright himself has done no better, p. 36, *Lyaeum* (*Lienum A*), p. 44, *cuique libet* (*cuilibet A*), p. 49, *putauit* (*peraddat A*, with *parabat* in margin), p. 86, *timore* (*timere A*), p. 91, *licitumque* (*lutumque A*), etc. The reading preferred is usually that of one or both of the other MSS, but sometimes he perversely or by sheer error inserts a reading of his own, e.g., *precipito*, *putauit* (*precipiti*, *parabat BC*); the readings of *P* are frequently given, especially during the lacuna in *B*, *C* being generally in agreement with *A*.

Errors are not infrequent in Wright's edition, e.g.:

p. 5, n. 18, *et ut . . . persuadeat* 'only in *B*' is in *AC* also
p. 8, ll. 19, 21, *sic*, *iste* Wr.: *sicut*, *item AB*
p. 11, l. 11, *magis* Wr.: *nugis* MSS (error from '*magis*' in preceding line)
p. 13, n. 1, *B* quoted wrongly as reading '*risus*' for '*fastus*.'
p. 15, ll. 1, 26, *medicini . . . quam* Wr.: *medici . . . quamque* MSS
p. 19, n. 8, *B* reads '*magis*' not '*maius*' (last word of pentameter)
p. 24, l. 28, *posset* Wr.: *possit* MSS
p. 26, n. 2, for '*A*' read '*B*'

[1] It is held by many that these lines are by Nigel himself, who is modestly disclaiming any wish to succeed.

p. 28, l. 30, *annona* (penultimate word of pentameter) with *n.* '*amonia*' interlined . . . in *A: A*'s reading is '*anona*,' with '*amoma*' interlined

p. 34, l. 5, *necnon de cauda colubrae* Wr. *necnon et cauda*, etc. *A*

p. 36, l. 4, *cotidina* Wr.: *cotidiana* MSS

p. 41, l. 23, *anget* Wr.: *angit* MSS

p. 79, l. 26, *remaneat* Wr.: *me maneat A*

p. 84, l. 3, *commodant* Wr.: *comodant A*

p. 97, l. 12, *quae me nocere solent A* (retained by Wr. against scansion)

p. 98, l. 15, *obex* Wr.: *apex* MSS

These are some fair specimens, mostly errors of carelessness, and of ignorance of metre or of the quantity of syllables.

With regard to the rubric headings to the different pargraphs, Wright includes many from *P*, which he encloses in square brackets. The rest are much the same in *A* and *C*, but they are mostly omitted by *B*.

The variations in *C* from the reading of *A* are unimportant; examples are: p. 11, *Willelme A: Guillelme C, Uluxes A: Ulyxes C, fuit A: fuerit C;* p. 12, *sapuit A: sapit C, sceptrumque A: sceptraque C;* p. 17, *damula ceruus A: danila cerua C;* p. 21, *frui A: sua C;* p. 23, *uespes, oestres A: uespas, oestros C;* p. 24, *sinet, spreuit A: sinit, spernit C;* p. 35, *Falerna A: Salerna C;* p. 41, *aures* (corr. *auras*) *A: aures* (wrong reading) *C;* p. 48, *cistra A: sistra C;* p. 49, *celer et . . . peraddat* (*parabat* in margin) *A: celarat . . . peraddat* (both wrong) *C;* p. 50, *quid sit ego A: quid sim ego C;* p. 56, *citam* (corr. in mg. to *cupit*) *A: sitam i. cupit C;* p. 66, *seu peluis* (*ceu i. sicut* over *seu*) *A: seu pellis C;* p. 97, *me nocere solent A: nocuere mihi C;* p. 104, *quod uile despiciunt A: uile quod d. C.* On the whole *C* is not very helpful and may be for the most part disregarded.[1]

Besides the three MSS used by Wright there exist several others in England, and it will be convenient here to set down a list of such as I have so far discovered, and the letters by which I propose to designate them:

[1] Except, of course, where *A* fails, from Wr., p. 133, to the end.

I. Fully Collated

(i) *Bodleian 761*, date shortly after 1360 (see P. Meyer in *Romania*, xxxvii [1908], 509), has two large lacunae . . . . . (*E*)

(ii) *Bodleian 851*, date last quarter of fourteenth century (see M. R. James in Introduction to Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, Anecd. Oxon. 1914, p. vi) has same two lacunae as *E* . . . . . (*F*)

(iii) *B. M. Additional 38665*, early fifteenth century . . . (*K*)

(iv) *Lambeth 357*, fifteenth century, akin to (i) and (ii) . . (*L*)

II. Partly Collated

(v) *Bodleian 780*, fifteenth century, akin to *E* and *F* . . . (*I*)

(vi) *Bodleian 496*, fifteenth century, akin to *E* and *F* . . . (*H*)

(vii) *Digby 27*, fifteenth century, akin to *E* and *F* . . . . . (*G*)

III. Not Examined

(viii) *All Souls 37, ca.* 1400 . . . . . (*J*)

(ix) *Trin. Coll. Dublin 440*, fourteenth — fifteenth centuries (*D*)

(x) *Lincoln Cathedral Library 105*, fourteenth century . . (*M*)

(xi) *Lincoln Cathedral Library 191*, fifteenth century (1st half) (*N*)

These are all the MSS that I have been able to discover in England.

Text

A glance at Wright's text is enough to show that *B*'s readings differ very markedly from those of *A* and *C*. This divergence is continued in the MSS *EFL* on the one hand (= *B*), and *K* on the other (= *AC*). *GHI*, on the whole, so far as I have examined them, support *EFL*. About *DJMN* I cannot speak as yet.

Two points must be mentioned: (1) Some of the MSS have a long interpolation following p. 95, '*psalmatis absque metro*' in Wright's edition, 198 lines in *GI*, 228 in *D*, 244 in *K* (this information about *D* I owe to the kindness of the Trinity College librarian, Mr J. Gilbart Smyly). It extends the list of religious orders satirised

by Burnellus, including Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinian Friars and Carmelites,[1] all founded since the author's date; further, *K* has 14 more lines following '*fratre manere licet*' (p. 96), which summarise the points of the orders dealt with. From the fact that the MSS which have most lines are earlier than those that have fewer it would seem that either the latter omitted part of what they found in the former, or both classes derived from one original, the former (*DK*) supplementing it, and the latter (*GI*) not. The interpolation is not in *J*. (2) Two fourteenth-century MSS and one of the fifteenth century have two considerable lacunae; these are *EF* and *L*. The missing lines are from Wright, p. 97, '*Fluctuat in dubiis*' to p. 124, '*pronus in omne malum.*' In *F*, however, the lacuna extends to p. 125, '*magnificare solent,*' but after p. 129 *F* returns to p. 124, '*Hinc est quod,*' and proceeds to '*magnificare solent,*' then has p. 126, '*Obfuit augmentum*' to '*deficiuntque cito,*' then p. 130, '*Talibus exemplis*' to '*spreta iacent.*' The second lacuna in all three MSS comprises all that follows the line ending '*spreta iacent*' to the end of the poem. All three MSS must almost certainly derive from the same original, which probably was lacking in a number of leaves; one may even make a guess at the number of leaves missing: the scribe of *F* omitted 20 lines which he inserted soon after discovering his mistake, showing that the lines were in his original; how did he come to omit the lines? There is no cause such as homoioteleuton to explain his passing from a line ending '*quam statuere mihi*' to one ending '*magnificare solent*'; indeed, he might have been expected to begin again two lines lower down, after a line ending '*sepe referre mihi.*' The most likely cause seems to be that he missed a whole page, perhaps in turning he missed the verso and began on the following recto; if, then, there were 20 lines to a page (*A* has 22) and 40 to a leaf, since 786 lines have been omitted in the lacuna, we may say that 20 leaves were missing, which would allow for space taken up by rubric headings.

The relation of *GI* and of *BH* to this assumed original is not so clear. The latter MSS have no gaps except the last 36 lines, but the readings are generally the same; we may assume that the original

[1] The Carmelites did not spread into Europe before about 1238.

was copied before the loss of its leaves, and that *BH* are late descendants. The former (*GI*) have both got the interpolation from some other MS., whether independently, or one of them copying the other; further, *G* only has the poem down to Wr., p. 106, l. 18, '*dissimulante diu*,' and no more, while *I* has that, and also p. 124, '*hinc est quod*,' to 130, '*spreta iacent*.' In other words the first lacuna in *I* is shorter by 268 lines, otherwise the MS. resembles *EFL;* we might then suppose that the original had been copied when only 13 of its leaves were missing, the extra 268 lines filling seven leaves of 19 lines to a page (two pages having 20), that this copy had produced *I*, and that the scribe of *G* copied *I* down to '*dissimulante diu*' and there stopped; or conversely that the scribe of *I* copied *G* as far as he could, and then got pp. 124–130 from either *EFL* or a similar MS.

Whatever actually happened, it seems most likely that some common original must be postulated for *EFL* and *BHGI*, though the fifteenth-century MSS, except *L*, tend to vary from *EF*, while still for the most part differing from *ACK*. The readings of this original seem to bear in many cases the character of a revision of the text represented by *A*.

Another explanation of the lacunae in *EFL* may be as follows: the text of these MSS represents the earliest form of the work, and the missing passages are additions. In support of this hypothesis may be urged (1) that the text runs on quite naturally from Wr. p. 97, '*nec ultra uel citra possum quam statuere mihi*,' to p. 124, '*hinc est quod statui me tradere religioni*,' and (2) that what intervenes is in the nature of an interpolation, very similar, in fact, to the admitted interpolation of the MSS *DK*, etc. Burnellus has finished his satiric review of the religious orders; he meets Galienus, and, after expressing his disgust both with his former life and with the schools, goes on (as in *EFL*) '*hinc est quod*,' etc. But in the received text we have another long tirade against the Roman Court, against kings, against bad priests and pontiffs, abbots, priors, religious in general, and laymen, to which is joined a fable of the Crow, the Cock, and the Sparrow-hawk. This passage, therefore, may quite well be an addition, though probably from the pen of Nigel himself, as it appears in the thirteenth-century MS., and is not noticeably different

in style from the rest of the book. (3) With regard to the second lacuna, from Wr. p. 130, to the end, here too there is a long passage that seems to be an addition, the story of Bernard and Dryanus. Bernardus is the master of Burnellus, but the tale has nothing to do with Burnellus at all, nor with the moral of the *Speculum*. It seems more likely that the work in its earliest form ended at Wr. p. 134, '*Talia Burnello secum meditante Cremonam intrat, et est domino subditus ipse suo.*' Now this comes about four pages (in Wright) after the ending of *EFL*, so that we would have to assume that their original had lost 112 lines, or (if the conjecture as to the number of lines in a page of that original is correct) three leaves. (4) Again, the story of Bernardus and Dryanus is in the lost part of *A;* it may, consequently, never have been in *A* at all, and that MS. may have lost only the 18 lines from p. 133, '*sed uice conuersa,*' to p. 134, '*subditus ipse suo,*' i.e., one leaf only. (5) This theory is to some extent supported by the prose preface, which contains a rough summary of the contents of the work; it will be found that nearly all the incidents are mentioned there up to the satire on the religious orders (the only one not alluded to is the story of the ingratitude of the magistrate, pp. 73 ff.), but that there is no hint of criticism of anyone else besides monks; it is true that the story of the three goddesses, pp. 125 ff., is not alluded to, but it seems unlikely that there should have been no mention in the preface of the long story of Bernard and Dryanus, if it had formed part of the original work.

If this hypothesis be admitted (and I do not consider it as anything more), then *EFL* must be descended from a copy of the work in its earlier form, before the additional tirade against kings and clergy was added to the satire on the orders, and before the story of Bernard and Dryanus was added at the end. As to these additions, all we can say is that the former must, the latter may, have been added before the date of the thirteenth-century MS. *A*.

I append a list of readings, which represent the two different families, *ACK* on one hand, and *EFL* on the other. In their main differences from *ACK* the latter (*EFL*) are followed by *BH* and *GI*, but probably a more detailed examination would show that these

four MSS present considerable variations from *EFL*, partly independent, partly returning to *ACK*:

3	in summo et uero salutari *ACK*	et sapientie inniti salutari *FBI*
4	inseri *ACK*	inferri *FBI*
	mancipatus *ACK*	deputatus *FBI*
5	audiat *ACK*	audito *FBI*
	quid contigerit narrando taliter declarat *ACK*	quid contigerit narrat *FBI*
7	qui in aliquo leuiter seu grauiter possent nocere *ACK*	nec aliquid infirmum putant uel sine robore quod aliquo tempore uel in minimo possit nocere *FBGI*
9	penam discendo et operam perdit impensam *AC* cum pena . . . et impensam *K*	literas discendo operam perdit et impensam *F* scholas frequentando literis et o.p. et expensas *GI* penam *om. B*
11	reuoluo *ACKLI*	recordor *EFBH*
	nunc habet *ACK*	non habet *EFLBHGI*
	mutus erit *ACK*	mutus erat (stultus *L*) *EFLBHI*
12	prodigiosus *ACKFI*	prodigiosos *ELBH*
14	opis *ACK*	opem *EFBHI* (ipse *L*)
16	quid tibi si cauda *ACKF*	quid si cauda tibi *ELBHI*
18	placet *ACK*	patet *EFLI* prius *BH*
19	esto quod hinc . . . . mihi *om. ACK*	*extant in EFLBHI*
20	quoque . . . . nunc *ACK*	quaque . . . . tunc *LB* quaque . . . . cum *EF* quoque , ... nunc *I* quaque . . . nunc *H*
21	subtraxit *ACKL*	subtraheret *EFB*
24	castigat *ACK*	sepeliuit *EFLBG*
	nociuior *AC* uicinior *K*	nocentior *EFLBGI*
25	timenda *AC*	tremenda *EFLBGI*
	tunc munda *ACK*	preterita *EFLBGI*
27	ue mihi quod ego nunc cunctis *AC* cunctis ego nunc *K*	me miseram quod ego cunctis *EFLBGI*
	ademisset *ACKI*	adhesisset *BH*
28	mihi dum coniuncta *ACK*	dum me comitata *EFLB*
29	pariter conturbat oester *ACK*	pecudum turbator oester *EFLBGHI*
	stimulant mordent *ACK*	stimulos acuunt *EFLBGI*

30 ipsa *ACK* — illa *EFLB*

31 mundana *ACK* — discreta *EFLBI*

32 noli tardare pedester *ACK* — nocuit differre paratis *EFLBGI*

33 flamine *ACK* — stamine *EFLBI*

36 exacuatur . . . cedat *ACK* — exacuetur *EFLB* cedit *ELB*

37 nec tamen inuenit que cupiebat ibi *ACK* — orbe quod in toto non fuit usque petens *EFLBHGI* (urbe, tota *corr. fr.* toto *F*)

38 nomen Burnellus mihi stat *ACK* — nomine Burnellus dicor *EFLBI* domine . . . ., *FG*

39 excepto *ACKEFI* — accepto *LBH*

41[1] soli *AC* — solo *EFLBK*

60 qui iacet hic iaceat qui bibit ille bibat *ACK* — qui iacet ille bibat qui bibit ille iacet *E couplet om. F* qui bibit ille *L* q.b.i. luat *B*

restabat nulla quam *ACK* — unica restabat que *EFLB* (uinea *B*)

61 dare uicem *ACK* — reddo uicem *EFLB*

64 diu laborabat *AC* diuque laborat *K* — diuque laborans *EFLB*

65 periitque labor sed et omne *ACK* — periit labor omnis et omne *EFLB*

caude superinstituende *ACK* — c.s. inficienda *EFL* (insicienda *B*)

66 longo . . . stamina parte *ACK* — longe mea famina parte *EFLB* (parce *E* longa *B*)

uena meo *ACK* — uena puto *EFLB*

70 cornua uana *ACK* — monstrua membra *LB* (menstrua *EF*)

71 nil ergo uitii debet adesse *ACK* — quidnam uirtutis debet abesse *EFL* (ad–*B*)

74 quos et pudor ipse parentum *ACK* — simul et p.i. parentum *E* (-tes *L* esse *F*)

75 sumptis *AC* — spretis *EFLBK*

76 seruus certissimus *ACK couplet om. ACKF* — tuus immo tuissimus *EFLB* quam bene reddemus . . . referre uicem *ELB*

parem *ACK* — patrem *ELB* (-is *F*)

78 uicina *ACK* — uienna *EFLB*

[1] After p. 41 leaves have been lost from *B* till p. 59; I hope to give fuller evidence for *GHI* when I am able to examine them more thoroughly; the readings that follow concern *EFLB* alone, in that group.

79 nomen subripuit urbis ubi studui *ACK* — surripuit uerbum quod fuit ante meum *EF* (mihi *LB*)

80 esse graues *ACKF* — esse magis *ELB*

paribusque in omnibus *A* (peribet *C* paribus sed *K*) — partitur et omnibus *EFB* (in *L*)

81 facio nisi quod deseruio *ACK* — facio quorsum deseruio *EFLB*

84 *om. ACK* — cellarum numerus . . . parit *EFLB*

om. ACK — quamque semel . . . loqui *EFLB*

85 *om. ACK* — qua facie . . . pedem *EFLB*

86 ficti . furti *ACKL* — falsi . . , ficti *EFB*

87 trilustralis *ACK* (*K has a gloss* quindecenalis) — claustralis *EFL*

88 uota sacrata *ACK* — iura sacrata *EFL* (uita s. *B*)

89 non semper pinguibus uti *ACK* — non spernunt p.u. *EFLB*

90 protexit *ACK* — tegebat *EFLBK*

91 lex noua lutumque *AC* — lex est licitumque *EFLB*

93 ignitum studium *ACB* stadium *K* — in girum stadium *EF* gira *L*

94 harum sunt quedam steriles et quedam parturientes *A* om. harum *CK* — harum sunt quedam steriles quedam parientes *EFLB*

97[1] me nocere solent *A* nocuere mihi *CK* — cruciare solent *EFL* mihi ferre solent *B*

flagella *ACK* — flagellat *EFLB*

dat schola sed pascit *AC* dat schola deposcit *K* — sed schola depascit *EFLB*

Distribution of the Manuscripts

(1) Ancient Libraries. The *Speculum Stultorum* was written at Canterbury, and we are therefore not surprised to find this work in the ancient Catalogues of Libraries there.[2] The following items may be quoted: Library of Christ Church, No. 545, *Speculum Stultorum* (bound up with a number of other treaties); St Augustine's Abbey, No. 871, *Speculum Stultorum* (bound up with other treatises

[1] Here follows the long lacuna in *EFL;* it is perhaps hardly necessary to add further evidence for the short passage, p. 124 to p. 130.

[2] See *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. lviii, 67, 290, 407, ed. M. R. James, Cambridge, 1903.

etc., including *Planctus Anglie de morte Simonis de Montisfortis, De laude Regis Anglie et uictoria Scocie et ingressu in Flandriam, Laus Francorum, Passio Francorum secundum flandrenses,* etc.). This MS. is found in a catalogue of about 1497, and from its contents seems to date at earliest from the beginning of the reign of Edward III, i.e., the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Both these MSS contain the *Speculum* at the beginning of a number of treatises, and this is the case too with *C*, also a fourteenth-century MS. *C* also resembles the St Augustine's MS. in having a number of patriotic poems, an account of '*Quomodo comes Glouernie fuerit occisus apud Strivelin*' (Bannockburn, 1314), '*Rhythmus de bello Scocie*,' etc. The provenance of *C*, however, is more likely farther north, as it contains poems by Robert Baston, Prior of Scarborough about 1310 (we are told that he was admitted to hear confessions in Lincoln diocese in 1318), and also the description of Norfolk already mentioned. With regard to the latter, the addition of '*per monachum quemdam Petroburgensem*' points rather to a neighboring locality than to Peterborough itself, and this is confirmed by an examination of the ancient catalogue (late fourteenth century) of Peterborough Abbey Library,[1] where there is no mention of the *Speculum*, but where there is a '*Descripcio Northfolcie*' (Nos. 280, 4) with no such addition. *C*, therefore, may come from some monastery in the neighborhood of Peterborough, or from Scarborough itself.

To return to Canterbury, the St Augustine's catalogue has an allusion to the preface in its note that the first word of the second folio was '*affectat*' (*in prohemio Sp. St.*), i.e., the MS. had the prose preface, which is lacking in *C* (*op. cit.* 290).

Dover Priory, according to a catalogue dated 1389, had two copies of the *Speculum*, one with, one without, the prose preface (Nos. 105 fol. 58a, 106 fol. 127a), the first beginning '*Dilecto et in Xto*' as *A* does. Other works of Nigel were well represented there. There is no mention of the work in the fourteenth-century catalogue of the Austin Friars' Library at York and only a wrong reference to it in the ancient index to the catalogue of Syon Monastery ('*Nigellus*

[1] Ed. M. R. James in *Transactions of Bibliographical Society*, Supplement No. 5 (1926), pp. 71, 72.

gramaticus in Sp. St. metrice cum epistula eiusdem'); in the catalogue itself the book does not appear.[1]

The fifteenth-century MS. at Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library appears in a Catalogue dated *ca.* 1450, but apparently not the fourteenth-century MS.[2] Lastly, there is no reference to the work in old lists of MSS in the Library of St Edmund's Abbey at Bury.[3]

(2) With regard to the provenance of existing MSS: Dr James has kindly given me the following information about *Lambeth 357* (*L*) from his forthcoming edition of the MSS of that library. It came to Lambeth, he thinks, by way of Mr Theyer of Cooper's Hill, Gloucestershire, from Lanthony, but may have been at one time in Ireland, as it contains an office of St Kenan, of Denelek or Duleek Priory, a dependency of Lanthony. Concerning *Bodleian 851* (*F*), we know that the MS. comes from Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire (see ref. above to *Anecd. Oxon.*). *Bodleian 761* (*E*) was perhaps the property of the family physician of the Bohuns (Earls of Hereford), and originally compiled for Thomas de Walmesford, a dependant of the family, and rector of Sherfield (1328) and of Much Lees (1335). It contains also, however, the copy of a deed awarding a pension to a canon of Godchester in Essex (1355). P. Meyer dates the MS. at 1360 or very soon after.[4] *B. M. Additional 38665* (*K*) comes from the Augustinian Priory of Kenilworth (the first four items have to do with that order), by way of the Copes of Bramshill. *All Souls' 37* (*J*) gives no information except that one item was written by one Henricus Penworthin, which suggests the West of England. *Bodleian 496* (*H*) has a treatise written by a monk of Glastonbury for that monastery, also a poem by a Carthusian monk on Bishop Fleming of Lincoln; the *Speculum* seems, however, to be in a different hand from the other contents (see Madan, 2.1, p. 236). Of the remaining MSS (*Digby 27, Bodleian 780, Trin. Coll., Dublin 440*, and *Lincoln 105, GIDM*) I have at present no information. Of *Harleian 2422* (*A*), *Arundel 23* (*B*), and *Titus Axx* (*C*) I have spoken above.

[1] See M. R. James in *Fasciculus J. W. Clark dicatus*, 1909, and M. Bateson, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Islcworth* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 236.

[2] R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of MSS at Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (London, 1927), p. xii. [3] M. R. James, *Proceedings of Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1895.

[4] *Romania*, XXXVII (1908), 509.

Another point may be noticed here; it may be a mere coincidence that both *C* and *F* contain Michael of Cornwall's long and popular poem against Henry of Avranches, entitled in *C* '*Versus Michaelis Blanuagu* (?) *Cornubiensis contra Henricum Abricensem*,' and in *F* '*Versus Magistri Michaelis Cornubiensis contra Magistrum Henricum Abrincensem coram domino Hugone Abbate Westmonasterii et aliis*,' while in the Catalogue of Christ Church, Canterbury, the same MS. that contains the *Speculum* also has, as the next item, '*Laus Cornubie edita a M. Michaele de eadem*.' What the connection is, is not clear, but Master Michael of Cornwall, or Henry of Avranches may have been connected with the part of England whence those MSS (*C* and *F*) come, i.e., the eastern Midlands, perhaps after being at Canterbury.[1]

[1] See J. C. Russell, 'Master Henry of Avranches as an International Poet' Speculum, III (1928), 41–43, for discussion of this literary controversy.

Kentons, Haslemere,
Surrey

Courtesy of Charles Dutrion

SKETCH RESTORATION OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF CLUNY, MADE OVER A PHOTOGRAPH

MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY EXCAVATIONS AT CLUNY

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IV

The Significance of the Abbey Church

ARCHAEOLOGICAL study in the modern sense is now about two centuries old. In that time a wonderful mass of data has been assembled, which is constantly being added to; and the gathering and interpretation of such data has reached the status of a true science. We may smile now at the mistakes of an earlier day, when the proportions of the Doric order of the Parthenon were adversely criticized because they do not conform to the rules laid down by Vitruvius; when the present cathedral of Paris was accepted as a construction of the ninth century. Encyclopaedic collections of photographs and drawings made within the last seventy or eighty years, taken in connection with a vast amount of research by local archaeologists and others whose circumstances have given them a larger field, make it possible to place a very large part of all archaeological monuments in date and style, by influences, and often by authorship as well.

In the field of mediaeval archaeology an immense amount of work has been done on the subject of dating; so much, indeed, that the controversies are generally concerned with a decade or two, or, at most, half a century. To those who may think that differences of this order really have little historical importance, a modern instance may be cited: an error of twenty-five years in one direction would place the Woolworth Building in New York before the invention of the steel-skeleton office building, while twenty years in the other direction would place it among the new towers now being built by methods much changed in the interval, and designed according to a new grammar of architectural form. The student interested in

buildings which are similarly related to important changes in mediaeval art naturally desires all possible precision in dating. For the Gothic period this work has largely been done, and the history of the style put on a solid basis. But this is not true of the Romanesque period, a fact which explains the shift of the adventuring archaeologist's interest to the earlier period, and certain peculiarities in its literature.

Gothic architecture, like Classic architecture, may now be said to be in the text-book stage; the works on Romanesque still have a rather statistical cast, being concerned with individual monuments, preoccupied with dating, or presenting the monuments as related in family groups without showing the unity, or the living and moving force, of the style. It is only in quite recent years that it has been recognized that the Romanesque formed a complete art cycle, with a well-marked and vigorous archaic period, a period of bloom, and a later florid or baroque period.

It is fair to add, however, that the question of origin and interrelation has been obscured — is indeed still obscured — by difficulties in dating and lost monuments. François Deshoulières, for example, in the admirable recent book *Au Début de l'Art Roman* (Paris: Renaissance du Livre, 1929), excludes from his studies of eleventh-century French monuments all which have been destroyed and all which lack documentary evidence of date. Valuable within its scope, and the necessary possession of any archaeologist interested in the eleventh century, it does not claim to be completely representative. With the advance of archaeological research, such books may become more and more complete, but the method of presentation results in their communicating to the reader a somewhat static impression of the century and style. We may welcome the very interesting foil to this method which is represented in Charles Oursel's excellent *Art Roman de Bourgogne* (Dijon: Venot, and Boston: Marshall Jones, 1928). Here, in the course of an alert and scholarly consideration of his subject, the author takes his readers behind scenes into genealogy and ecclesiastical politics to observe their effects in determining the architectural style of several of the great Burgundian churches. Surely such a treatment of the period makes

it live again and merits the appreciation of historians of the fine arts. It is to be hoped that similar work elsewhere may be as illuminating as this has been in Burgundy.

There is another method of approach which is worth much study and it will do much to untangle the complicated story of eleventh-century architecture. That is the study of the architectural motives employed in the great buildings which served as models for others and the reasons which lie back of the selections. This method is dependent upon the others, but it has valuable contributions to make, and by following the main thread of development it gives an impression of flow and action which is lacking in works of the encyclopaedic sort. The time is not yet ripe for a complete history by this method, but the following paragraphs, a mere sketch, will give an idea of its possibilities, with relation especially to the building now being excavated by the Mediaeval Academy.

At the end of the eighth century we have two very significant churches built in Charlemagne's dominions and dedicated in his presence. One, the destroyed abbey church of St Riquier, was in essence and construction an Early Christian basilica, very strongly impregnated with Germanic or northern feeling — made monumental on the exterior by the addition of towers, accented at both ends in the German manner, and giving promise of the great Rhenish churches of the twelfth century. The other church is of course the celebrated Palatine Chapel at Aachen. The latter church is perhaps more famous as a reflection of the church of S. Vitale in Ravenna than for its own sake, a genuine injustice to the building; for while it is and was meant to be superficially Byzantine, it is in its wall and vault construction, in its use of cut stone and rubble, of ramping vaults, ribs, diaphragm walls, and columnar buttresses, a true forerunner of Romanesque building. Between these two structures lay the programme of the Romanesque builders of two and a half centuries later: the general layout of St Riquer, inspired by the Early Christian basilica in plan and section, yet modified to suit vigorous northern taste by the addition of aspiring and intersecting forms which by their verticality and their striking silhouette add impressiveness to the basilican exterior — this, combined with the sturdy

and well-calculated fireproof construction of the Palatine Chapel, marked the full achievement of the Romanesque.

The architects in the West were generally unwilling to give up the monumental Early Christian interior, focussed on the altar at the head of a long procession of columns or piers, and they therefore adopted but rarely the Byzantine solution of a hybrid between the basilican and the central type of structure, vaulted with a dome. In the dome-building East the vault controlled the plan in large measure. Instead, the western builders continued to use the basilican wooden-roofed scheme, suffered the penalty in frequent destructive fires, and struggled with the difficulties of vaulting the basilica. By the end of the ninth century this was accomplished, over a clearstory, in the little monastery church of S. Salvador at Val de Dios. Here is also a significant example of the banded barrel vault on grouped piers, an accepted Romanesque form rare of occurrence at this early time. The vaulted nave without a clearstory was achieved in Catalonia by the first decade of the eleventh century, as St Martin de Canigou bears witness; and important vaulted constructions were raised in Burgundy at that time. The Catalan and Burgundian work takes its decorative arcading from Lombard sources, but its boldness in vaulting is its own. Certainly the tribune of St Philibert de Tournus (*ca.* 1020?) is a bold and promising piece of work—quadrant vaults and diaphragm arches bay by bay in the aisles; a clearstory; a banded barrel vault (held together by wooden ties) in the upper part, all supported by a barrel- and groin-vaulted construction of much interest, serving as a narthex. We find archaic exterior sculpture in stone at this time in the south, as at St Genis des Fontaines in 1020, and a flowering of sculpture in bronze in the north, where also the German wooden-roofed bascilican double-ended church is brought to a high point in St Michael at Hildesheim, dated 1001. The masterpiece of this simple first Romanesque style is perhaps the five-aisled, seven-apsed, vaulted Sta María de Ripoll in Catalonia (1028). It lacks the finish of the accomplished second Romanesque, but it was a great achievement for the period.

Meanwhile the tenth century had seen the invention of the ambulatory with radiating chapels, probably at Clermont-Ferrand in

Auvergne, the result perhaps of suggestion from the abbey church St Philibert de Grandlieu and the remodeled church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem. The use of cut stone, generally sparing during the first Romanesque period, was extended even to exteriors in the west of France by the beginning of the eleventh century. Nor is it to be forgotten that the north and west of France produced a fine type of spacious basilica of ambitious size, as at Montiérender (*ca.* 980), St Remi at Reims (*ca.* 1015, 1040), and Fulbert's cathedral at Chartres (1020, 1031); the first two with bifora in the triforium, probably borrowed from Germany; the latter with towers (northern) and an ambulatory (Auvergnat).

There was in fact a general flowering of the archaic or first Romanesque style all over western Europe about the year 1020, a flowering in which local types appear well developed, yet borrowing from other regions commonly occurs. This culmination brackets perfectly with the increasing prosperity, better civil order, and easier communications of the time, and in particular with the power of the monasteries, which were beginning to reap the reward of their labors during the earlier Middle Ages.

A second flowering occurs, beginning just after 1060. This period gives us the monumental types which are fundamental in the second or great Romanesque style, and also its sculpture. Here again the borrowing is very clear. Many archaeologists are convinced that the Armenian style, itself in culmination about the year 1000, was laid under contribution. Certainly the Byzantine style was, at S. Marco in Venice and elsewhere. The Asturian and Catalan styles were perhaps in contact in León, possibly at the destroyed cathedral in the capital. This school, in contact with France, is probably responsible for such a monument as S. Martín de Frómista (1066). The latter church formed a part of the very extensive building programme of the pilgrimage routes to Santiago, and there we find, as a moving force, the widely ramified abbey of Cluny.

Under Cluniac auspices St Etienne de Nevers was produced, probably in 1068 or shortly afterward; here we have a combination of the interior elevation of a church like Montiérender and the scheme used in the tribune of St Philibert de Tournus, with, in addi-

tion, an ambulatory and radiating chapels Auvergnat in origin, but already acclimated in Burgundy at Tournus. We see the play of the type of St Etienne de Nevers upon the type of S. Martín de Frómista in the accomplished formula of the pilgrimage group of churches — St Martial de Limoges, Santiago de Compostela, St Sernin de Toulouse, and St Foi de Conques. Nothing can be clearer than that these are composite types, created through study of what had been created in the flowering of 1020 and previous years; we have the evidence of the architectural motives and certain knowledge that the widely extended influence of Cluny is to be found in it all. Meanwhile the local types continue, or are modified by contact with the new types.

In the late 1080's the Cluniac monks prepared to build for themselves, and in their splendid church we have by far the most significant example of the integrating process — indeed, this wonderful structure was a *sum of Romanesque architecture* as no other building has been. It represented by the forms of its fabric the truly imperial extension of the order; it drew upon the Romanesque of all western Europe, upon the sources of the Romanesque, upon the East, upon the Early Christian and upon Classic art. In contact as no other centre could be with the living art of the West, in sympathy as none other with the art of peoples more remote in place and time, Cluny gathered up from them all what would best serve, and from the synthesis was produced a beautiful edifice which was the acknowledged masterpiece of Romanesque architecture, for centuries universally admired. This is indeed what we might have expected from so great a Congregation at the height of its power; from St Hugh of Semur, one of the greatest men who ever wore an abbot's mitre; and from Hézelon of Tournai, the principal architect of the building, known as a man of great ability in several fields of endeavor, and here provided with unusual resources for a preëminent building enterprise.

From Early Christian architecture Cluny drew its general plan and arrangement — its basilican scheme, longitudinal in plan, focussed at the high altar. It was five-aisled, like the finest Early Christian churches, and it was in dimension comparable to them.

The nave was abundantly lighted by a clearstory and its section was expressed on the towerless façade in the Early Christian manner. But in order to accommodate, without preëmpting the nave, the numerous clergy, and to provide the numerous altars they required, the choir of the church was designed in a manner unknown to Early Christian architecture — being, in effect, a double-ended basilica of the German type with an ambulatory and radiating chapels at the east end, and the nave proper in place of the western apse. The ambulatory and radiating chapels come ultimately, of course, from Auvergne; here they appeared in a monumentally developed form, piling up picturesquely at the east end of the church, and composing handsomely with the two transepts. Over the great crossing was a square tower resembling in general those seen in northern France and in Germany, but each of the transepts and the minor crossing had an octagonal tower strikingly resembling in effect, though not in function or structure, those found in Armenia and Georgia. The similarity may be accidental, but the very placing of these towers suggests the East: they are arranged to form a group like the domes of S. Marco in Venice and the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, except that the long western arm of Cluny was not designed for a tower. Two slender towers were planned, one at each end of the great transept — a German scheme. The pyramidal spires as rebuilt in the later Middle Ages were probably steeper than the original roofs, but the latter appear to have been early examples of the relatively steep pyramidal spire in Burgundy. This exterior was admirably composed for its situation, running into the slope of a hill; it had the excitement of design and elaborateness of silhouette of the northern tradition.

The effect of the interior was longitudinal, horizontal, and hence southern, but the splendid tall proportions of the nave reflected northern and eastern feeling. The great pointed banded barrel vault, so high and bold, may have been worked out independently of eastern influence, but it was anticipated in Armenia at Ani. Beneath the towers were octagonal cloister vaults on squinches, a motive going back to Roman, Syrian, and eastern models; the scalloped decoration of the triforium recalls Spain and Anatolia. The high vault was built

as a single shell of masonry; the outer aisle vault was loaded to bring it to a slope, both southern roofing methods; but the tower and inner aisle vaults were protected by timber roofs in the northern way. The actual fabric was of rubble, massive, but faced in the nave and on a part of the façade by cut stone, elsewhere by small trimmed stone; the piers and the architectural membering, including quoining and buttresses, were in cut stone. Thus the fabric of Clunyc arried on the tradition of the archaic Romanesque, while giving the promise of the typical fabric of the twelfth-century Romanesque and suggesting more vaguely the articulated structure of the Gothic period. The splendid decoration of the building centred upon a great frescoed Christ in the principal apse — a painting probably inspired by Italy and more remotely by Byzantine and Early Christian work, but there was in addition a marvelous profusion of sculpture, representing the Romanesque tradition newly formed under the auspices of the monks, yet with evident reminiscences of the Byzantine and the Classic, side by side with motives which announce the later Romanesque and the Gothic.

This structure deserved the first place among early mediaeval buildings by reason of its size and its dignity as the head church of the Congregation of Cluny, and it is hard to doubt that it stood very high as an aesthetic achievement. Its position in the history of architecture would be secure no matter when it was built, but, designed by 1088 and largely complete by 1109, it is entitled to take its place in the first rank as the major enterprise of the great period of the Romanesque, an edifice richly endowed by the past, precocious in its time, and boldly anticipating the future.

NOTES

A SOLINUS MANUSCRIPT FROM THE LIBRARY OF COLUCCIO SALUTATI

Egerton MS. 818 is thus described in the British Museum *List of Additions to the MSS* for the years 1836–1840:

'C. J. Solini Polyhistor. Codex membranaceus, sec. xi. In Folio minori.'

Even a Spartan could hardly accuse this description of verbosity; but this MS. was even more scurvily treated at a later date, for in his monumental edition of Solinus (2d ed., Berlin, 1895) Mommsen, while enumerating no less than 21 MSS of the work in the British Museum, overlooks this entirely, though it is the earliest of all. It is perhaps not too late to redress in some measure the iniquity of Fortune by publishing an account of a manuscript which has several points of interest.

I have called it the earliest of the British Museum MSS of Solinus, and this is certainly true, but it is not so much earlier than some of the others as the bald 'sec. xi' of the catalogue might imply. It may indeed be of the eleventh century, but if so it is to be placed towards the end of that century, and probably '*circa* 1100' would be the safest dating. *Harley MS. 3859*, which is, however, definitely of the twelfth century, is perhaps the nearest to it in date.

The MS. is written on 52 leaves of vellum in a good Caroline minuscule hand, in ink of a brown tint; ruling with a hard point on the hair side; gatherings of 8 leaves (last 4), with catchwords (omitted in the 5th gathering). The headings are in red ink, the large initials at the beginnings of lines are decorated with red, blue, green, or yellow, the smaller initials in the lines dashed with red. There are a few coloured pictures and three marginal drawings in the same brown ink as the text, viz.:

fol. 2r. Solinus, seated in chair with high back ending in two animal heads, presenting his book to Adventus; blue ground, figures in red, yellow, blue, and mauve, the whole in a frame of red and yellow.

fol. 9v. Heading: '*De italia*' (Solinus 2, 1; M. 31, 6 [1]). A crowned bearded figure, shown to the waist, in left hand a three-headed staff, right hand raised; blue ground, figure in ink.

fol. 12v. Heading '*De sardinia*' (second *i* corr. from *e*) (Solinus, 4, 1; M. 46, 3). Bearded figure, full-face, with round cap, shown to the waist, in right hand a staff

[1] I refer throughout to Mommsen's 2d edition (by pages and lines) as 'M.' *Egerton 818* I refer to as '*Eg.*'

with knobbed head, in left a book; blue ground, figure in ink, cap, staff, and bosses of book in red.

fol. 13r. Heading '*De sicilia*' (Solinus 5, 1; M. 47, 17). A crowned bearded figure, three-quarters length, in left hand a three-headed staff, right hand raised; blue ground in lower half, figure in ink, staff in red, red used also in crown and robes.

fol. 22r. In right margin, illustrating Solinus 15, 22; M. 86, 14, an ink drawing of a gryphon.

fol. 30r. In right margin, illustrating Solinus 27, 13 ff.; M. 119, an ink drawing of a lion.

fol. 42v. In left margin, illustrating Solinus 45, 8; M. 174, 15 f., an ink drawing of Bucephalus.

fol. 51r. Temple of Diana (see p. 455 below), in red, blue, yellow, white, outlines in black.

The hand and decoration suggest Italy as the provenance, and this is confirmed by the colophon (see p. 455 below) and other indications.

The greater part of the MS. (fol. 1r.–50v.) is occupied by the *Polyhistor* or *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* of Solinus. Only at the end are additions, fol. 50v.–51v. by the original scribe, fol. 51v.–52r. by a later hand. With these additions I shall deal presently. As regards the work of Solinus, the MS. clearly belongs to Mommsen's 'Class III,' the interpolated family, represented most typically by *SAP*, and its closest affinities are with *A*. I publish below the evidence on which this statement is founded.

On fol. 50v. after '*qualitatem*,' the concluding word of Solinus's text, and filling up the rest of this line, a hand of the fourteenth century has written '*Liber Colucii Cancellarii Florentini*.' This is the famous humanist Lino Coluccio di Pierio Salutati, who was a diligent collector of books, and who became Chancellor of Florence on April 25, 1375, dying in 1406, when his library was sold by his heirs. Not only did this MS. form part of his library but he has left evidence of his study of it on many pages in the shape of marginal annotations and occasional corrections. It is not unlikely that the words '*liber primus*' added after the heading at the beginning (see p. 458 below) and '*Julius Solinus Aduento salutem*' prefixed to the second preface (beginning '*Cum et aurium*') are also from his hand; but about a large number, probably the majority, of the marginal notes there can be no reasonable doubt. There are indeed differences between them and the note of ownership and between them and some of the facsimiles of Coluccio's hand in F. Novati's *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati: Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (1891–1905), but a careful comparison confirms the natural assumption that the annotations are mainly the work of Coluccio himself. The plates referred to show that his hand varied remarkably on different occasions and for different purposes, and indeed even in these annotations there are several different types of script. The nearest affinity to the hand seen in the note of ownership is that of the signature '*Tuus Colucius Cancellarius*

Florentinus' in Plate II of Vol. III of Novati's collection. There is in the British Museum another volume from Coluccio's library, *Harley MS. 2655*, which contains Ovid's *Fasti*. On fol. 50 of this is the following note, in a hand of a different type from that of *Eg.*, but no doubt Coluccio's own (it is perhaps nearest to that of Plate II in Novati's Vol. IV):

Iste Ouidius Fastorum (*corr. from* Faustorum) est Coluccii quondam pieri coluccii de stignano communis Bugiani notarii quem ipse emit a Maffio de Fighine qui publice Florentie uendit libros. Et constitit solidorum (?) xxxv. sp. mcclvij. Ind. x. die. xxij. Februarii.

The character before 'xxxv,' which appears to be '*s*'(less likely '*f*') with the sign of abbreviation, is presumably to be expanded, as Mr G. F. Hill points out, *solidorum*, i.e., *soldi*, since 35 florins seems an impossibly high price; but what follows the figure is obscure. It appears to be, as read above, sp, though *fr* is not quite impossible, and is naturally taken as a specification of the kind of *soldi* intended. Du Cange under *Sprezia* quotes from a Bergamo chronicle for 1406 (Muratori 16, 968E): '*acceperunt unam Spreziam auri*,' but this does not seem to help. At all events it appears that Coluccio bought the Ovid from a Florentine bookseller named Maffeo di [1] Fighine, on February 22, 1357, for 35 *soldi* (?). At least one or two of its marginal notes are in his hand, and there is a further link between it and *Eg.* At the top of fol. 1 is the entry '*52. carte lij.*' *Eg.* in the same position has a similar entry in the same hand: '*63. Carte lxxiiij.*' It seems clear that these are library press-marks, and one may naturally suppose them to refer to Coluccio's own library. It is true that the press-marks are not in his hand and that *Harley 2655* belonged also to St Mark's, as is shown by the note on fol. 50: '*Est Conuentus Sancti Marci de Florentia ordinis predicatorum de hereditate Nicolai de Nicolis.*' This is the well-known humanist Niccolò Niccoli (d. 1437), whose extensive library, left by him to sixteen trustees, among them Cosmo de' Medici, was taken over by the latter in consideration of his payment of Niccolò's debts, and placed in St Mark's.[2] It is, however, likely that the press-marks would be inserted by a secretary rather than by Coluccio himself, and, as regards the other point, the British Museum possesses a number of other MSS from St Mark's (*Add. 9350, 14770, 14771, 14773, 14774, 14778, 14796–14798, 14807, 14814, 18219, Harl. 2630*), several of which were from the library of Niccolò Niccoli, who also owned *Add. 19057;* yet in none of them does a press-mark

[1] Abbreviated in the MS. I have extended it as the Latin *de*.

[2] See, for example, W. Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, chap. i, and the monograph, *Nicolò Niccoli* (Florence, 1890) by G. Zippel, in the appendix to which, pp. 96 ff., are given the documents relating to the library. The *Fasti* MS. does not occur in the '*memorie di Piero de'Medici sul padre Cosimo: Elenco dei libri lasciati da lui*' on pp. 109 ff.

of the type noted above occur. Moreover, the hand of these press-marks looks earlier than that of the note referring to St Mark's. Hence, it seems reasonably likely that they were press-marks of Coluccio's library.

I have referred to Coluccio's annotations in *Eg.* These are not glosses or explanatory notes but 'captions' intended to enable a particular passage to be found rapidly. That Coluccio did study Solinus we know from his letters, in which there are several references to this author, either by name or otherwise (see Novati's index). Indeed, we can actually trace him using this particular MS. In a letter to Francesco Bartolini, September 2, 1383, he writes (Novati, II, 102): '*licet etiam si de prima Babylonia, quam, Solino, Isidoro, Orosio atque Pomponio Mela testibus, constat in Assyria fuisse conditam a Semyramide,*' etc. The words '*a semiramide condita,*' which *Eg.* has in common with *SAP*, are one of the interpolations characteristic of the family.

Even clearer is another case, in a letter to Giorgio di Facino Stella, May 1, 1405, where Coluccio quotes Solinus at some length (Novati, IV, 93–94). To show the close agreement with *Eg.* I give below in three parallel columns the text of M., that of Col., and that of *Eg.*, marking by italics in the last two the points in which they diverge from M. and agree with each other:

M.	Col.	*Eg.*
nam quis ignorat vel dicta	nam quis ignor*et* vel dicta	nam quis ignor*et* [1] uel dicta
vel condita a Iano Ianiculum,	vel condita a Iano Ianiculum.	uel condita. a iano ianiculum?
a Saturno Latium atque	a Saturno Latium atque	a saturno latium. atque
Saturniam, a Danae Ardeam,	Saturniam, a Danae Ardeam,	saturniam? A dane [2] ardeam.
a comitibus Herculis	a comitibus Herculis	a comitibus [3] herculis
Polyclen, ab ipso in Campania	Polyclea, ab ipso in Campania	polyclen. Ab ipso in campania.
Pompeios, qua victor ex	Pompeios, qua victor ex	pompeios. qua uictor ex
Hispania pompam boum	Hispania pompam boum	hyspania pompam boum
duxerat? In Liguria	duxerat? in Liguria	duxerat. In liguria
quoque lapidarios campos,	quoque lapidarios campos,	quoque lapidarios campos.
quod ibi eo dimicante	quòd, *Iove* eo dimicante,	quod *ioue* [4] eo dimicante
creduntur pluvisse saxa.	creduntur *saxa pluisse.*	creduntur *saxa pluisse.*[5]

It will be seen that *Eg.* agrees exactly with Col. except in two trivial points, and in two cases (*ignoret* and *saxa pluisse*) its reading is found, among the MSS used by Mommsen, only in *A*. The two exceptions are *Eg.*'s *dane* as against Coluccio's *Danae*, and its correct *polyclen* against his *Polyclea*. In the first case Coluccio no doubt corrected the MS. *dane* (due to taking *ae* of an archetype as the diphthong); in the second his *Polyclea*, if not a mere misprint or misreading in the edition, is probably a slip of the pen on his part.

In one case indeed there is a divergence between *Eg.* and Coluccio. In his letter to Astorgio Manfredi, 19 Dec. 1397 (?), Coluccio writes (Novati,

[1] *Sic A.* [2] *Sic RHLGP* (danae *CNMSA*). [3] i *prima ex* o *corr.* (commotibus *M*).
[4] *Sic GBA* (ioui *HLNS*, iobe *RC*, ibi N^2MP). [5] *Sic A.*

III, 237): '*cum inter deletam Troiam et Romam conditam intercesserint, Solino teste, anni quadringenti et octo.*' The reference is to Solinus 1, 28 (M. 8, 2–5): '*Ita . . . inter exortum urbis et Troiam captam iure esse annos quadringentos triginta tres constat.*' Novati comments: '*Forse il S. citava a memoria o il suo esemplare recava una lezione falsa.*' But *Eg.* (fol. 4r, marginal caption, '*quantum tempus inter troie ignes et urbem conditam fuerit*') has the correct reading as in *M.* No such reading as Coluccio's is, however, quoted by Mommsen, and it seems probable that Novati's first suggestion is correct and that Coluccio was inaccurately quoting from memory.

I come now to the additional matter at the end of the volume. The work of Solinus is followed immediately (fol. 50v) by *De Septem Miraculis Orbis*, beginning '*Miraculum primum capitolium rome*,' ending (fol. 51r) '*tam mirabilis edificii*,' with the coloured diagram of the temple of Diana below. This is the well-known tract on the Seven Wonders, for which see H. Omont, 'Les Sept Merveilles du Monde au Moyen Age,' *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XLIII (1882) 40–59, 431–432. The text is that often attributed to Bede, no. 1 of Omont's series. Here it is followed on the next page (fol. 51v.), without heading and in the same hand, by a short section relating to Babylon, which begins: '*Hin* (sic) *prima uisione esaie. Babylon fuit potentissima*' and ends: '*et multa alia que pene uidentur incredebilia.*' In part this agrees closely with the second *miraculum* in Omont's second text (*op. cit.*, pp. 50 f.), which is an almost verbal reproduction of Orosius, *Historia*, ii, 6, and no doubt the text in *Eg.* is also founded ultimately on Orosius, but it differs considerably both by omission and, still more, addition, so that it is probably taken from some later, intermediate source. The length of the wall is thus given: '*per quadrum sita ab angulo usque ad angulum. sedecim milia tenuisse passuum. id est. simulque per circuitum sexaginta quattuor.*' I have not found this particular text elsewhere, but it is probably known.

This text is followed by the colophon to the volume, which gives the name of the scribe. It consists of six leonine hexameters, written alternately in red and black. After the last a short line has been very thoroughly erased. Slight traces of red suggest that it was written in red ink and formed a seventh line, though it must in that case have been a short hexameter. I print the red lines in italics:

Me guido collegit studiose meque peregit;
Hic est. solinus describere gesta peritus;
Post hunc ex astris sequitur doctrinaque grandis;
Discere captandi nec abest. ars enumerandi;
Inuenies tandem metiendi qui cupis artem;
Conclusitque simul. longo quesita labore;

Below this a later hand, of the thirteenth century, has added a text which I have found both puzzling and interesting. Probably it is my

ignorance rather than its rarity which is accountable for my failure to identify it; but since, if unknown, it is of some interest, I print it in full, with some notes on its character, following modern usage in punctuation, the use of capitals, of *u* and *v*, and of *ae* for *e* in the diphthong:

Quam plurime tuae strenuitati ab omnibus imperii fidelibus exsolvendae sunt grates et laudes pro eo, quod tam nobiliter tamque prudenter agis agenda et in tantae puritatis constantia circa imperatoriae magestatis (*sic*) honorem praeclara tuae nobilitatis [1] rutilat scintilla. Opponis te inimicis imperii, et bene facis; werram sustines; minas audis; dampna pateris, et iuste agis; promittitur pecunia,[2] et eam spernis; suadetur tibi, et vilipendis. Per hoc etiam nunc tua inter ceteros Italiae [3] principes velut [4] aureum sidus in orbe fulget industria, quod pro gloriosissimo Caesare Augusto pugnas, et pro re publica indesinenter laboras. Age igitur strenue, existe viriliter, et resiste prudenter, serva inceptum, conforta fidem, auge virtutem, robora constantiam, invigila et pugna decenter, quoniam post pugnam sequitur corona, post labores quies. Nam si legitime certaveris, gloriosam accipies coronam. Potentissimus enim triumphator nunc sollicitat regna, excitat gentes, probat vires, et de omnibus gentibus, et de his etiam nationibus quae adhuc unum et trinum ignorant colere deum, talem et tantum congregat exercitum, qualem vel quantum nullus adhuc imperatorum nec etiam Carolus habuit vel habere potuit; et sic in proximo te decorabit imperium, et tuae fidei remunerabitur servitium. Gloriose tibi erat apud Caesarem pro servitio exhibito tempore pacis, gloriosius tibi erit si modo laboraveris [5] et si viriliter egeris. Nam animos leonum frons et cauda indicat, et tempus adversitatis [6] fideles probat. Quantam enim fiduciam et quantam securitatem [7] de [8] te habeat [9] dominus imperator tu ipse [10] recognoscis. Nam si Ferraria servabitur, tibi erit gloria, tibi laus et honor; si vero corrumpetur, quod absit, ubi erit fides tua, ubi prudentia, ubi fideles et amici tui? quid de te dicet imperium, quid imperatoria magestas, quid principes et barones? Rogo igitur te, deprecor, suadeo et consulo, ut totum studium tuum, totam diligenciam tuam adhibeas, ut honor imperii non minuatur vel corrumpatur.

Clearly this is a letter or part of a letter to an Italian prince (*inter ceteros Italiae principes*) in the service of the Emperor, urging him to defend or to relieve Ferrara. The date is later than Charlemagne, who must be the 'Carolus' referred to, and the lower limit of date is fixed by the hand as the end of the thirteenth century. A *potentissimus triumphator* was active in Italy, gathering a formidable army, which included non-Christian contingents. At first sight one would naturally take this *triumphator* as the enemy to be resisted, but the wording does not impose this interpretation; indeed, if the whole context is considered, this passage seems to contain a reason for expecting ultimate success; and as will be seen it is in fact preferable to regard the *triumphator* as the Emperor himself. This latter interpretation is further supported by the words *nullus adhuc imperatorum*

[1] constantia *deleted after* nobilitatis.
[2] promititur peccunia MS.
[3] ytalie MS.
[4] uelud MS.
[5] laborauaueris MS.
[6] p *deleted after* aduersitatis.
[7] seccuritatem MS.
[8] h *deleted after* de.
[9] habea MS.
[10] ipsse MS.

and the reference to Charlemagne. But which Emperor is meant, and what is the occasion? In the year 1081 the Emperor Henry IV, during his Lombard campaign, threatened Ferrara, which appealed to the Countess Matilda and was saved by the intervention of her army.[1] But since Ferrara was not then in the hands of the Emperor the language of our text does not suit the circumstances. Equally unsuitable is the siege and capture of the city by Matilda's forces in 1101.[2] The reference to non-Christian troops irresistibly suggests a Hohenstaufen Emperor; and since it does not seem possible to discover a suitable moment in the career of Barbarossa, our choice must fall on Frederick II, whose army included a large contingent (it is said 30,000 men) of Saracens. Now in 1240 Ferrara, whose *podestà*, Salinguerra, had gone over to the Emperor four years previously, was besieged for four months by the army of the Lombard League under a papal legate, and on its fall, in June, Salinguerra was taken prisoner to Venice. The circumstances would well suit the present text, and probably the date of the hand is reconcilable with the suggestion that this was the occasion of the letter; even if a later date in the thirteenth century be preferred for the actual writing it is of course quite possible that the text was copied later than the events to which it refers.[3] The letter may have been written to Salinguerra himself, but since he had not always been on the Emperor's side the language used is not wholly appropriate, though one must not be too exigent for strict truth in such a case. But a greater name occurs to one: Ezzelino da Romano was, above all others in that age of constant treachery, noted for his staunch adherence to Frederick. The praises bestowed on the recipient may sound a little strangely of that

facella
Che fece alla contrada un grande assalto

to whom the Ghibelline poet assigned a place in Hell among the tyrants; but they are perfectly intelligible in the circumstances.[4] I suggest then, with all the reserve proper in one who ventures on unfamiliar ground, that

[1] The fullest account I have seen of these events is in the MS. *Annali di Ferrara* of Filippo Rodi (*Add. MS. 16521*, fol. 133v.–134r.).

[2] This is the date usually given. The edition of *Donizonis Vita Mattildis* in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Script.* XII, gives the date (p. 397) as 1102.

[3] A further point in favour of Frederick II is the word *triumphator*, which is applied to him, e.g., in the letter of Ezzelino, written this very year, in Rolandinus Patavinus, *De Factis in Marchia Tarvisina*, iv, 7 (Muratori, viii, 223), where Frederick is addressed as '*invictissimo, et triumphatori Domino*'; cf. Frederick's own letter of the same year in Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, v, 763: '*Restat igitur ut . . . Urbem feliciter ingredi disponamus ut antiquos imperii fastos et* triumphales *lauros*,' etc.

[4] Cf. the tone in which Ezzelino is addressed in, e.g., no. xxv of lib. II in the Basel edition, 1740, of Petrus de Vinea's *Epistolae*.

the letter was addressed to Ezzelino, perhaps by Salinguerra or his secretary, or perhaps rather by a servant of Frederick, during the siege of Ferrara in 1240. Several of Petrus de Vinea's letters are addressed to Ezzelino, but I doubt whether the style of the present text suits such an attribution; it is perhaps rather too staccato for a writer who seems to have cultivated a more periodic manner.

There is one further point of interest to be noted. The words *animos leonum frons et cauda indicat* are a verbal quotation from Solinus (27, 18; M. 119, 16). It so happens that the correct reading *indicant*, to judge from Mommsen's silence on the point, is that of all his MSS, whereas *indicat* is found in *Eg.* (fol. 30r.). The inference is obvious that the writer of this letter used the present MS. and may have been its owner. If we could identify him with Petrus de Vinea, then Petrus would have to be added to Coluccio as a distinguished man of letters connected with this copy of Solinus. But that is to adventure too far into the treacherous region of conjecture.

I should like in conclusion to acknowledge my indebtedness to several of my colleagues for advice in the preparation of this article, notably to Mr Robin Flower and to Mr A. J. Collins.

Collation of the Coluccio MS.

As an appendix to the foregoing article I publish here the evidence as to the text of Solinus. To determine its character I made collations with a selected number of the test passages specified by Mommsen on pp. lxxviii ff. of his second edition (1895), the result being, as already stated, to make it clear that *Eg.* belongs to his 'class III,' the interpolated family, represented by *SAP*, and that its closest affinities are with *A*. More exactly, it may, I think, be affirmed: (1) that it regularly agrees with the combination *SAP*; (2) that where *SA* agree against *P* or *AP* against *S* it normally agrees with the combination which includes *A*; and (3) that where *A* stands alone *Eg.* frequently shares its reading. The detailed evidence on which these assertions rest is as follows:

The heading to the work in *Eg.* is '*C. Julii solini siue gramatici polyhystor. ab ipso aeditus et recognitus. De situ orbis terrarum. et de singulis mirabilibus quę in mundo habentur incipit*' (*liber primus* added by a later hand). So M., p. 217, among '*Codicum classium secundae et tertiae additamenta potiora.*' The words '*de situ . . . habentur,*' are found in *SA* only. This is followed by the preface, headed by the words '*Solinus. aduento* (so *A*) *salutem,*' beginning '*Qvoniam qvidam impatientivs potivs*' and ending '*cui laboris nostri summam dedicauimus,*' which is found also in *SAP*. Then come '*Capitula libri sequentis,*' a list of chapters, and then the preface '*Cum et aurium clementia*' as in M. At the end (fol. 50v.) are the words '*Feliciter liber perscriptus. c. iulii solini siue gramatici polyhistor. ab ipso editus et recognitus.*' M. (p. xcvii) gives the following as the subscription of '*N itemque huic affines tertiae SA*': '*explicit liber Julii Solini de situ orbis terrarum et de singulis mirabilibus quae mundi ambitu continentur* (*quae in mundo habentur SA*).'

Below are given the readings of *Eg.* in certain of the test passages specified by Mommsen. I add in each case references to MSS which agree, completely or most

nearly, with *Eg.*, and print in italics those *readings* of *Eg.* not found in any of Mommsen's MSS. (Mere mis-spellings or obvious slips of the pen are disregarded.)

(1) M., p. lxxviii, differences between 'Class I' and 'Class II':

M. 33, 10 *Eg.* liger *ut RCNHSA.*

39, 13 *Eg.* chersidri (chersydris *NSA*, chersidris *CH*).

48, 18 *Eg.* ingurgitauerit *ut RCN* HSAP.*[2]

58, 4 *Eg.* isthmon *ut AP.*

59, 13–17 *Eg.* Quos cathmus (*sic* H, catmus *RCS*) literarum primus repertor. dum inquirit quenam. adisset (adiset *P*, adissent *A*) loca (*sic AP*). quoniam equestri exploratione primus primus reperit (primus repperit *AP* [2]). incensa est licentia poetarum. ut pariter utrumque (*sic AP*) uulgarent (*sic AP*). Scilicet quod eorum aliter (l. alter) alitis equi ungula sollicitatus foret. alter potatus. facundia animas irrigaret (*sic AP* [2]).

129, 7 *Eg.* a celesti *ut RCNSA.*

132, 9 *Eg.* modicoque tantum *ut RCNSA.*

In all these cases *Eg.*, like its family, agrees in essentials with 'Class I.'

(2) M. p. lxxxii, examples of *lectiones duplicatae:* —

M. 17, 17 *Eg.* maximus. M. curio, *cognominatus ob id dentatus* (m. curio *RCHLP*, maximus curio *NS*, maximus marcus curio *A*; *codd.* dentatus ob id cognominatus).

26, 6 *Eg.* l. sicinium *ut P cum cl. II* (quinquaginta lucium sicinium *A*).

44, 1 *Eg.* c. gaius marius *ut A.*

47, 5 *Eg.* uelut ridentium facie (ridentum f. *A*) intereant *ut SA.*

55, 14 *Eg.* memoriæ bonum perimit *ut S cum reliquis* (mem. b. interficit *A*, mem. int. b. perimit P).

55, 15 *Eg. om.* nec alter alius *ut S cum N* (tercius nemo *A*, nec alter alius tertius nemo *P*).

62, 16 *Eg.* meliboea in hoc pede computatur *ut S cum reliquis exc. FN*[2]*P* (*deficit A*).

67, 12 *Eg.* defunctorum insiliunt maritorum rogos *ut A.*

80, 14–15 *Eg.* calonstoma. ac deinde. stenostoma (*sic SA*). Quartum. pseudostoma. Nam borionstoma. ac deinde *psilonstoma* (*recte ut M. contra codd. omnes*).

97, 15 *Eg.* unde pignitum (*l.* gignitum) profluit *ut SA.*

99, 5 *Eg. quaqua orbe* (quaqua parte *P*,[2] quaqua parte orbe *SA*, quoquo orbis *P*[1] *cum reliquis*).

104, 17 *Eg. chaonio* (chiano *A*).

109, 7 *Eg. rutilorum* (rutulorum *SP*[2], ruttulorum *A*).

133, 16 *Eg.* stellatam. candidis maculis supersparsam *ut SA* (–sparse *S*).

136, 14 *Eg.* a canopo melai (*l.* menelai) gubernatore ibi sepulto, *ut SA.*

161, 16 *Eg.* choydaspi (*sic A*) . . . hydaspes (*ex* hyduspes *corr.*) *ut SAP.*[2]

163, 12 *Eg.* Prorsus *ut SF* (*deficit A*).

187, 15 *Eg. nichilo* (nilo *A cum cl. I*).

192, 15–221, 1 *Eg. habet cum SAP*[1] *additamentum de pipere et hebeno ut sequitur:* Eorum qui primus erumpit. uelut corylorum fimbria. dicitur piper longum. Quod incorruptum est. piper album. Quorum cutem rugosam et horridam calor fecerit (*sic SA*). *piper nigrum. Quorum* deinde caducus torretur feruido sole. uocamen trahit de colore. At *quod* ex ipsa arbore stringitur. ut est. album piper dicitur. Sed ut piper sola india. ita et hebenum sola mittitur (*sic*). Nec tamen uni-

uersa uerum exigua sui parte. *siluis* hoc genus gignit (ducit *A*). Arbor est plerunque tenuis. *sed* frequentior. uimine raro. in crassitudinem caudicis (*sic A*) extuberata. Hiulco corticice (*sic*). et admodum reticulato. dehiscentibus uenis. adeo. ut per ipsos sinus pars intima uix tenui libro contegatur. Lignum omne *absque* (*sic*) mediale (medicale *A*). eadem ferme et facie et nitore. qui est in lapide gagate. *Inde* reges ex eo sceptra sumunt. et quascunque deorum ymagines. non nisi ex hebeno habent. Idem ferunt materie ista liquorem noxium non contineri. et quicquid *maleficum* (maleficium *SAP*^{2}) fuerit. tactu eius *aduertit* (*sec.* t *del.*). Hac gratia. pocula ex hebeno habent. Ita nichil mirum si peregre sit in pretio. *quo* etiam ipsi quibus prouenit honorantur.

M. 193, 4–5 *Eg.*adoratos (*sic*). potentes aduersum intestine ægritudinis incommoda. Dat (*sic SAP*^{1}) et multa alia flagrantia (*sic* RCLQSA^{s}P). mirifici (*ult.* i *ex* e *corr.*) spiritus suauitate (–tem *S*) grata (*sic SA*).

(3) M. p. lxxxiii, agreements of *SA* with *RC* against *NH*: —
M. 27, 8 *Eg.* xc *ut A cum RC.*
119, 11 *Eg.* obtestata *ut A.*

(4) *ibid.*, agreements of *SA* with class II against class I: —
M. 2, 4 *Eg.* et lapidibus *ins. ut AP.*
13, 16 *Eg.* in se *ut A cum cl. II.*
19, 22 *Eg.* obducto menbrana oculo *ut A cum cl. II.*
36, 4 *Eg. herophylan* (erofilan *A*).

(5) M. p. lxxxiv, scribal conjectures in *A*: —
M. 18, 1 *Eg.* quibus *ut A.*
18, 6 *Eg.* zoroastrem *ut AN.*^{2}
20, 16–17 *Eg.* putuauerunt *semel ut AP.*

(6) *ibid.*, scribal conjectures in *P*: —
M. 19,14 *Eg.* alectorius *ut codd. exc. P*^{1} *Q*^{2}.
M. 34, 10 *Eg.* metapontum *ut codd.* (hypontum *P*^{2}).
35, 2 *Eg.* leucotia *ut R* (leucosiam *P*^{2}*N*^{2}).
51, 17. *Eg.* æthna *ut libri boni* (henna *PL*^{2}).

(7) M. p. lxxxv, correct emendations in *SAP*: —
M. 7, 12 *Eg. elelis* filius eius (eleus *recte AP*).
18, 7 *Eg.* At (*sic AP*). *L.* crassus.
26, 10 *Eg.* Spolia *ut SAP.*
58, 4 *Eg.* isthmon *ut AP.*
59, 11 *Eg.* apud thebas *ut APL.*^{2}
68, 5 *Eg.* męsi. getę *ut AP.*
72, 9 *Eg.* crates *ut AP.*^{2}
72, 17 *Eg.* Ida est *ut AP.*
78, 10 *Eg.* ferme *ut SAP.*
92, 9 *Eg.* M. lucullus *ut SA.*
92, 18 *Eg.* dulce haustu. sicut *ut AP*^{2} (dulce haustu *S*).

(8) M. p. lxxxvi, substituted readings of the second editor: —
M. 129, 2 *Eg.* æstuet *ut SA.*
3 *Eg.* in articulo temporis *ut SAP*^{1}.
4 *Eg.* dissonam sui *ut SAP.*
8 *Eg.* controuersa *ut SAP cum C.*
9 *Eg.* ab *hoc casu* ita (*sic SAP*) incipit excandescere *ut SP*^{2}. [1]

10 *Eg.* incaluit *ut SA.*
11 *Eg.* glaciales *ut SA.*
12 *Eg.* ut hauriri a sitientibus nequeat *ut SA.*

The above specimens are sufficient to illustrate both the character of *Eg.* as belonging to class III and its close affinity to *SAP* and particularly to *A.*

Postscript. While I was reading the proofs of this article I discovered that Prof. B. Ullmann of Chicago was also working at *Eg. 818* in connexion with a study of Coluccio and his library. At my request he read my proofs and has kindly made a few suggestions, which, for convenience in printing, I communicate here:

1. Prof. Ullmann confirms my suggestion that the press-marks in *Eg.* and *Harley 2655* are those of Coluccio's library, and he thinks it probable that they were inserted by Coluccio himself. (He considers it certain that the words '*liber primus*, etc., in *Eg.* were added by Coluccio, as I suggested.) He has called my attention to another Coluccio MS. which I had overlooked. This is *Add. MS. 11987*, a MS. of Seneca's Tragedies written by Coluccio throughout.
2. Prof. Ullmann points out that the red visible in the erased line which follows the verse colophon merely shows through from the other side. He thinks that this short line was in black ink and contained Coluccio's name, which, he tells me, in several Coluccio MSS has been erased.
3. Prof. Ullmann remarks that he had noted on the '*Quam plurime*' letter 'probably 14th century,' but he is prepared to admit that it may be 13th.

[1] On p. lxxxvi M. gives *incalescere* as the reading of AP^1, *excandescere* as that of SP^2; but in the apparatus on p. 129 he quotes SAP^2 for the latter.

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A MOZARABIC PSALTER FROM SANTO DOMINGO DE SILOS

When the tragic sale, on June 1, 1878, of the manuscripts from the library of Santo Domingo de Silos took place in Paris at the Hotel Drouot,[1] although the greater part were acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum, a number disappeared from sight.[2] Among these was a Psalter, number 26 of the sale catalogue:

Psalterius et Cantica. Manuscrit sur vélin. Petit in fol., rel. à ais de bois recouv. de v. (Incomplet.) Manuscrit du x[e] au xi[e] siècle, texte à longues lignes,

[1] Bachelin-Deflorenne, *Catalogue de Livres Rares . . . et de Manuscrits du IX[e] au XVIII[e] Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Bachelin-Deflorenne, 1878).

For the history of the Silos manuscripts after the suppression of the monastery in 1835, see Martial Besse, 'Histoire d'un Dépôt Littéraire, l'Abbaye de Silos,' *Revue Bénédictine*, xiv (1897), 210–225, 241–252.

[2] Of the 55 manuscripts 22 were acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale, 13 by the British Museum, and 20 by private collectors or booksellers.

contenant encore 122 feuillets. Nombreuses et belles lettres initiales peintes. (Voir fac-similé, pl. 2, no. 5, et pl. 3, nos. 2 et 3.)

Dom Marius Férotin in his list of the Silos manuscripts[1] quotes the description of the catalogue, suggests a comparison with the other Silos Psalter of the sale,[2] and adds 'l'acquéreur de ce manuscrit ne nous est pas connu.' Dr Charles Upson Clark quotes Férotin's description,[3] but gives no further clue to the manuscript's whereabouts.

Through the kindness of Mr Seymour de Ricci I have recently found that this manuscript was bought for 1400 francs by M. Lesouëf, and is now in the Bibliothèque Smith-Lesouëf at Nogent-sur-Marne (Seine), where it bears the number *2*. Although this collection is a part of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the only published description of its manuscripts is M. Henri Omont's brief note in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*,[4] and its very nearness to Paris has probably helped to make it infrequently visited.[5] It is unfortunate that this Psalter should have remained so long comparatively unknown, as it not only adds another item to the list of Mozarabic liturgical manuscripts,[6] but also contains a miniature that, with the mag-

[1] *L'Histoire de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), p. 271.

[2] Number 19, *Psalmi et Hymni et Varia Officia*, bought by Bernard Quaritch for 1600 francs for the British Museum, where it bears the number *Add. 30851*. This manuscript has been published as volume xxx of the Henry Bradshaw Society's collection: J. P. Gilson, ed., *The Mozarabic Psalter* (London, 1905).

[3] Charles Upson Clark, 'Collectanea Hispanica,' *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xxiv (1920), 59, no. 692.

[4] lxxiv (1913), 742 ff. From Omont's list the existence of the manuscript was noted, sight unseen, by Weinberger, in *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ccix (1926), 13; Z. García Villada, in *Revista de Filología Española*, xiv (1927), 1–19; and Donatien de Bruyne, in *Revue Bénédictine*, xxxvi (1924), 7.

[5] At the same sale M. Lesouëf also purchased for 460 francs a sixteenth-century manuscript, number 55 of the catalogue, which is now MS. *18* of the Bibliothèque Smith-Lesouëf. Although of far less interest than the Psalter, it deserves a brief description because of its connection with Silos. Its whereabouts were also unknown to Dom Férotin:

Liber Orationum et Epistolarum atque Euangeliorum que diebus principalibus dicuntur tam in Dominicali quam in festiuitatibus sanctorum. Prout in sequenti pagina plenius continentur. Scripsit Frater Martinus de Palencia monachus S. Aemiliani Monasterio S. Dominici Silensis. De mandato admodum Reuerendi Patris-Fratris Alfonsi de Figueroa Prioris S. Martini de Madrid, Anno 1587. Pontificatus S. Patris nostri Papae Sixti Quinti, Anno primo. Regnante in Hyspania Christianissimo Rege nostro Phillipo Secundo. In Latin, on parchment: 370 × 250 mm., 62 leaves in single columns within a decorated border; binding, sixteenth-century Spanish red velvet with silver corners and silver bosses in the centre of both covers; badly worn and the back torn.

Folio A r is blank: folio A v, a miniature of Santo Domingo de Silos engaged in his familiar office of freeing a prisoner of his chains. Folio B r, titlepage (quoted above): verso, blank. Folio C r, blank: verso, table of contents. Folio D r, table of contents: verso, blank. Folios 1–57r, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for various feasts throughout the year.

[6] Cf. Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les Manuscrits Mozarabes* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912), cols. 677–962.

nificent exception of the 1109 *Beatus*, is perhaps the most interesting product of the Silos scriptorium.[1]

The binding is of brown leather, probably of the seventeenth century, with the title *Psalterium et Cantica* on the back, and encloses two incomplete manuscripts of the Mozarabic Psalms and Canticles, which are of slightly different sizes, both written on parchment. The first part consists of 110 leaves of 300 × 190 mm. each, with the text in Visigothic minuscule in single columns averaging 210 × 110 mm.: the second part is composed of 124 leaves of 290 × 210 mm. each, with the text, in a poorer minuscule, in single columns averaging 205 × 125 mm. The two parts, which are foliated separately, form together a manuscript of 234 leaves.[2] The first is made up of thirteen complete gatherings of eight leaves each, and a fourteenth gathering of six, the first and last leaves being missing:[3] in the second part there are fourteen complete gatherings of eight leaves each, followed by two incomplete gatherings of six leaves each.[4]

The manuscript cannot be later than 1089, as the text follows the Mozarabic rite, the general use of which was suppressed in that year. Both parts seem to be of the eleventh century, although perhaps not quite contemporary.[5] The first part opens with the middle of verse 6 of Psalm xxi, *labiis*

[1] With the exception of the *Beatus*, the Silos manuscripts, although rich in superb and intricate initials, contain few examples of figure painting. Occasionally a figure will be worked into an initial or be drawn in the margin, as in the British Museum *Add. 30844*, f. 41r; *Add. 30853*, f. 273r; *Add. 30855*, f. 18r, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale *nouv. acq. lat. 2169*, ff. 292v and 370v, and *nouv. acq. lat. 2176*, f. 386r. The grisaille miniature of the Three Maries at the Tomb on page 265 of *nouv. acq. lat. 2176* (reproduced as Pl. IV of the Bachelin-Deflorenne sale catalogue and by W. W. S. Cook, 'The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (VI),' *Art Bulletin*, X (1928), 305–365, fig. 44) is obviously a later addition, as its style is entirely different from the rest of the manuscript. There are a number of blank spaces left for miniatures, but this is the only one that has been filled in.

[2] As the last leaf is numbered 122, the description of the manuscript in the sale catalogue as of '122 feuillets' is easily accounted for. The catalogue was obviously made carelessly, as three insignificant initials of this manuscript were reproduced in its plates, while the important miniatures were entirely overlooked.

In the first part the numbers 41 and 58 were omitted in the foliation, although there are no missing leaves at these points, while there are two leaves numbered 63. In the second part two leaves are numbered 98, while there is one unnumbered between f. 99 and f. 100.

[3] I, ff. 1–8; II, ff. 9–16; III, ff. 17–24; IV, ff. 25–32; V, ff. 33–40; VI, ff. 42–49; VII, ff. 50–57; VIII, ff. 59–65; IX, ff. 67–74; X, ff. 75–82; XI, ff. 83–90; XII, ff. 91–98; XIII, ff. 99–106; a leaf is wanting between ff. 106 and 107; XIV, ff. 107–112.

[4] I, ff. 1–8; II, ff. 9–16; III, ff. 17–24; IV, ff. 25–32; V, ff. 33–40; VI, ff. 41–48; VII, ff. 49–56; VIII, ff. 57–64; IX, ff. 65–72; X, ff. 73–80; XI, ff. 81–88; XII, ff. 89–96; XIII, ff. 97–102; XIV, ff. 103–110; XV, ff. 111–116 (six leaves only; two wanting between ff. 113 and 114); XVI, ff. 117–122 (six leaves only; one is wanting between ff. 116 and 117 and another after f. 122).

[5] I am very grateful to the Rev. William James Anderson for having called my attention to the difference in the *i*-longa usage in the two parts of the manuscript. It can be seen in Plates I and II (from the first part of the manuscript) that, although the *i* longa is used at the

et mouerunt caput, and is followed by the rest of the Psalter and Canticles up to the last verse of Canticle xii, where the text breaks off abruptly *Quia domus mea domus orationis uocauitur cunctis populis ayt* (fol. 112v). The second part, although containing a number of the same texts, is not identical, as it begins (fol. 1r) with verse 11 of Psalm lxv, *Induxisti nos in laquem*, and contains the rest of the Psalter and Canticles up to the middle of Canticle lxxv, *Domine sic uiuitur* (fol. 122v). At the beginning of each Psalm and Canticle there is an illuminated initial in the familiar Silos style, and the first Canticle, *Dominus de Sina ueniet*, is more elaborately treated in both parts of the manuscript: in the first part (fol. 105v) there is a combination of the letters *D* and *L* with a highly stylized horizontal human figure at the top (Plate II), while in the second part (fol. 77v) there is a *Maiestas Domini* with a group of saints below (Plate III).

For the study of the text the most convenient manuscript for comparison is the other eleventh-century Psalter from Santo Domingo de Silos, now *Add. 30851* in the British Museum,[1] but as it is not complete it must be supplemented by a tenth-century manuscript from Toledo, *V. 5–1* (formerly Hh. 69) in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.[2] The textual differences between the Nogent Psalter and *Add. 30851* are of the slight sort that could be ascribed to a copyist's errors, but the order of the canticles is not identical throughout. When lacunae in *Add. 30851* enforce comparison with Madrid *V. 5–1* the deviation is somewhat greater, as the

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beginning of words, when the initial *i* is followed by a tall letter the short form is used (Plate I, l. 3 *In*, l. 6 *illis*, l. 7 *Inimicus*, l. 8 *Innocenciam*, l. 9 *In*, l. 10 *In*, l. 11 *In*, l. 14 *Ita*, l. 19 *In*, l. 20 *Ingrediar*, *In;* Plate II, l. 4 *Ignea*, l. 6 *In*, *illius*, l. 7 *illius*, l. 9 *illius*, l. 14 *illius*, *In*, *ipsis*, l. 16 *In*), while in Plate III (from the second part of the manuscript) the *i* longa is used before tall letters as well (l. 7 *Ignea*, l. 8 *In*, *Illius*, l. 11 *Illius*, l. 13 *illius*. The inference that the two parts are not quite contemporary is confirmed by the difference of style in the principal miniatures (cf. Plates II and III).

[1] J. P. Gilson, ed., *The Mozarabic Psalter* (London, 1905). Cf. M. Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, cols. 870–880.

[2] Published in 1775 by Cardinal Lorenzana as a part of his edition of the *Breuiarium Gothicum*, from which it was reprinted without change by Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXVI, 739–940. Cf. Férotin, *op. cit.*, cols. 686–688.

There are, in addition, five other Mozarabic manuscripts containing the Psalms and Canticles, the most interesting of which are the celebrated *Liber Fernandi Regis*, dated 1055, of the University Library at Santiago de Compostella (Férotin, *op. cit.*, cols. 931–936) and *2. j. 5.* of the Private Library of the King of Spain in Madrid, dated 1059 (Férotin, *op. cit.*, cols. 925–930). Cf. Férotin, 'Deux Manuscrits Wisigothiques de la Bibliothèque de Ferdinand Ier, Roi de Castille et Léon,' *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*, LXII (1901), 374–387. Their texts have not been published in full, but Férotin vouches for their similarity to the Madrid manuscript published by Lorenzana. The library of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid also contains two incomplete Psalters coming from San Millán de la Cogolla, *64 bis* and *64 ter* (incorrectly given by Férotin, *op. cit.*, cols. 910–912, as *74 bis* and *74 ter*), and *a. III 5.* of the library of the Escorial is of similar nature.

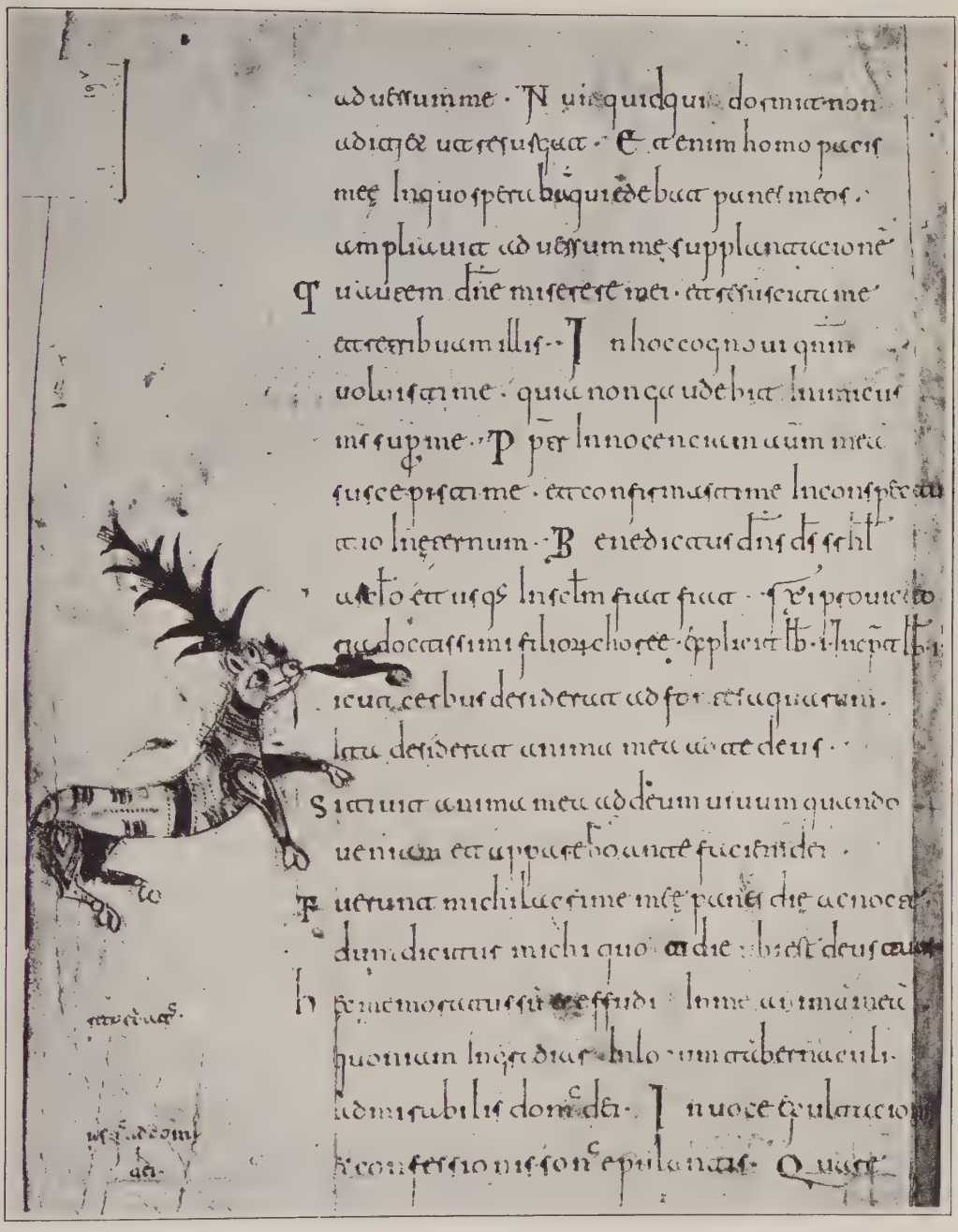

PLATE I

NOGENT-SUR-MARNE, BIBLIOTHÈQUE SMITH-LESOUËF
MS 2, f. 19 v. (Part 1)

Plate II

Nogent-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque Smith-Lesouëf
MS 2, f. 105 v. (Part 1)

verse division is frequently very different.[1] The antiphons to the psalms and the *Orationes* and *Benedictiones* which generally follow them in *Add. 30851* are not found in either part of the Nogent manuscript, and there is also no musical notation.

For brevity the following list of the contents of the two parts of the manuscript deals only with books of the Psalter and not with individual psalms. Differences in the order of the canticles are noted without record of textual peculiarities, and although an illuminated initial is found at the beginning of every psalm and canticle only the three most important examples, which are reproduced, are described.

Part I

fol. 1r, Incipit: *labiis et mouerunt caput . . .* (Ps. xxi, 6).

fol. 19v, *Explicit liber primus. Incipt liber secundus. xli pro uictoria doctissimi filiorum choree. Sicut cerbus desiderat. . . .* The initial *S* is formed by a hart with a branch in its mouth (Plate 1).

fol. 43v, *lxxii Explicit liber secundus. Incipit liber tercius. Psalmus asaph. Quam bonus deus. . .*

fol. 61r, *lxxxuiiii Explicit liber tercius. Incipit liber quartus. Oracio moysi. Domine refugium. . .*

fol. 75r, *cui alleluia. Explicit liber quartus. Incipit liber quintus. Confitemini. . .*

fol. 104r, *cl(i) hic psalmus extra numerum est quum pugnaui dauid aduersus goliat philisteus. Pusillus eram inter fratres meos. . .*[2]

fol. 104v, *FINIVNT PSALMI deo gratias.* After this extra psalm there is the brief introduction to the *Liber Canticorum* which follows: this is not found in *Add. 30851* nor is it included in the Migne publication of Madrid *V. 5–1:*

Plura nobis cantica uariis uatum carminibus emptaque in scripturarum uoluminibus habemus scripta. Sicut est illut moysi canticum quem per tocius coros populi simul cum sona feminarum uoce cantauit. Postquam pedestri acie rubri equoris gradiatoris calle uelut marmoris rura terreno transitu profundauit. Submersumque cum curribus pharaonem. uelut nobella plebs hostibus in babtismate suffocatis canticum uictorie cecinerunt. Sicut et debbora post triumphum yabin regis allofiliorum exultans in uictoria uicticinii sui. intonuit carmen. Vel sicut salomonis est illut epithalamium carmen quod pro iunccionem christi et ecclesie (fol. 105r) id est dei et hominis societate cantauit. Atque sicut esaye illut est canticum que in oblectione plebis indice oraculo spiritus sanctus cecinit. Vel sicut alia cantica uariorum testamentorumque ex sacris historiis in hoc libro inserta sunt. In quibus eciam

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[1] The common Silos origin accounts for the similarity of the division of verses in *Add. 30851* and the Nogent manuscript, while a different arrangement is not surprising in a manuscript coming from Toledo. The Nogent manuscript consequently helps in reconstructing the order of verses in the Psalms lacking in *Add. 30851.*

[2] *Patr. Lat.*, lxxxvi, 844d. This additional psalm, common to all Mozarabic Psalters is not found in *Add. 30851,* as a gathering is wanting in that manuscript after Psalm cl, 2 (cf. Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 148).

locutiones dei et oraciones sanctorum exortationesque ac benedictiones gratiarum actiones. fletus etiam atque lamenta sint posita. que omnia ad edificacionem et emendacionem. uel consolacionem ecclesie pertinere noscuntur. In quibus etiam christi ecclesie mistica sacramenta non parba sunt. Ibi enim natibitas redemptoris nostri exprimitur et releccio plebis iudaice. genciumque uocacio adclamatur. uirtutes domini declarantur. passio ueneranda respingitur. et resurrectio gloriosa monstratur. Inter hec quoque penitentibus abta medicamina scribuntur. In quibus dum flebiliter sua plorat delicta. et ueniam recipiunt et fructum penitencie salubriter adipiscunt.

fol. 105v, (*Canticum i*) *Dominus de Sina ueniet.*[1] The illumination of this leaf is the most elaborate of the first part of the manuscript (Plate II). The centre of the initial *D* contains a fish, surrounded by elaborate interlaces: from the top a highly conventionalized bearded human figure is swung out horizontally across the page. The initial *L* of Canticum ii at the bottom of the page forms a base on which the *D* rests.

fol. 112v, the last leaf of the first part of the manuscript, ends *cunctis populis ayt* (Canticum xii, 9). In the margin there are various Aquitanian neums, added by a later hand.

Part II

The second part of the manuscript is written in a less regular Visigothic minuscule than the first, but appears to be also of the eleventh century. A number of the headings in this part are in red, green, blue, or black capitals; a different manner from the first part, where all the headings were in red minuscule. As has been noted before, the foliation of the two parts is not continuous.

fol. 1r, Incipit: *Induxisti nos in laquem* (Ps. lxv, 11).

fol. 8v, *EXPLICIT LIBER SECVNDVS. INCIPIT LIBER TERTIVS. lxxii Defecerunt ymni dauid filii gesse psalmus asaph. Quam bonus. . .*

fol. 27v, *EXPLICIT LIBER TERTIVS. INCIPIT LIBER QVARTVS. lxxxviiii Oratio moysi hominis dei. Domine refugium. . .*

fol. 44r, *cui EXPLICIT LIBER QUARTVS. INCIPIT LIBER QVINTVS. ALLELVIA. Confitemini domino quoniam bonus quoniam in secula. . .*

fol. 77r, *Psalmus hic proprie scriptus in dauid extra numerum quum pugnauit aduersus goliam. Pusillus eram. . .* The text of this additional psalm is the same as in fol. 104r (Part I).

fol. 77v, *IN NOMINE DOMINI IHESV CHRISTI INCIPIT LIBER CANTICORVM DE TOTO ANNI CIRCVLO. Dominus de Syna ueniet. . .* (Plate III). The left half of the leaf is occupied by a miniature illustrating the second verse of this first canticle: *Apparuit de monte Pharan. et cum eo sanctorum milia.* Above is a Christ in Majesty in a mandorla; below His feet is a conventionalized mountain, represented by five decorated semi-circles; below are fifteen standing figures representing the *sanctorum milia.* The robe of Christ and the outline of the mandorla are in purple; the background of the lower half of the mandorla is in red; the hands and faces are in red, and the robes of the saints are in purple-lavender and green.

[1] *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXVI, 845A.

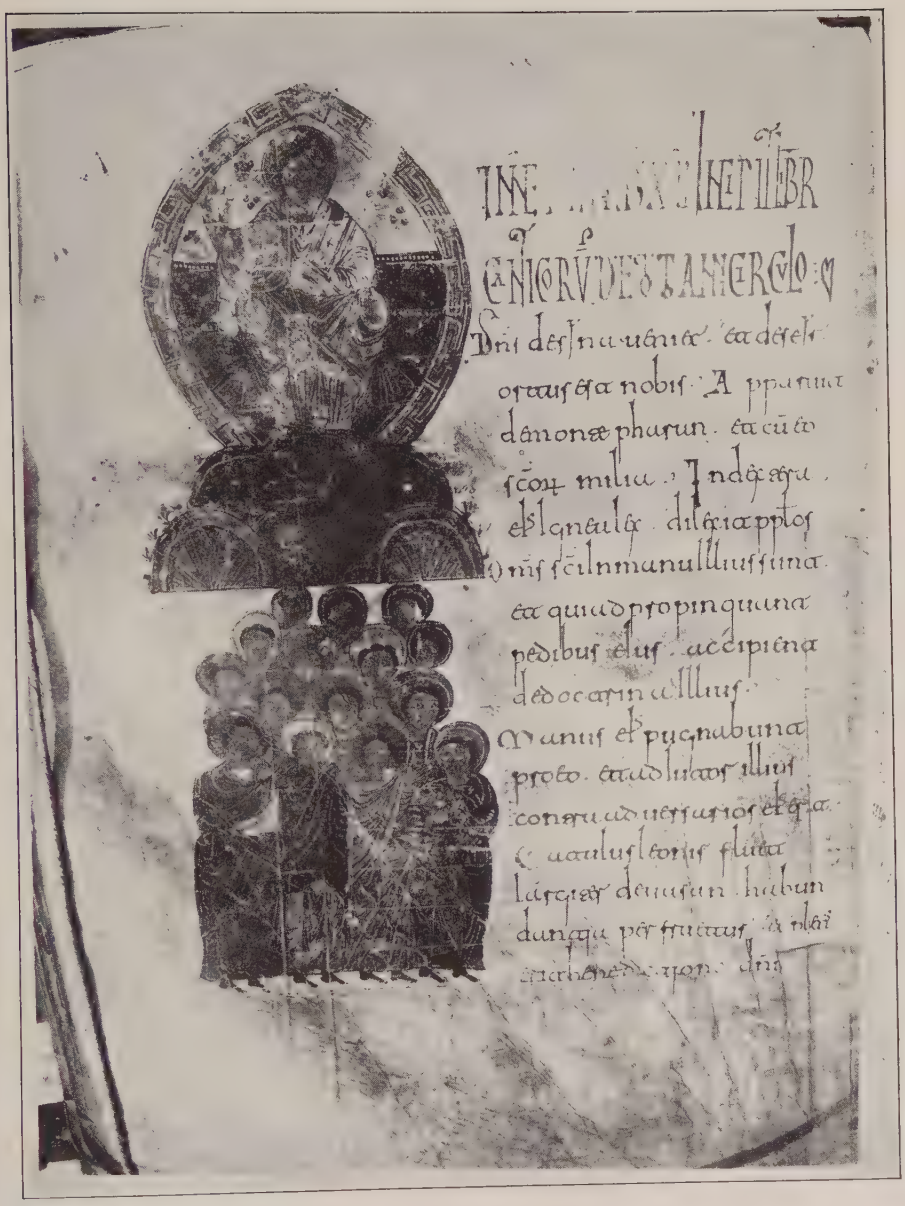

Plate III

Nogent-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque Smith-Lesouëf
MS 2, f. 77 v (Part II)

fol. 91r, *xviiii INCIPIVNT CANTICI DE QVADRAGESIME. Canticum esaye prophete. Clama ne cesses dicit dominus. . .*

fol. 98r, *xxxvi INCIPIVNT CANTICI DE TRADITIONE DOMINI. Canticum iheremie de libro maccabeorum. Domine domine deus omnium creator. . .*

fol. 100v, *INCIPIVNT CANTICI DE RESVRECTIONE DOMINI. xxxiiii Canticum iacob de libro genesis. Iuda te laudabunt fratres. . .*

fol. 104r, *xl Canticum de libro iudicum. INCIPIVNT CANTICI DE SANCTIS. Datio dei permanet iustis. . .*

fol. 105v, *xliii INCIPIVNT CANTICI VNIVS IVSTI. Canticum iheremie prophete. Benedictus uir qui confidit in domino. . .*

fol. 108r, *xlviii INCIPIVNT CANTICI DE VIRGINIBVS. Canticum ihesu filii syrac. Audite me diuini fructus. . .* Up to Canticle xliv the order of the canticles in the second part of this manuscript has been the same as in *Add. 30851* and Madrid *V. 5–1*, but from this point on it agrees entirely with neither of the other two manuscripts: the following table gives the sequence of canticles in the three manuscripts in the briefest possible form.

TABLE[1]

Canticle	Nogent-sur-Marne, *2*	British Museum, *Add. 30851*	Madrid, *V. 5–1*
xliii	INCIPIVNT CANTICI VNIVS IVSTI, Benedictus uir	heading wanting Benedictus uir	INCIPIVNT CANTICI DE VNO IVSTO, Benedictus uir
xliv	Ecce seruus meus	Ecce seruus meus	Priusquam errarem
xlv	Priusquam errarem	Priusquam errarem	Ecce seruus meus
xlvi	Beatus uir	Beatus uir	Benedictus dominus deus israhel
xlvii	Benedictus dominus deus israhel	Benedictus dominus deus israhel	DE VIRGINIBVS, Audite me
xlviii	DE VIRGINIBVS, Audite me	DE VNA VIRGINE, Gaudens gaudebo	Gaudens gaudebo
xlix	DE VNA VIRGINE, Gaudens gaudebo	Lauda filia syon	Lauda filia syon
l	Lauda filia syon	Lauda et letare filia syon	Lauda et letare filia syon
li	Lauda et letare filia syon	Audite me	Dominus deus israhel
lii	Domine deus israhel	Domine deus israhel	Luce clara fulgebis
liii	Luce clara fulgebis	Adsumpta parabola	Adsumpta parabola
liv	Adprehende uitam	Luce clara fulgebis	Adprehende uitam
lv	Adsumpta parabola	(Adprehende uitam?)	DE COTIDIANO, Cantemus domino

[1] In the Nogent manuscript the leaf containing Canticle lviii is wanting: as *Cantabo nunc dilecto* is not found elsewhere in this manuscript, and as it comes between *Cantemus domino* and *Urbs fortitudinis* in the other two manuscripts, it seems natural to suppose that it served here as Canticle lviii. The final leaf of the last gathering is also wanting: this may well have contained *Iurabit dominus* and *Letare iubenis*, which appear as the final canticles of *Add. 30851*.

In the Brit. Mus. manuscript leaves containing Canticles lv, lvi, lvii, lxiv, lxv, lxvi, lxvii, and lxviii are wanting: the canticles that seem to fit these lacunae most appropriately are included in round brackets in the table.

lvi	Scio enim quod	(Scio enim quod?)	Cantabo nunc dilecto
lvii	DE COTIDIANO, Cantemus domino	(Domine dabis pacem?)	Vrbs fortitudinis
lviii	(Cantabo nunc dilecto?)	DE COTIDIANO, Cantemus domino	Domine dabis pacem
lix	Vrbs fortitudinis	Cantabo nunc dilecto	Audite qui longe
lx	Domine dabis pacem	Vrbs fortitudinis	Clamabi de tribulatione
lxi	Audite qui longe	Audite qui longe	Domine qui habitas
lxii	Clamabi de tribulatione	Clamabi de tribulatione	Adtende celum
lxiii	Domine qui habitas	Domine qui habitas	Confirmatum est
lxiv	Adtende celum	(Adtende celum?)	Benedictus dominus deus israhel patris
lxv	Confirmatum est	(Confirmatum est?)	Confitebor tibi
lxvi	Benedictus dominis deus israhel patris	(Benedictus dominus deus israhel patris?)	Domine miserere
lxvii	Confitebor tibi	(Confitebor tibi?)	Domine domine rex
lxviii	Domine miserere	(Domine miserere?)	Deducant oculi
lxix	Domine domine rex	Domine domine rex	Domine deus ne disperdas
lxx	Deducant oculi mei	Deducant oculi mei	Domine deus patrum
lxxi	Domine deus ne disperdas	Domine deus ne disperdas	Domine deus meus es tu
lxxii	Domine deus patrum	Domine deus patrum	Domine exercituum
lxxiii	Domine deus meus es tu	Domine deus meus es tu	Ego dixi in dimidio
lxxiv	Domine exercituum	Domine exercituum	Iurabit dominus
lxxv	Ego dixi in dimidio	Ego dixi in dimidio	Letare iubenis
lxxvi	(Iurabit dominus?)	Iurabit dominus	Scio enim quod
lxxvii	(Letare iubenis?)	Letare iubenis	Gloria in excelsis deo
		EXPLICIT LIBER CANTICORVM	(EXPLICIT LIBER CANTICORVM)

fol. 108v, *xlviiii. INCIPIVNT CANTICI DE VNA VIRGINE. Canticum esaye prophete. Gaudens gaudebo in domino. . .*

fol. 113r, *lvii INCIPIVNT CANTICI DE COTIDIANO.* (fol. 113v) *Canticum de libro exodi dicendus per omnes dies dominicos ad matutinos. Cantemus domino gloriose. . .*

fol. 122v, Explicit: *in amaritudine anime mee.* (Canticum lxxv, 10).[1] The last leaf of the last gathering is wanting, and this may possibly have been the end of the manuscript, as *Add. 30851* and Madrid *V. 5–1* contain only two more canticles: however, in both these other manuscripts the *Liber Canticorum* is followed by a collection of hymns.

[1] Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

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REVIEWS

Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography*. The Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series, III. New York: D. C. Heath and Company; London: Oxford University Press, 1927. Pp. xvi + 568.

For a number of years scholars have eagerly awaited the publication of this work. As everyone was bound to expect, it is a study of permanent value; an investigation more careful and thoroughgoing of the writings of any author would be hard to find. And it is really an honor, not only to Miss Allen, but also to the scholars who initially guided her research, and to the foundation which is responsible for its publication. Every document ascribed to Rolle has been minutely examined, and its claim to authenticity duly tested from every point of view. The editions and manuscripts are fully listed, and the evidence for the materials regarding the mystic's life properly scrutinized. Miss Allen has invited and received assistance from many quarters, has taken many a long journey to places where personal investigation was necessary, and has supplied abundant data for checking every step of her research. It only remains to say that her zeal in the case of an author whose special preoccupations seem to have been almost entirely different from her own must remain extraordinary — a witness to her abiding faith in the pure scholarship and scientific method which have borne her such rich fruits.

For so large a book ordinary errors or defects seem astonishingly few. We wonder, perhaps, at the choice of the *Cambridge History* for bibliographical guide, and the mention of no other (p. 19). Once or twice we should like fuller documentation, as with reference to the sacking of the religious houses in Yorkshire (p. 123). The note on page 176 should be corrected to read, 'M. E. Temple, *Romanic Review*, vi. 402.' The title of Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* is carelessly cited (p. 290). The first line of the lyric in the Thornton MS. referred to on page 302 should be quoted. The few references to manuscripts that I have checked have been accurate, although I may here record the fact that Miss Allen seems not to have attempted to list all the versions or appearances of the English lyrics. Errors in fact are similarly hard to discover, although perhaps it is worth while to point out that Rolle's idea that the saints would be judges (p. 105 n.) is hardly unique with him and has scriptural foundation.

The important feature to notice on this side of the question is that Miss Allen's only weakness, for present purposes, springs from the fact that she

is not quite at home in the mediaeval Church. As her book actually goes beyond the task of deciding the canon for Rolle and furnishing materials for a biography, even indeed to the point of offering criticism and interpretation, this feature has significance. In this way Miss Comper's recent volume is more satisfactory within its own limits, partly because there the sympathetic handling helps the work of the imagination to a more vital result, although, of course, as a basis for scholarly study it does not compare with Miss Allen's. Interpreting Rolle on the Sacrament of Penance, Miss Allen remarks: 'To Richard, from his earliest days, the outward sacrament evidently meant little when the emotion of the heart was lacking' (p. 104). But this is Catholic doctrine, ancient and modern! As the monk who gives instruction in *The Dialogue on Miracles* of Caesarius tells the young novice: 'His sin is not forgiven to the sinner without contrition, and this only on the condition that confession shall follow. Yet, if necessity should prevent confession, our great High Priest will supply that defect.' [1] Yet Miss Allen makes something of this point, and lists it in her Index under the heading 'Indifference to sacraments.' It would be easy to indicate other places where her understanding of mediaeval religion is shown inadequate, wide as her reading has unquestionably been. From her discussion of the 'eye of the soul' I almost suspect her of thinking that Rolle implied some trace of unreality, in the ordinary sense of the word, in his visions (pp. 87 f.). For such an error the writings of the Spanish Saint Teresa are a sufficient corrective, especially with reference to the divine locutions not received by the 'bodily ear.' A rather naïf statement, which might even cause the nuns to smile despite their charity and her own occasionally harsh remarks, concerns the *Office:* 'The Cistercian influence on the *Office* probably appears in the fact that in more than one miracle we are told that the Mother of God comes leading Richard Hermit, yet she appears, as we shall see, very rarely in his own devotions' (p. 55)! Would anyone in the Middle Ages have supposed that for such a reason Our Lady was out of place in the picture![2] Would Our Lady herself have supposed it!

It may be a source of satisfaction to some readers that Miss Allen makes use of the apparatus drawn from the modern psychology of mysticism. The 'traditional images of the mystic' are traced as they work on Rolle's 'subconscious,' and the 'operation of suggestion' followed. While it may be urged that not all reputable psychologists accept this technique of the hypothetical 'subconscious,' and that Miss Allen's attempt to reveal the initial workings of the process (without, we may note, full comment on

[1] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. by Scott and Bland (London, 1929), I, 124 (book III, chap. 1).

[2] Cf. pp. 162 and 192 f. and Comper (F. M. M. Comper, *The Life of Richard Rolle*, etc., London and Toronto, 1928, pp. 159 f. and 191 f.).

his remarkable experience of the '*canor*') has its weak spots, perhaps the fairest conclusion is that such things in a book of this kind are rather a matter of point of view than science. To the reviewer it seems doubtful whether this new method is likely to be dignified by its employment in the present work.[1] But despite Rolle's supposed 'pathological' condition at times, Miss Allen seems to have considerable respect for her author. She has a sense of the quality of his style; she admires his honesty and candor; and one is led to think that she even finds his influence on the whole salutary. Even in his delusions, as she regards them, she seems to derive at least an aesthetic enjoyment from their design. Of her power to find values in what must be for her completely inert material I may quote one illustration:

> The human interest, therefore, of Rolle's commentaries is often considerable, and in his hands what is perhaps the most out of date of all medieval forms of literature still often retains vitality. Some historical interest they also have, in showing how the orthodoxy of medieval times was 'compassed about with a cloud of witnesses.' It was upheld, as it were, by a thrust and counter-thrust of literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogical interpretations which may remind us of the thrust and counter-thrust of the contemporary Gothic arches.[2]

In her interpretations, accordingly, her study often has a special interest. In the real business which she had in hand, however, that of establishing the canon and of estimating the value of the material for the biography, the book is wholly admirable.

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Art Studies: Medieval, Renaissance, and Modern. No. 5 (Arthur Sachs Foundation). Edited by members of the departments of fine arts at Harvard and Princeton Universities. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. (Issued as an extra number of *The American Journal of Archaeology.*) Boards. Pp. 156. $3.50.

As one might expect of a book published by the Harvard University Press, this is on the whole an attractive production. I shall first comment with unavoidable brevity on the several articles, beginning with 'Apostolados' by Dorothea C. Shipley. Deference to authority, especially pedagogic authority, is no doubt permissible on the part of the taught toward the

[1] For an example of balanced criticism of this kind of thing I may refer to Dom David Knowles, *The English Mystics* (London, 1927), p. 79: 'As we have seen, it is not necessary to follow modern psychology to such lengths in all cases, nor should we ever, in regard to such cases as Rolle, be too ready to transfer to a great and sane religious genius theories which modern psychology has only verified in morbid and insignificant personalities. Nor need we assume that a soul touched by powerful grace need follow the ordinary rules of psychology.'

[2] Page 146.

teacher, but only as regards matters of faith and not in subjects which lie within human comprehension. Where there are serious differences of opinion with respect to such matters as dating, deference should hardly lead the taught to accepting the position of the teacher without question or even refuting the contrary positions. On page 16, an opinion on the relation of the Annunciation of the Silos cloister to the Christ of Carrión is not only in itself one that has been questioned, but one that was put forth by Bertaux in no less accessible a source than Michel's history. This essay would have been an impressive performance on the part of an undergraduate, but its lack of clarity, of a convincing and thoughtful style, of logical structure, offer a striking contrast to the presence of those very qualities in the article by A. M. Friend, Jr, in this same issue of *Art Studies*. It would have been just as rational to say simply 'the parish priest' on page 18, nstead of 'the Señor Cura.'

A tinted cast is discussed by Kuno Francke in 'A Plastic Cyclone.' The original of this work is not in Lübeck but still in Stockholm. Unfortunately, too, Mr Francke does not mention the fact that Roosval, a member of *Art Studies*' own advisory council, has published a monograph on the theme of St George and the Dragon, in which the original work is discussed.

'The Geometry of El Greco' is another instance, by Jere Abbott, of the Pythagorean fallacy. The theories of Jay Hambidge, to cite another example, have proved useful in laying out advertisements for the *Saturday Evening Post* and in teaching children to work out problems in applied design. But the problems presented by El Greco are not so easily solved; there was some difference in the purpose and function of his works when produced.

The two contributions by Edgar W. Anthony and A. M. Friend, Jr, although placed in the rear of the procession headed by Charles Diehl and Dorothea C. Shipley, are perhaps the two soundest and most admirable examples of original American scholarship in this book. Edgar W. Anthony writes on the 'Florentine Baptistery' and shows the very valuable results achieved when thorough architectural training of professional character is united with critical historical scholarship in attacking difficult problems of art history. A. M. Friend, Jr, offers part of a fundamental study: 'The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts.' This article demonstrates not only the excellent training in method by which the author has profited, but also the value of the Princeton Iconographic Index of Christian Art. The selection and arrangement of the illustrations affords ample evidence of the investigator's conclusions. It is to be hoped that the author will not long delay in presenting the results of his continued study of this interesting problem. Plate VIII of his illustrations shows unpublished material provided through the kindness of Gabriel Millet.

'The Table of the Last Supper in Religious and Secular Iconography' by Laura Hibbard Loomis is in some degree disappointing because it does not satisfy those persistent questions which such original and thorough work arouses. Those questions, requiring precise answers as their ideal goal, are: just when, where, whence, and why? The contribution by Walter Muir Whitehill, Jr, on 'Liturgical Influence on Pre-Romanesque Apses in Spain,' establishes the specific importance of a closer knowledge of the Mozarabic ritual, and indicates the general value of a grasp of liturgics for Christian archaeology.

Having noted briefly the contents of this volume I should like to point out one practice, unfamiliar and not altogether laudable, which would hardly be found in a commercial publication. This practice is to begin every article on a right-hand page, preceded by a separate title-page for each article. The frequent result is first a blank left-hand page, then a title consisting of a single line of type, next another blank page, and finally the beginning of the article. Sometimes a very slender article is thus abandoned alone in a desert expanse of cream-tinted paper. Such a method is no doubt convenient in supplying the authors with offprints; but does it contribute to sound design in the making of books?

One immediately notices a rather disturbing situation on glancing over the table of contents. The present issue begins with an article by Charles Diehl, entitled 'Monuments Byzantins Inédits du Onzième Siècle.' The third article is by Charles Oursel and deals with 'La Genèse Monumentale de l'Eglise Abbatiale de Vézelay.' The fifth is an essay on 'Il Problema dell'Arte Sâsânide' by Ugo Monneret de Villard. There are two observations to be made with regard to these valuable pieces of scholarly investigation, not in respect to the method or results, but in respect to the editorial policy exhibited. In the first place, is it not a reasonable requirement that contributions in an annual put out by two of our leading universities should be published in our language? The presence of these three articles does testify to editorial alertness in obtaining the coöperation of three distinguished scholars. But Kuno Francke, who could have written in German, and Walter Muir Whitehill, who might have written in Spanish, nevertheless wrote in English. So there is no prejudice against English as such. Editors of foreign periodicals usually require that contributions be published in the tongue of the land in which they appear. Both the editors of the present issue have published abroad, in languages not their own, but in that of the country where the publication issued from the press. This demand has nothing to do, one way or the other, with ability to read foreign languages or with the contention that, in times of peace at least, art and scholarship are international.

The second general comment to be made with regard to these foreign

contributions is a plausible, though untrue, inference which might be drawn from the situation. It was generally understood that the purpose of this foundation was to provide a dignified and permanent medium of publication for original scholarship by Americans in the field of fine arts, without the annoying delays and inexplicable rejections sometimes experienced by American scholars attempting to publish abroad. Is *Art Studies*, however, to be after all just another medium of publication for foreign scholars? Are they even relieved of the effort of writing in English or having their contributions translated into English?

Is there, then, no original and important American research being done which deserves such handsome publication as the *Art Studies* afford? This is obviously an unfair and untrue inference. But, as a matter of fact, there is one contribution by a member of the Princeton staff and a very slender note by one member of the Harvard group, as against the three foreign articles.

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Warren Ortman Ault, ed., *Court Rolls of the Abbey of Ramsey and of the Honor of Clare.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928. Pp. lvi + 319. $3.50.

This volume is an admirable supplement to Professor Ault's important and well-known work on *Private Jurisdiction in England*. The conclusions to be drawn from these records have in general been stated in the earlier volume. A few matters not mentioned therein bear on the place in government occupied by local courts, but, aside from the question of specific content, a great advantage is gained by making readily available this illustrative material.

The series of records here published includes one set of rolls for the honor court of Clare. The others illustrate the various types of jurisdiction exercised by the abbot of Ramsey on the lands of which he was proprietor. There are records of the honor court held at Broughton, the court for the banlieu of the abbey held by the abbot's justices of oyer and terminer, the court of Clacklose hundred, the court of the leet of Walsoken, the domanial courts which once a year had view of frankpledge, and those of two hallmotes which were purely manorial in character. The volume thus presents the records of a wider variety of courts than does Maitland's *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts*.

Professor Ault has done his work well. The chief problem of editing the rolls of mediaeval English courts usually resolves itself sooner or later into a question of omissions. In this, excellent judgment has been exercised. But one of the rolls published, a rare one, is given in full. Many entries

are eliminated to avoid repetition, yet the significant cases are retained. An expensive format to carry marginal annotations in their original form is avoided, yet the really useful detail is incorporated in parenthesis. This may be somewhat confusing to those who do not read the editor's introductory explanation, but in the opinion of the reviewer the matter is handled with greater success than even a reading of this explanation would indicate. So far as one may judge without consulting the manuscripts used, the transcription is excellent. The typographer has done a fine piece of work. If documents were always presented in so attractive a form, more people would feel inclined to use them.

The bulk of the material published naturally falls in the second half of the thirteenth century, but some of the rolls of the banlieu of Ramsey come well down in the fourteenth century, a small number running beyond 1380. Taken as a whole, the records presented give a fair idea of what went on in a remarkable series of private courts after their decline had set in, but before its most rapid period had begun. The Clare rolls, dating from the years 1307–1309, afford more information concerning the business of an honor court held every three weeks than do the records of the honor of Broughton five decades earlier. The attendance of freeholders and military tenants was enforced in the smaller honor of the earl of Clare with less difficulty; moreover, plaints introducing suits were more numerous, as were court precepts to attach and to seize property into the lord's hands.

To the student of court rolls the most novel and arresting of the series is sure to be the record of the business transacted before the abbot's justices for the banlieu. These represent what has been pronounced a palatine jurisdiction. No instances are found of the trial here of the gravest crimes, yet some cases were decided by a jury of the *patria*, and absconding criminals were placed on the exigend, just as they were before the itinerant justices, that they might be duly demanded and outlawed. The justices enforced a provision of the first Statute of Westminster and caused to be read the Statute of Winchester in accordance with an order conveyed by the king's writ to the sheriff and forwarded by the latter to the bailiff of the banlieu. This court, standing for the highest type of immunity in England, was obviously being assimilated, as the editor points out, into the royal judicial and administrative system.

The court of the hundred, more properly the hundred and a half, of Clacklose is an interesting instance of such a jurisdiction without view of frankpledge. The main grist of business consisted of pleas of trespass and debt, as Maitland has prepared one to expect, yet there were pleas concerning the seizure of live stock like those to be found in the county court records. It is noteworthy that an accusation of wounding and drawing blood was still made in archaic fashion with the support of a suit of wit-

nesses, and that the truth concerning various matters was being ascertained by inquest.

The leet of Walsoken was a survival, or perhaps an outgrowth, of one of the free village assemblies of East Anglia to which Mr D. C. Douglas has called attention. In the last years of the thirteenth century the abbot was one of three proprietors amongst whom the court fines were divided. This court, as its name indicates, had view of frankpledge. The usages of frankpledge itself were still kept alive but with some interesting local variation. The names of those above the age of twelve who were not in tithing were presented (p. 176) together with those of their receivers. A part of these cases then went over to a separate court of the abbot of Ramsey, but in one instance a man who had received a youth was fined and given day at the next leet to place him in tithing. Enrollment in a tithing here and elsewhere (p. 189) was necessary to the reception of a man upon the abbot's lands. At a manorial view of frankpledge an adult thus received was forbidden the vill unless he was placed in tithing.

The cases in manor courts without view of frankpledge included those which had to do with land transfers, with the enforcement of manorial obligations, with loss of the lord's goods by villeins through moral offences punished by fine before ecclesiastical authorities, and also with petty police matters involving insults, blows, wounds, minor trespasses, the wrongful raising of hue-and-cry and even slander. One of these courts with consent of the customary tenants (p. 254) enacted a by-law to the effect that no one should enter the grain of another to pull up grass under penalty of six pence. A court leet also made a regulation (p. 179) that fishermen were not to sell their catch outside the vill until after it had been carried to the church so that residents might have the first opportunity to buy. The penalty was a half mark. Further communal arrangements are seen in the election at the view of frankpledge of ale tasters (p. 212), hog reeves (p. 179), and fosse reeves. In this same court the ale taster was also fined (p. 178) for neglect of duty.

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H. Baron, ed., *Leonardo Bruni Aretino: Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften. Mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe.* Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928. Paper. Pp. xl + 243.

This book initiates an admirably conceived series of publications of the Institut für Kultur- und-Universalgeschichte of the University of Leipzig. The series is to comprise a collection of rare or unpublished texts significant for the history of mediaeval and early Renaissance ideas; of the ten volumes already planned, eight are to include various works of the fifteenth-century writers, Gianozzo Manetti, Francesco da Fiano, Leonardo Bruni, Antonio

degli Agli, Cristoforo Landino, Marsilio Ficino, and Giovanni Nesi; while the other two are to contain the *Expositio in Apocalypsum* and the *Concordia s. scripturarum* of the twelfth (and early thirteenth-) century Gioachino da Fiore.[1]

The present volume contains a thirty-page '*Einleitung*,' a number of Bruni's shorter works (divided under the two general heads 'Schriften zur Philosophie, Philologie, und Pädagogik' and 'Vorreden zu Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen. Gedichte und unedierte Briefe),' and three 'Anlagen: I. Chronologie und Bibliographie von Brunis Schriften; II. Chronologie der Briefe; III. Verzeichnis der benutzten Handschriften.'

Baron's 'Einleitung' is in five sections. The first emphasizes the distinction between 'den freien Literaten-Humanismus der Valla, Poggio, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, oder Fielfo' on the one hand, and 'Den bodenständigen Bürger-Humanismus von Florenz unter der Führung der Salutati, Bruni, und Marsilio Ficino' on the other. This division of Quattrocento humanism practically into 'Florentine' and 'Other' is not new, but seems ill founded. There are various more or less legitimate divisions: the 'free-lance' type as opposed to the 'solid' type; the 'active' type as against the 'academic' (or purely intellectual) type; the 'religious' and the 'non-religious' type; and so on. Most humanists may be said to have belonged to one or other side of any such divisions; but to identify any of these types (or any other) with a particular community is, though tempting, hardly feasible.[2] Bruni of Florence, for example, was 'solid,' 'active,' 'non-religious'; Ficino of Florence 'solid,' 'academic,' 'religious'; Guarino da Verona 'solid,' 'academic,' 'religious'; Filelfo, born at Tolentino and associated with Padua, Venice, Florence, Rome, and Milan, was 'free-lance,' 'active,' 'non-religious'; and so on. Should objection be made that these types are more or less based on externals, while Baron's is one of inner life and thought ('in ihrem inneren Aufbau'), there is no escaping the fact that if the highly religious and almost purely intellectual Platonist Ficino and the little-religious and active Aristotelian Bruni could be said at all to belong to one same 'bodenständiger Bürger-Humanismus,' it would certainly not be 'in ihrem inneren Aufbau.'

The second section of the 'Einleitung' develops a long-neglected suggestion made several decades ago by the Italian scholar Felice Tocco, to the effect that Bruni's ultimate philosophical allegiance was to Aristotle, not the Stoics. Baron emphasizes Bruno's turning in middle age from the

[1] Gioachino appears in the list (on p. 244 of this volume) as 'Joachim von Fiore.' Is it unduly meticulous to suggest that, since all the other writers (including Francesco da Fiano and Antonio degli Agli) appear in their own Italian guise, this one Germanization seems perhaps unhappy?

[2] Baron himself is forced to include Poggio the Florentine in his 'Non-Florence' group!

Platonism of his earlier years to an Aristotelianism which, evident enough in the *Isagogicon* (*ca.* 1422), is unmistakable in the *Vita Aristotelis* (*ca.* 1429) and thereafter. The third section sketches briefly the 'Schicksale und Ausgaben von Brunis Schriften'; while the fourth states the editor's reasons (not to say excuses) for basing a professedly critical edition merely on the MSS available in the libraries of Rome and Florence.[1] The final section is on the 'Inhalt und Gliederung der Ausgabe,' and sets forth, *inter alia*, the editor's general purpose: to offer a selection from Bruni's briefer works so chosen as to give as clear and inclusive a view as possible of the characteristics and development of his ideas as a humanist.

Accordingly, we find in the body of the book some thirty-four items from the works of Bruni. Six of them had not previously been published, and are thus particularly welcome; one or two of the others, however, are so familiar and so readily accessible that they might well have been omitted;[2] and several of the letters (especially the two to Nicolò Niccoli which had been printed by Sabbadini in *Giornale Storico*, XVII) must feel decidedly uncomfortable under the proud caption of 'unedierte Briefe.' None the less we have every reason to be grateful to the editor for his really useful achievement in bringing together in one inexpensive volume such a number as he has of Bruni's humanistic works, long scattered and inaccessible. The inclusion of fifteen or twenty Prefaces, etc., to his translations and the like was particularly well advised.

Of the items hitherto unprinted, the most interesting are the letter to Humphrey of Gloucester and the *De interpretatione recta*. In the former, Bruni notes the importance for princes of *studia et litterae*, and rejoices that his translation of the *Ethics* has been read and approved by Humphrey; as to the suggestion that he translate the *Politics*, the task will take some time, since the requisites for a good translation are far from simple; meanwhile, he encloses a list of the translations he has already made, and will send the Duke any that he wishes: so the letter ends. The *De Interpretatione* is pri-

[1] There are, indeed, some sixty-eight of these in all (including those which contain only a page or two of Bruni); but the especially important MSS in the Communal Library at Siena might at least have been consulted also. In the light of the limited scope of his critical apparatus, Baron's frequent severity with the shortcomings of his predecessors seems a trifle rash.

[2] And in that case, some of the (still) more or less inaccessible works might have been printed in their stead: the Latin *Carmen* against Niccoli, for example, or the rare (though printed at an early date by Aldus) *Oratio Heliogabali ad meretrices*. An early MS. of the latter in the Farsetti collection, with the (presumably) more accurate title *Heliogabalus Augustus ad matronas Romanas orat ad meretriciam invitans*, has the pleasant subscription: *Leonardus Aretinus, recreandi ingenii causa, ludens ridensque dictauit: unde seueriores rogat ne legant, urbaniores ne efferant.* The more solemn are begged not to read it, the more urbane not to publish it: the more irreverent will be tempted to speculate as to which request was effective in securing its exclusion from Herr Doktor Baron's volume. Bruni undoubtedly gains in dignity by its absence; but he loses in universality and (to some degree at least) in *humanism*.

marily a justification and explanation of Bruni's strictures (in the *Praemissio* to his translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*) on the mediaeval translators of Aristotle. It has come down to us unfinished, and was apparently never made public. In it, Bruni admits his severity, and ascribes it to his *indignatio animi*

'quod, cum viderem eos libros in Graeco plenos elegantiae, plenos suavitatis, plenos inaestimabilis cuiusdam decoris, dolebam profecto mecum ipse atque angebar tanta traductionis faece coinquinatos ac deturpatos eosdem libros in Latino videre.'

He emphasizes, however, the purely literary nature of his criticism: the translator may have been a most worthy and virtuous man: 'non malum hominem sed malum interpretem esse dixi.' He then points out the great difficulty and the great importance of translating correctly; the translator must know both languages exceptionally well, and must grasp in both all shades of meaning in words of approximately the same denotation. (Of these Bruni gives many examples, such as *abesse* and *deesse*.) The translator should be able to write as good a style in the second language as the original author showed in the first. Some say a translator deserves credit for his attempt, even if he is unsuccessful; but we do not praise a bad poet or a poor sculptor on the ground that he did not intend to do bad work. The translator must further be able to reproduce in his version something of the style and rhythm of the original ('ut Ciceroni amplitudo et copia, Sallustio exilitas et breuitas, Liuio granditas quaedam subaspera . . .'); and so on. The work, in the form in which we have it, ends with a number of lengthy passages from Plato and Aristotle to illustrate Bruni's points. It is apparent that Bruni's ideals for the translator were extremely high; seldom indeed attained by himself or any other in the Renaissance — or since.

Baron's appendices are extemely useful, though by no means final. The *Chronologie und Bibliographie* . . . has inevitably a number of omissions, and leaves several doubtful points unsolved. There appears, for example, in more than one MS. in the Communal Library at Siena *Leonhardi Aretini De re militari ad Raynaldum Albicium equitem Florentinum.*[1] No such work is listed in the *Chronologie:* is it the same as the *De Militia* (pp. 166–167), for which no dedication is mentioned? Again, there is a printed volume *Leonardi Aretini De temporibus suis* (Venice, 1485; a copy in the Biblioteca Colombina). Is this the same as the *Commentaria rerum suo tempore gestarum?* If so (as seems probable from the note in the Colombina *Catalogo*), the statement for the latter 'Druck: Zuerst Lyon 1539' (p. 177) must be

[1] An unidentified 'Raynaldus Freund Brunis' appears thus vaguely in Baron's *Namenverzeichnis* and on p. 206. He should in all probability be identified with this Rinaldo degli Albizzi, whose extensive activities in the service of Florence are narrated in the *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi per il Comune di Firenze* . . ., printed 'a cura di C. Guasti' in three volumes (Florence, 1867–73).

corrected; if not, the item must be added to the list, either as authentic or as wrongly attributed. And what of the MS. at Siena, *Leonardi Bruni Aretini De uiris illustribus Italiae?* It opens: 'Qui per Italiam homines excelluerunt etate mea, et que conditio rerum, quiue studiorum ratio fuerit, libuit hoc in libello discursu breui colligere . . .," and does not seem to correspond to any of the works in Baron's list. These are merely samples of the sort of question which a cursory examination of that list suggests; many more such would surely be revealed by closer scrutiny.

The *Chronologie der Briefe* is based (as are various other matters in the volume) on the work of an Italian scholar, F. P. Luiso of Lucca, who is to-day unquestionably, as Baron himself states freely, the final authority on all that concerns Leonardo Bruni. Luiso gave Baron full access to his *Studî su l'epistolario di L. Bruni*, the printing of which was begun over twenty years ago, but never quite completed. Baron makes frank acknowledgment of his indebtedness, and adds very significantly 'Luisos Studie beruht auf jahrelanger bibliothekarischer und archivalischer Vorarbeit, wie sie einem Ausländer, der Italien flüchtig durchreist, niemals möglich wäre.' We must devoutly hope that not too many years will elapse before the publication of Luiso's work; meanwhile, the present volume not only serves its editor's prime intention — to provide a collection of Bruni's works sufficiently full to illustrate clearly the character and development of his humanism — but also offers in the appendices a useful tentative chronology and bibliography of his works and letters.

In its details, the volume, though strongly put together and handsomely printed on good paper, is unhappily by no means faultless. Both text and critical apparatus contain frequent errors, many of which cannot possibly be scored against the printer. A rough collation, for example, with merely the printed editions which Baron is either following or incorporating into his critical apparatus on pp. 50–69 and 149–154 of the Italian texts and pp. 104–107, 109–112, and 143 of the Latin texts reveals inaccuracies which make it tolerably certain that his readings from the MSS are not to be regarded as minutely reliable.

We may note, for the Italian texts, the following errors or omissions:

51, 9:[1] *read* tacendo; 52, 24: lasciaro; 52, 34:[2] *omit note 7;*[2] 53, 8: proposito, dico che; 54, 11: adunque, tolta donna, e .. . . [cf. 64, 1: Apparate le lettere . . .]; 54, 34: 6) Re tolto; 55, 7: *omit last two commas;* 55, 8: ne; 55, 11: sè; 55, 17: sè; 55, 44: ne; 58, 14: grazia egli medesimo [cf. 61, 1]; 58, 37: 7) Re lui; 60, 16: sè; 60, 24: sè; 61, 2: adombrato da; 61, 12 and 14: stilo; 61, 19: più vantaggiatamente; 61, 34: egli è; 61, 37: 6) Ci più fehlt;

[1] I.e., page 51, line 9: — and so throughout.

[2] Apparently Baron does not realize that *lasciaro* was a perfectly good form!

61, 39: 12) Re ell' è; 64, 23: perfezione e grandezza; 65, 2: lasciaro [2]; 65, 35: *delete note 3*;[2] 66, 2: assai, solo a; 66, 7: *insert, as a footnote to* secolare, Ci regolare; 66, 34: stilo; 67, 2 and 11: stilo; 67, 28: *insert a footnote,* Ci sì fehlt; 68, 13: comparare, e vedere in; 69, 6: non si trava-; 69, 15: ritener; 69, 20: confesso e consento; etc.

149, 22 ff.: 'Wo bessere (oder nicht modernisierte) Lesarten . . . gewonnen wurden . . . sind diese . . . in den Text . . . während Crescimbenis Lesart in solchen Fällen regelmässig . . . in einer Fussnote beigegeben ist.' Despite this criterion, the text which follows contains dozens of forms modernized (as compared with Crescimbeni's readings), and in scores of cases Crescimbeni's reading is altered without any note. In three cases a special note cites Crescimbeni's reading wrongly. The punctuation (as throughout the Italian portions of the book) is often bad; the diacritics also. Neglecting the minor inaccuracies, and noting only those that prejudice sense, or metre [m], we should correct: 150, 1: alcun [m]; 150, 19: laudabil [m]; 150, 35: non dimen dauctoritade; 151, 5: veggiam; 151, 17: *delete the query*; 151, 18: ch'è; 151, 19: *put a* ? *at the end;* 151, 23: disio, e voto d'ogni omei!; 151, 24: quand'io *and delete comma at end;* 151, 25: e'; 151, 26: *insert comma at end;* 151, 27: chè; 151, 33: *delete colon;* 151, 39: ancor [*i.e.,* a 'n cor]; 152, 11: veggiam; 152, 12: dall'equal [*sense demands one, metre the other correction*]; 152, 14: drizzano a vantaggiare [m]; 152, 30: *delete* sia [m] *as in MS. Bologn. Univ. 1739, unknown to Baron*; 152, 31: chè; 152, 37: da gli equi [*latinism for* dagli eguali]; 153, 3: che 'n qualunque [as in Bologna MS.]; 154, 11: *insert semicolon at end;* 154, 12: chè *and insert comma at end;* 154, 17: invita.

As to the Latin texts, an examination of (in all) a bare seven pages of them reveals, besides minor variants in spelling,[1] and so forth, the following corrections or additions to be made in the critical apparatus:

104, note 4: ['Zi tunc; Si und die übrigen Handschriften tamen,' *Whence then the reading* tantum *adopted in the text?*]; 105, 1: Sa ac; 105, 28: Sa sacratissima; 106, 1: Pa modi fehlt; 106, 4: Pa de proprietate; 106, 8: Pa ferenda; 106, 11: Pa atque; 106, 14: Pa breviter fehlt; 106, 21: Pa tantidem; 106, 22: Pa prosequi fehlt; 106, 25: Pa reputa; 106, 28: Pa servanda; 107, 22: Pa martii; 109, 24: Sa earumque; 110, 2: Sa [statt tum] cum; 110, 18: Sa tibi fehlt in der Hs.; 110, 20: Sa [statt enim] eum; 110, 24: Sa [statt illud] id; 110, 28: Sa percunctatus; 110, 29: Sa reperi; 110, 31: Sa Sahonam; 110, 37: Sa et; 110, 42: (8) Sa Lanterchensi; 111, 7: Sa scribis fehlt in der

[1] Throughout the volume, wherever *michi* or *nichil* occurred in the MSS, Baron has, without comment, corrected it to *mihi,* etc. Students of Bruni will regret this: michi was Bruni's regular style, and he defended it warmly in his letter to 'Antonius the Grammarian' (L. Bruni Aretini Epistolarum . . . Recensente L. Mehus [Florentiae, 1741], II, 107–108). Mehus, noting this letter, was more considerate, and let Bruni keep his *michi* and his *nichil.*

Hs.; 111, 8: Sa concedo fehlt in der Hs.; 111, 14: Sa me fehlt in der Hs.; 111, 14: Sa voluntati fehlt; 111, 19: Sa idem; 111, 21: Sa mihi fieri fehlt; 111, 21: Sa mihique amicissimo fehlt; 111, 26: Sa legatum fehlt; 111, 35: Sa [statt in] ex; 112, 9: Sa etiam fehlt; 112, 22: Sa in der Hs. [statt arcem] arte; 112, 23: Sa in der Hs. [statt Haec] Nec; 112, 25: Sa in der Hs. haberemus; 112, 28: Sa igitur fehlt; 112, 29: Sa in der Hs. [statt aliis] aliquis; 112, 30: Sa [statt quam] quo; 143, 14: et ornatissimam fehlt in den Drucken; 143, 16: et fehlt in den D.; 143, 20: in den D. [statt quia] quoniam; 143, 28: in d. D. iubete; 143, 30: in d. D. fortuito; 143, 31–32: ex quo gloria, magnitudo et felicitas optata sequatur fehlt in d. D.; 143, 35: in d. D. sua; 143, 38–39: in d. D. sublimati.[1]

Again, a superficial testing of the *Chronologie und Bibliographie* . . . suggests the following additional comments:

161, 28: 'Druck der Praefatio in . . .' *Insert here* 'Miscellaneorum ex MSS libris bibliothecae Collegii Romani Societatis Jesu (ed. P. Lazeri), Rom, 1754, I, 158–160.[2] Auch in . . .'; 167, 26: *read* '. . . der italien. Übersetz., zuerst eine Inkunabel, sine l. et a., ferner 1875 . . .'; 169, 24: *Add* 'Ferner in L. Frati, Le Rime del Codice Isoldiano (Bologn. Univ. 1739), Bologna, 1913, II, S. 96–100'; 176, 23: 'Druck: Novella . . . 1817.' *This was an edition of the item next following* (Novella di Antioco . . .), *and should be cited there. Here read:* 'Druck: in Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei senensis . . . opera . . . omnia, Basileae, ex off. Henricpetrina, 1571, S. 954–959.[3] Ferner in D. M. Manni, *Istoria del Decamerone* (Florenz, 1742), S. 247–256.'; 176, 27 ff.: *Read* 'Druck: Zuerst Siena, 1511, dann im 16 Jahrhdt. und im 19 Jahrhdt. viele weitere (z.B. Florenz, 1572; Verona, 1817; Venedig, 1830; Livorno, 1870; u.s.w.)'; 177, 38: *Read* '. . . ed. Florenz 1526, Venedig 1528, 1542, u. 1548.'; 180, 5: *Add* 'Druck: in Poeti antichi raccolti . . . da Mons.

[1] It must be emphasized that this paragraph is based on a collation with one only of the various texts Baron is professing to embody in each case; it thus presumably represents considerably less than one half the errors on a mere seven out of some one hundred and twenty odd pages of Latin. In other words, the paragraph lists presumably about two per cent of the inaccuracies in the Latin portion of the book.

[2] Lazeri misprints the addressee as Innocent VIII (for VII). His text provides many variant readings for the letter as Baron prints it (pp. 3–4). Most of these readings are inferior, but one or two of them are significant and might well have been noted. Baron's version, incidentally, contains a few obvious misprints; these, as well as minor typographical errors elsewhere in the book, the reviewer is for present purposes neglecting.

[3] Where, with Bruni's covering letter, it appears, curiously enough, as *Epistola* CCCCX of Aenea Silvio, though bearing Bruni's salutation: '*De crudeli amoris exitu Guisgardi Tancredi Salernitanorum principis filiae, Epist.* CCCCX. Leonardus Arentinus Bindactio Ricassolano uiro *praestantissimo*, S. . . .' And in the *Catalogus* to the volume the story is described as '. . . ab Aenea Sylvio ex uulgari in linguam Latinam conuersus . . .' Bruni's letter to Bindaccio Ricasoli is printed with the Latin version of the story by D. M. Manni, *loc. cit.*

Leone Alacci, Neapel, 1661, S. 406 (*Spenta veggio merzè sopra la terra*); ferner in L. Frati, *o.c.* II, 254 (*Spenta vegg' io mercè . . .*)'.

Dr Baron's volume is, in sum, sadly unreliable for the study of Bruni's exact text, but a welcome and valuable contribution, actually indispensable, for the study of Bruni's ideas.

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W. E. BROWN, *The Achievement of the Middle Ages.* London: Sands & Company, 1928. Cloth. Pp. 240. *5s.* net.

THE period dealt with is from 1100 to 1500. To the author, the three great achievements of the time were the reign of law, the development of towns, and the growth of a high culture. The mediaeval period was not static but ever changing. There was no uniformity of development, though there was a similarity of trend, as in the growth of the manor and the town. Here is a scholar trying to understand the Middle Ages. Many of our specialists might sit down with him and profit by following his effort.

The author writes pretty much as if he were making his way, independent of other scholars. It is true that Pastor is referred to and Mâle considered at length; it is stated that there were erroneous liberal historians in the nineteenth century. Generally, however, the views of others, the life-efforts of colleagues, are ignored. Nevertheless we can see their contributions shining through the interstices of the closely knitted exposition.

In general, the Church is presented in a very favorable light — many would say uncritically. Certainly, the deep-seated, all-pervading subterfuge into which the Church forced business men is entirely missed by the author. Merchants and peddlers, money lenders and money borrowers, active and silent partners, even churchmen themselves, were hampered in many of their activities. Indeed a weakness which the author has possibly inherited from constitutional historians is his failure to see men actually at work. His is the all-too-common approach of the institutionalist. His notion of the town is the traditional one of a walled community. But he thinks of it at night when the gates are closed and the drawbridge up. A truer conception would be of the centre dependent upon the neighboring villages. The town's gates were normally more important than the walls.

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M. Grabmann and Fr. Pelster, edd., *Opuscula et Textus Historiam Ecclesiae Eiusque Vitam atque Doctrinam Illustrantia*, Series Scholastica. Fasc. iv–vii. Münster i. Westf.: Aschendorff, 1929. Paper.

Of recent years there has been a notable reaction against the earlier notion that philosophy became sterile after the death of Duns Scotus. A great mass of critical editions of hitherto unedited texts and scholarly monographs dealing with philosophers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been produced. As might have been expected, these researches have made clear that most of the later scholastics took sides, either as Thomists, Scotists, or Terminists (Nominalists). The *fasciculi* of this collection of selections and complete *opuscula* have been so chosen, in general, as to illustrate the tendencies of this later period. Fasc. i was the *De Ente et Essentia* of Thomas Aquinas, edited by Ludwig Baur; Fasc. ii the *Quaestio de Magisterio Infallibili Romani Pontificis* of Guido Terreni of Perpignan, edited by B. M. Xiberta, O. Carm.; Fasc. iii the *Questiones de Natura Fidei*, edited by Fr. Pelster, S. J.

Fasc. iv (pp. 63; R.M. 1.20), edited by Dr Carl Feckes, is made up of selections from the *Collectorium circa* iv *Sententiarum* of Gabriel Biel (1415–1495), treating Justification from the Nominalist point of view. Biel regarded Ockham as his master, and while at Tübingen had as one of his pupils Staupitz, Luther's teacher and friend. The connection is obvious. The *Correctorium* has not been reprinted since 1574.

Fasc. v (pp. 64; R.M. 1.20) is from some points of view a more valuable contribution to our knowledge of the development of later Scholasticism. Fr. Pelster has edited hitherto unpublished quaestiones of Thomas of Sutton (*fl.* 1300–1310), one of the most prominent Oxford Thomists of the early part of the fourteenth century. His *Quaestiones de Reali Distinctione inter Essentiam et Esse* were chosen in preference to corresponding quaestiones of Henry of Ghent because of their nicer statement of the then warmly debated subject of distinction between Being and Essence.

Fasc. vi (pp. 75; R.M. 1.35) contains: (*a*) the *Quaestio de Natura Cognitionis* of Durandus of St Pourçain (d. 1332), a Dominican who openly attacked Thomism and whose conceptualism stands halfway between Thomas and Ockham; (*b*) *Disputatio cum Anonymo Quodam* against the teaching of Durandus on the nature of Intellection; and (*c*) the *Determinatio* of Hervaeus of Nedellec, also a Dominican, but a staunch defender of Thomism, edited from the extant manuscripts by Dr Joseph Koch. Only (*b*) is an *editio princeps*.

Fasc. vii (pp. 36; R.M. 0.90) is an edition by A. Heysse of an earlier philosophical classic, the *Liber de Sex Principiis*, ascribed to Gilbert de la Porrée (1076–1154). Although this exposition of the last six of the *Predica-*

menta of Aristotle has often been edited and as recently as 1882 (O. Bardenhewer), it is a welcome reëdition, based on three excellent manuscripts.

Throughout, the printing is clear, the paper good, and typographical errors are kept to a minimum. The *Introductiones* to Fasciculi IV and VI are not so useful as those to V and VII. A more complete list of previous editions would not have taken much more space and would have added much to the usefulness of the texts. The *fasciculi* promised for the near future bid fair to continue the excellence of choice and execution. The obvious purpose for which these texts are intended — use in Roman Catholic seminaries — does but make the more general scholar increasingly appreciative of the determined maintenance of high scholarly standards prevailing in these institutions.

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Maurus Inguanez, ed., *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, vol. II, pars I. Monte Cassino, 1928. Paper. Pp. 122.

——, *I Placiti Cassinesi del Secolo X con Periodi in Volgare* (Miscellanea Cassinese, No. 5). Badia di Monte Cassino, 1929. Paper. Pp. 27 + 4 plates.

——, *L'Opera Conservatrice degli Amanuensi Cassinesi.* Badia di Monte Cassino, 1928. Paper. Pp. 7 + 2 plates.

D. Mauro Inguanez maintains the fecund tradition and scholarly standards of Monte Cassino in these three books. The *Catalogus* gives a well-condensed description of 200 MSS (Codd. 201–300), with bibliography; the most interesting are the palimpsests *271 K* and *289 F*. In the *Placiti*, he republishes the famous tenth-century documents which contain the *'balbutientis Italicae linguae uerba'* — our first Italian prose sentences. One of them, mislaid since 1734, recently came to light and is here reproduced in facsimile for the first time. The last pamphlet, published for the fourteenth centenary of St Benedict's founding of Monte Cassino, gives a résumé of the contributions to literature and to historical scholarship for which the abbey was responsible — the preservation of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, of much of Tacitus and Varro, of Frontinus, of works by Hilary and Jerome, and of the *Peregrinatio Siluiae*. This has excellent facsimiles of *Codd. 342* and *345* (Jerome against Origen) and *361* (Frontinus and Varro). All are well written and accurately printed.

Charles Upson Clark,
North Hatley, Quebec

GEORGE SARTON, *Introduction to the History of Science.* Vol. I, 'From Homer to Omar Khayyam.' Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution, 1927. Pp. xii + 840. [Pp. 787–839 are a double-column index.]

THIS review will attempt three possibilities: to describe the book as a whole and state its value broadly; to estimate and criticize some few details; to indicate its stimulating and prophetic value. Any attitude of omniscience is very far from the reviewer's mind. He is an Arabist and Hebraist, a student of the Muslim and the Hebrew civilizations; as such he can claim to be a mediaevalist, but the mediaeval world which he knows at first-hand is that of Islam, the eastern and southern parts of the Mediterranean, the 'Great Sea' of the mediaeval world.

To describe the book is hard enough. It is the first of a series of volumes intended to give a broad and yet precise introduction to the history of science of the whole world. Chronologically, it excludes what is coming to be called pre-history. Dr Sarton knows quite well that there was science before Homer, but he knows, too, that we have not yet the materials to construct a history of that science. They are being brought to light almost from day to day, but the time to deal with them is not yet. Again, the plan of the book excludes political and economic history, however much science may be mixed into these; both of these historical spheres are otherwise in process of being dealt with most amply. Also, it omits the history of art, however defined, for the same reason. But the history of religion is included, for it is as impossible to separate early and mediaeval science and theology as early and mediaeval philosophy and theology. Any distinction between the three would be essentially unreal and a product of modern analysis which would have been unintelligible to early minds. We can only separate them by tracing back each to a particular source — thinking, revelation, experiments, — but, in fact, the sources were always mixed, and this holds of the mediaeval world as a whole, Christian and Muslim alike. Further, there is great advantage in seeing religion and philosophy viewed in this way, in their relation to science and by a scientifically trained mind. It may come as a shock to the more specialized theologians and philosophers, but for such shocks are good; and one of the outstanding characteristics of this whole book is its power of shocking prejudices and narrownesses and provoking salutary reactions. Of course, Dr Sarton on this religious and theological side has had to depend greatly on the positions stated in various hand-books, and the consequence has sometimes been unfortunate. The tendency of such hand-books is to profess to give, in the ludicrous phrase, 'the assured results of modern science.' In other spheres, Dr Sarton knows that there are no such things; that all our knowledge is relative and that our trust in it must be qualified and limited. So he says (p. 6)

that the vast majority of modern scientists have not thoroughly grasped that notion of relativity with their hearts, meaning evidently that they still cling to the idea of an infallible system to which new facts must conform. But he seems to have been hardly sufficiently on his guard against the dogmatism of certain Old Testament critics which has crystallized in encyclopedias and the like and has led him twice to the unfortunate phrase that Amos "may thus be called the founder of monotheism." For Amos himself knew very well that he was repeating and driving home upon the people a long-accepted monotheistic position. But this is a very small matter beside the fact that on these early pages we are forced to see, as in one picture, Homer, Hesiod, the earliest Greek philosophers, the Hebrew prophets, the Chinese, Hindu, Iranian philosophers and prophets, if not in relationship to one another, at least as practical contemporaries. In such simple juxtaposition there is infinite stimulus to renewed weighing and estimating. And such fertile juxtapositions recur through the whole volume. The 'Greek miracle' stands beside the equally great but very different Hebrew miracle and both take their place in the general miracle of the human mind working its way through dreams and graspings at truth to ever more firm reality. Sometimes these juxtapositions are startling. Thus on pages 483 ff. we have Japanese, Buddhist, Tibetan, Chinese and Arabic thought coming together; the Tibetan language crystallizes at the same time as Arabic; Latin, Syriac, Arabic and Japanese philology fall on the same page (p. 490) by chronological necessity.

Again, Dr Sarton has had to face the question of the place of magic and so-called 'superstition' in the history of the human search for reality. Of magic and superstition generally he attempts a definition or, at least, a description, that it is 'unreason,' 'unprogressive,' 'conservative,' and 'too often sordid' (pp. 6, 19). In this he is under the sway of the Latin mind in its demand for the rational, the clear, the systematized and, for the moment, inclines perilously towards scholasticism, the enshrining of pure and systematized reason. Unfortunately the rational of one generation is often the irrational of the next; the unthinkable of one century is the axiomatic of another. Exactly in physical science we older men have witnessed a revolution, or at least an upsetting, such as has not been since, in one generation, the Copernican pushed aside the Ptolemaic system — even a greater change, for both these systems were Euclidean. In consequence, Dr Sarton has felt compelled to admit in his scheme astrology and alchemy, and we may be glad of it. Without these no picture of mediaeval science would be complete or would even hang together, and the great glory of this volume is that it does give the first tolerably complete account, with the above limitations, of the mediaeval world. He defends their inclusion by the fact that behind astrology there does lie a rational possibility, and even for some minds

probability, and behind alchemy lies a mass of solid experiment. We know now, too, that the primary hypothesis of the alchemists was not so irrational as it seemed a generation or two ago — a beautiful example of the irrational becoming rational. But it might have been better to cut free from all such neo-scholasticisms and to recognize that the labours of the human mind, however it might wander, were matter for history and that the human mind when it dealt with the physical world, — if any physical world now is left to us, — were matter for the history of physical science. No one has ever yet been able to construct a water-tight definition of 'superstition' and it may be hazarded that no one ever will.

The upshot of all this is that mediaevalists — let it be said good and loud in this organ of theirs — must now take full account of the physical science of their period; that mediaeval theology, philosophy, and art do not sum up the material of their studies; and that so long as they so limit themselves they give not simply a limited but a false picture of their period. Classical scholars have limited themselves in the same way, but not with such evil results. 'Classical scholars,' says Dr Sarton, 'have no interest in science; mediaevalists have an erroneous conception of it, which is undoubtedly worse' (p. 16). Yet if mediaevalists wish to repent and mend their ways they will find in this volume ample material and sure guidance. And they will find another thing in it. They will find a demonstration, full and convincing, of the unity of the whole Mediterranean civilization in mediaeval times. If this seems too hard a doctrine, a demonstration, then, of the contemporary existence and overwhelming influence in science, philosophy, and theology of the Muslim world. It is not too much to say that this is the first book in which that fact of the Muslim world is set forth faithfully and thoroughly. It is true that for long our encyclopedias have contained accounts of so-called Arabian science and Arabian philosophy, full of vague eulogies and the most singular ignorance of facts. This has been largely because the writers of such articles were dealing with their subjects at second or third hand. They had to depend upon the scraps doled out to them by Arabists and specialists in Islam, and it is only within the last generation that even these have made serious attempts to understand the material and philosophical sides of the Muslim civilization. The study of Islam was the study of Arabic and the study of Arabic was for long in the hands of theologians who used it for the illumination of the Old Testament. Such was the Roman school of Arabists; such was Pocock at Oxford, Castell at Cambridge, Schultens at Leyden, Reiske at Leipzig, Ewald at Göttingen. There followed these others, largely pupils, and pupils of pupils of de Sacy at Paris, who studied Arabic and Islam for their own sake. But it was only very slowly that these studies passed beyond philology and what can best be called belles-lettres. The Koran led very slowly to the theologians and

the theologians still more slowly to first-hand knowledge of the philosophers. Physical science came last of all in spite of pioneer editions of Arabic treatises in mathematics and medicine. An Arabic Euclid was printed at Rome in 1594 and an Arabic Avicenna on medicine about the same time and Razi on smallpox at London in 1766. But these volumes stood neglected in libraries and led to no schools of further investigation. The individuals who looked into them were rare and eccentric in their tastes. Now, however, in our own time, the change has come. A generation of Arabists has arisen who are giving themselves, with the equipment of specialists, to the sciences of Islam. Trained musicians, chemists, mathematicians, physicians are studying and editing the original texts. Formerly, a man who read Arabic was only an Arabist; now he is often a specialist in some science or art who has taken the trouble to learn Arabic in order to read in that language on his own subject. Previous experiments in collaboration between scientists and Arabists were largely failures; the one did not know the right questions to ask the other and the other could not grasp the point of the question asked him by the first. Now with knowledge of Arabic and of the science in question in the one head progress is at last being made.

This development, as far as science is concerned, has taken place within the last ten years and is quite certainly the new characteristic of Arabic studies. And of this development Dr Sarton himself is a conspicuous example. He soon saw that without first-hand control of his sources in Arabic he would be working in the dark as to the science of the whole mediaeval world. The same thing, it may be thrown in, holds equally true for the historians of mediaeval philosophy, theology, literature, and art. But only in Spain, apparently, have these historians so far realized this. It is Dr Sarton's distinction that he fully realized it and gave himself with courage, patience, and great linguistic ability to acquire a reading knowledge not only of Arabic but of mediaeval Hebrew. He saw that these were the two keys to the science of this period, and because of his insight and devotion in turning aside to forge these keys his book is what it is — the first full and accurate statement of mediaeval science.

The importance of this can be put very easily and plainly. The text of the book, exclusive of the index, runs to 783 pages. The first mention of Islam comes on page 460 at the beginning of the chapter dealing with the first half of the seventh century. An excellent little sketch of Mohammed and the early Muslim conquests comes on pages 464–466, but the beginning of the treatment of the Muslim civilization is only from page 485 onwards. It is of extraordinary suggestiveness that the twenty pages between pages 466 and 485 are, of chronological necessity, given to Buddhist, Hindu, Japanese, Chinese, and Byzantine science. These continue to play

their parts, and other contributions written in Syriac, Latin, Hebrew, come into play, but from page 485 to the end of the volume (second half of the eleventh century) the centre of the stage is held of right by the civilization of Islam, writing almost entirely in Arabic. If it is necessary for a book to make a single, outstanding contribution to knowledge, it may safely be said that this bringing out of the fact of the Muslim civilization in its weight and in its details and of its dominating influence on the European civilization, not only in science but in philosophy and theology, is the amply sufficient *raison d'être* for this volume. Of course it does far more than that and does it, indeed, consummately well, but nearly half is given to that fact and the rest of the volume looks towards that fact. In the volume to come the statement of that fact will be continued, and there will, of necessity, be more on its Jewish side, but it is in this volume that the great illumination on the fact and influence of Islam lies.

The book itself is an alluringly contradictory combination of general views and minute details. No one, probably, will ever read it straight through and no one, with any sense of the past as it grows into the present, can open it anywhere and not read straight on. It is divided into an introduction on purpose, scheme and method, followed by 34 chapters. These, chapter by chapter, mark chronological stages and each is put under a name or names by way of tutelary sign. This, of course, is rough and approximate, but is a great help to memory and a stimulant to the imagination. As has been said, pre-history is unattempted, and the beginning is made with the Homeric age and its chronological equivalent elsewhere. Thus the first chapter is on 'the dawn of Greek and Hebrew knowledge (ninth and eighth centuries B.C.).' The second is on 'the dawn of Iranian knowledge (seventh century B.C.).' The third comes to individual names, 'time of Thales and Pythagoras (sixth century B.C.),' and the fourth is on 'the time of the Two Hippocrates (fifth century B.C.).' Thereafter the chapters go in half centuries; the fifth is put under the name of Plato (first half of fourth century B.C.) and the sixth under that of Aristotle (the second half of that century). The chapters of Euclid, Archimedes, Cato the Censor, Hipparchos, Lucretius, Virgil follow and bring us to the Christian era. The very names show that the book is taking 'science' in a very broad humane sense; it is really civilization. Into all these chapters, too, the whole world enters as we have any record of it — India, Egypt, Carthage, Palestine, China, Japan, especially India and China. With chapter XXI we get a Chinese name as significant sign at its head; 'Time of Fa-hsien (first half of fifth century).' Chinese names stand on guard, too, over chapters XXV and XXVI, the two halves of the seventh century, and over the next chapter stands the name of Bede, the first half of the eighth century. The known world is now spanned from east to west and the stage is set for the Muslim Conquest.

The chapters which follow, XXVIII–XXXIV, all, of full right, bear Muslim names. As can be seen, these significant names have been chosen with great skill and show the rise and fall in intellectual activity and leadership of different races and peoples.

Each of these chapters begins with a 'survey of science' in its period; there follow sections on 'religious background,' 'philosophical background,' 'cultural background,' etc., and on different branches of science taken in the widest sense of the word. Each section consists, in great part, of biographies of the outstanding men in the period with short and precise statements of what they accomplished; and each biography is closed with a careful bibliography in which the aim is to give only useful references and to give these very exactly. This must have been the most toilsome part of the whole book to write, for it has involved microscopic bibliographical research, extreme compression of results and constant exercise of precise judgment. Of course the user of the bibliographies is compelled to an act of faith in Dr Sarton's judgment; but it will not often lead him astray, for the editor of *Isis* has had long experience that a big book, if it is not exactly a big evil, may often be very useless beside some decisive little article. Further, scattered among the biographies come, from time to time, little notes, excursuses, sections on historical developments and connections. By these the biographies are linked together and the picture of the growing knowledge all over the world is unified.

It is not easy to avoid a conscious or sub-conscious contrasting of the book with Mr H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*. One point of contrast is the assured and gigantic knowledge which it displays; it is plain that Dr Sarton knows his 'science' but, also, that he knows a great deal more. Another point is the absence in him of that historical, philosophical, theological prejudice into which men of science are too apt to fall. This is real humanity and by it he can see the possible origin and basis of the queerest vagaries of the human mind. In consequence he is never ponderous, patronizing, sarcastic. Another point is the sheer wisdom of thinking and happiness of phrasing which he often displays. This comes out especially in the introductory chapter — also, to pick out only one other element, on pages 745–748; there he deals with the broad drift of human civilization and its interpretation by scholastics, classical scholars, mediaevalists and men of science in the narrower sense. With his contemporaries in these classes he deals politely but faithfully. Yet it is plain, I think, that from time to time he deliberately refrains from drawing the tolerably obvious conclusion which would be too bitter a pill. A reviewer, who is by way of being a theologian, may, perhaps, drive home a little further the points made on pages 6, 25, and 28 as to the survival of scholasticism in modern physical science. The old amongst us will remember how even Faraday and Tyndall at-

tempted to lay down the limits of the possible and impossible and refused to look at experiments which could have no meaning for them, as the experiments meant the impossible. Even in our own day, with the bounds of possibility clean abolished, we have seen much the same thing. The mass of men of science and even of students of philosophy are as fully in the blinkers of consistent system as theologians with their 'analogy of the faith.' Another point which could be driven home on our day and generation is the contrast Dr Sarton draws (pp. 9, 10) between the free revelation of Greek science with its tradition of disinterested research and the utilitarianism of Roman culture. We especially need to take to heart the old Cambridge toast, 'To the higher mathematics and may they never be any use to any body!' The higher mathematics lie now behind our electric light and power plants, but they existed as really in the minds of the Greek mathematicians when they meant nothing but figures, signs, and relations.

The above is what the present reviewer, with his limitations of knowledge, can say, somewhat dogmatically, on this book. He could adventure into other fields but with less assurance. Others, of other training, he knows very well would find other things to say and other characteristics to bring out. For this is, in the most exact sense, a myriad-minded book, of multitudinous attraction and suggestion. And, attracting and suggesting, it will work for sanity and knowledge.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD,
Hartford, Conn.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH, *Le Comput Manuel de Magister Anianus*. Paris: E. Droz, 1928. Tome IV, Documents Scientifiques du XV^e^ Siècle. Boards. Pp. 106.

THIS is a creditable piece of scholarly work upon a topic which engaged a considerable part of the attention given to mathematics and astronomy in the mediaeval schools. The large number of illustrations from early books and manuscripts is particularly to be commended, although a few pages (e.g., pp. 17, 20, 21) give such poor reproductions as to be practically worthless.

The work of the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke enables a scholar now to issue a bibliography of editions of the fifteenth century with some approximation at completeness, accounting in some measure for the comprehensive bibliography of editions of Anianus found in Smith. Both Smith (p. 15) and Wordsworth (*The Ancient Kalendar of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1904), p. 136) refer to editions of Sacrobosco's *De Anni Ratione* with an implied uncertainty, indicated also in the *Dictionary of National Biography* account of Holywood, which gives 'Paris, 1538 (?)' as the first edition. This work appears to have been printed first

in 1538 at Wittenberg by Joseph Clug, with the preface by Melanchthon, dated 1538. The first Paris edition may be that of 1543, published by J. Loys, also with the preface. The edition cited by Smith, while bound, as stated, with a work of 1564, must have been issued between 1566 and 1576, the period of the firm of de Marnef and Cavellat. An edition appeared in 1551 at Paris with the imprint of G. Cavellat alone.

The author treats in successive chapters the significance of the term '*Compotus Manualis*,' the object of the *Compotus*, the author, the predecessors in this field, the text with commentary and an old metrical version in French, and a bibliographical list of editions to 1540, with a list of printers and places of publication.

A systematic translation of the text in English or French would have added to the usefulness of the book. However, scholars for whom this suggestive work is primarily intended will find the text made sufficiently clear in the notes. The inclusion of the metrical version in French published in 1483 by Marchand is a desirable addition to the somewhat limited accessible material on early science in French.

Louis C. Karpinski,
University of Michigan

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

A. J. App, *Lancelot in English Literature: his Rôle and Character.* Washington, D. C.: Diss., Catholic University of America, 1929. Paper. Pp. iii + 261.

Art Studies: Medieval, Renaissance, and Modern [Vol. VII]. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Boards. Pp. 206.

Hennig Brinkmann, *Zum Ursprung des Liturgischen Spieles.* Bonn: Fr. Cohen, 1929. Paper. Pp. 40.

Sister M. J. A. Buck, *S. Ambrosii de Helia et Ieiunio. Commentary, with Introduction and Translation.* (Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, Vol. XIX.) Brookland, D.C.: Catholic Educational Press, 1929. Paper. Pp. xv + 233. $3.50.

Sister Lucilla Dinneen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography.* (Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, Vol. XVIII.) Brookland, D. C.: Catholic Educational Press, 1929. Paper. Pp. xiii + 115. $3.00.

O. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, ed., *Государственная Публичная Библиотека в Ленинграде*, Сер. IV, *Occidentalia. Analecta Medii Aevi — Средневековье в рукописях.* Fasc. III, Leningrad, 1929. 'Les anciens manuscrits latins de la Bibl. Publ. de Léningrad.' I. V–VI Siècles. Paper. Pp. 64 + 4 Plates. 2 R.

J. Dúason, *Grønlands Statsretslige Stilling i Middelalderen.* Oslo: Norli, [1928]. Paper. Pp. 216.

H. F. Dunbar, *Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consummation in the Divine Comedy.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvii + 563. $5.00.

C. P. Dutaillis and G. Lefebure, transl. by M. I. E. Robertson and R. F. Treharne, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubb's Constitutional History* III (Manchester Univ., Historical Series LIII). Cloth. Pp. x + 215 (= *op. cit.*, pp. 305–517). 9*s.*

T. P. Ellis and J. Lloyd, transl., *The Mabinogion: a New Translation.* 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xii + 232; pp. 253. $3.50.

K. Feckes, ed., *Gabrielis Biel: Quaestiones de Iustificatione* (Opuscula et Textus historiam ecclesiae, Ser. Scholastica, Fasc. IV). Münster i. Westf.: Aschendorff, 1929. Paper. Pp. 63. RM. 1.20.

C. Foligno, *Latin Thought during the Middle Ages.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii + 120. $1.75.

J. P. Gilson, ed., *An Exultet Roll Illuminated in the xith Century at the Abbey of Monte Cassino reproduced from* [*Brit. Mus.*] *Add. MS. 30337.* London: British Museum, 1929. Boards. Pp. 12 + 19 Plates.

Albin F. Gombos, *A Honoglaló Magyarok Itáliai Kalandozása (898–904)* ['The Military Excursions of the Magyars in Italy after the Conquest of Hungary']. Budapest, 1928. Paper. Pp. 93.

Emilio García Gómez, ed. and transl., *Un Texto Arabe Occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro . . . edición, traducción española y estudio preliminar.* Madrid: E. Maestra, 1929. Paper. Pp. clxiv + 108 + Arabic text. Pes. 15.

N. E. Griffin, A. B. Myrick, edd., *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio: a Translation with parallel Text . . . with an introduction* Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 505. $6.00.

A. Heysse, *Liber de Sex Principiis Gilberto Porretano Ascriptus* (Opuscula et Textus Historiam Ecclesiae, Ser. Scholastica, Fasc. VII). Münster i. Westf.: Aschendorff, 1929. Paper. Pp. 36. RM. .90.

Philip K. Hitti, transl., *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munquidh* (Kitāb al-I'Tibar). New York City: Columbia University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. x + 265. $4.50.

M. H. Jackson, ed., *Catalogue of the Frances Taylor Pearsons Plimpton Collection of Italian Books and Manuscripts in the Library of Wellesley College.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xxv + 434.

J. Kock, ed., *Durandi de S. Porciano O. P. Quaestio de Natura Cognitionis (II Sent. (A) D.3 A 5) et Disputatio cum Anonymo Quodam, nec non Determinatio Hervei Natalis O. P. (Quol. III Q. 8)* (Opuscula et Textus historiam ecclesiae, Ser. Scholastica, Fasc. VI). Münster i. Westf.: Aschendorff, 1929. Paper. Pp. 75. RM. 1.35.

G. P. Krapp and A. G. Kennedy, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader* New York: Holt, [1929]. Cloth. Pp. cxiv + 359.

O. J. Kuhnmuench, *Early Christian Latin Poets from the Fourth to the Sixth Century. With an Introduction, Translation, Commentary, and Notes.* Chicago: Loyola Univ. Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xiv + 472 + Plates. $2.40.

M. Letts, transl., ed., *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 71. $6.00.

F. Pelster, ed., *Thomae de Sutton O. P. Quaestiones de Reali Distinctione in Essentiam et Esse* (Opuscula et Textus Historiam Ecclesiae, Ser. Scholastica, Fasc. V). Münster i. Westf.: Aschendorff, 1928. Paper. Pp. 64. RM. 1.20.

C. P. Wagner, ed., *El Libro del Cavallero Zifar.* Part I: Text. (Univ. of Michigan, Publ. Lang. and Lit. V). Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvi + 532.

A. M. Walz, ed., *Angustini de Dacia O. P. 'Rotulus Pugillaris.'* Rome, 1929. Paper. Pp. 82.

C. C. I. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon. Libri IIII.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xxiv + 238. $7.50.

E. W. Williamson, ed., *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster.* Oxford University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii + 232. 15*s* or $5.00.

ADDENDUM

By an unfortunate oversight the two plates prepared to accompany Mr Whitehill's article, 'A Beatus Fragment at Santo Domingo de Silos,' SPECULUM IV (1929), 102–105, were omitted. These plates are now reproduced here.

CORRIGENDA

I

In my article on 'Grammatical Concord' in SPECULUM IV (1929), 303–314, the formula *Proinde nus . . . consteti decrivisse* under *The Subject*, p. 304, and again under *Person*, p. 310, illustrates the loss of final *-t*. At the time of writing I consulted on the point the studies of L. Beszard, *La Langue des Formules de Sens* (Paris: Champion, 1910), p. 13, and J. Pirson, 'Le Latin des Formules Mérovingiennes et Carolingiennes,' *Roman. Forsch.* XXVI (1909), 897–898, and found no mention of the loss of final *-t* in this formula. The fact fell under my eye in Mme J. Vielliard's work, *Le Latin des Diplômes Royaux et Chartes Privées de l'Époque Mérovingienne* (Paris: Champion, 1927, p. 53), too late for correction. *Nobis*, therefore, must be taken as *nos* in *nobis . . . constetit decrivisse, M.* 70, 48.

HENRY M. MARTIN,
Howard College

II

DIE VORLÄUFER DES GOLIAS

Aus versehen wurde folgende stelle meines artikels über die vorläufer des Golias (SPECULUM III (1928), 523–579) ausgelassen, die nun s. 573, z. 2–4 des betreffenden heftes einzufügen ist.

verwendet, dass auch später in der satire vorkommt. Uns aber interessiert das gedicht von einer anderen seite. Es ist, glauben wir, kein zufall, dass der '*lurgo meribibulus*' verspricht, im rausch '*carmina Pieria*' zu dichten. Hier wird also ein bestimmter dichtertypus verspottet, und zwar der jenige, welcher, wie der Archipoeta, behauptete, '*Nasonem post calices carmine praeire*' und zu welchem auch unser Sedulius gehörte. Am ende steht eine ermahnung, dem beispiel solcher saufpoeten keineswegs zu folgen (v. 23). Das ist also ein *antigoliardisches gedicht*. Denn Golias selbst zieht nie gegen den wein als solchen zu felde; vielmehr ist ihm das wasser verhasst (*Alba lympha maledicta/sit a nobis interdicta*). Wenn es vorkommt, dass er einen trinker verhöhnt, so ist das stets ein höherer geistlicher. Dies ist ein kapitaler

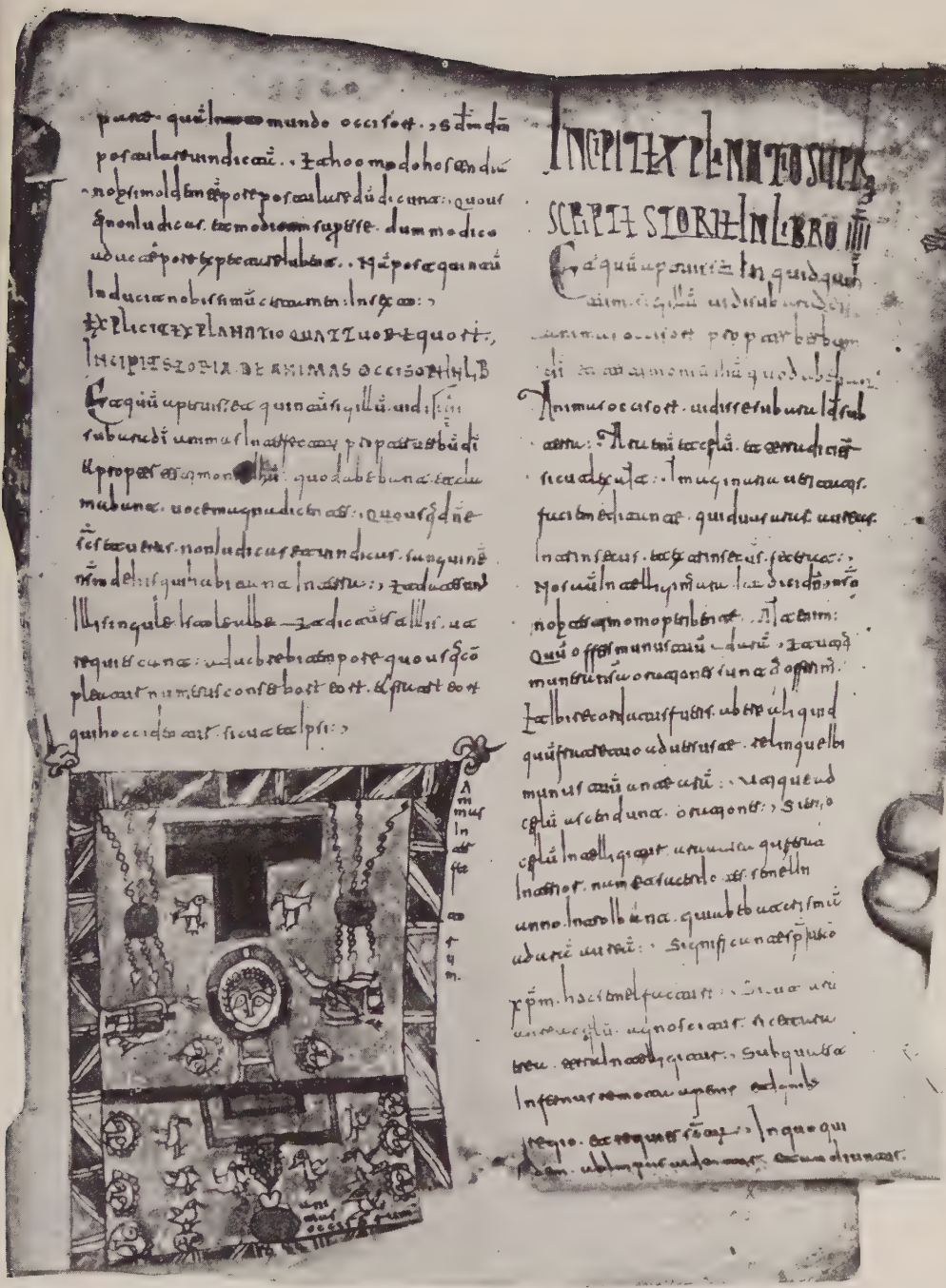

PLATE I

Real Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos.
Beatus Leaf, recto.

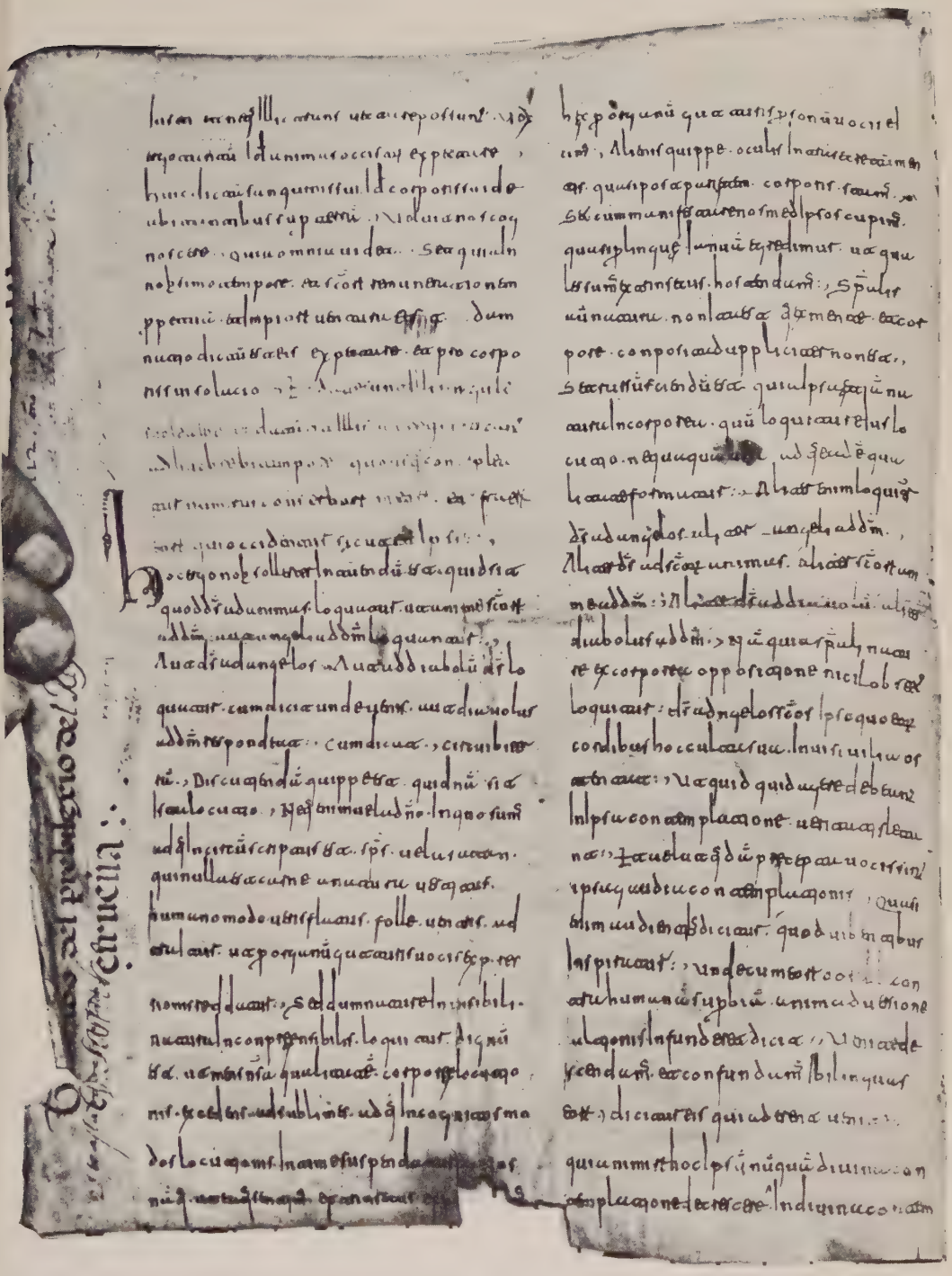

PLATE II

Real Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos.
Beatus Leaf, verso.

unterschied, denn die spitze der diatribe wendet sich nicht gegen den genuss, sondern gegen die hypokriten. Wir sahen, dass Golias vor allem den '*ueritatis amator*' spielt. Er selbst ist, meint er, durch mangel an hypokrisie in den zustand ewiger armut versetzt. Darum wird er auch nicht müde, die fehler der glücklichen heuchler blosszustehen. Der sinn der diatribe ist: 'Du bist nicht besser als ich; warum soll es dir besser gehen?' Das ist eine ganz andere konzeption, als diejenige Alcuins, Walahfrids, und Micons. Dort hiess es: 'Bachus ist verdammt,' und 'ein trunkenbold wird nie zum dichter.'

Nun stellt es sich heraus, dass nicht eine konzeption die andere verdrängte, sondern dass beide schon in karolingischer zeit vorhanden waren und einander feindlich gegenüberstanden.

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